

HISTORY OF MIDDLESEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

SAMUEL ADAMS DRAKE

History Of Middlesex County, Massachusetts

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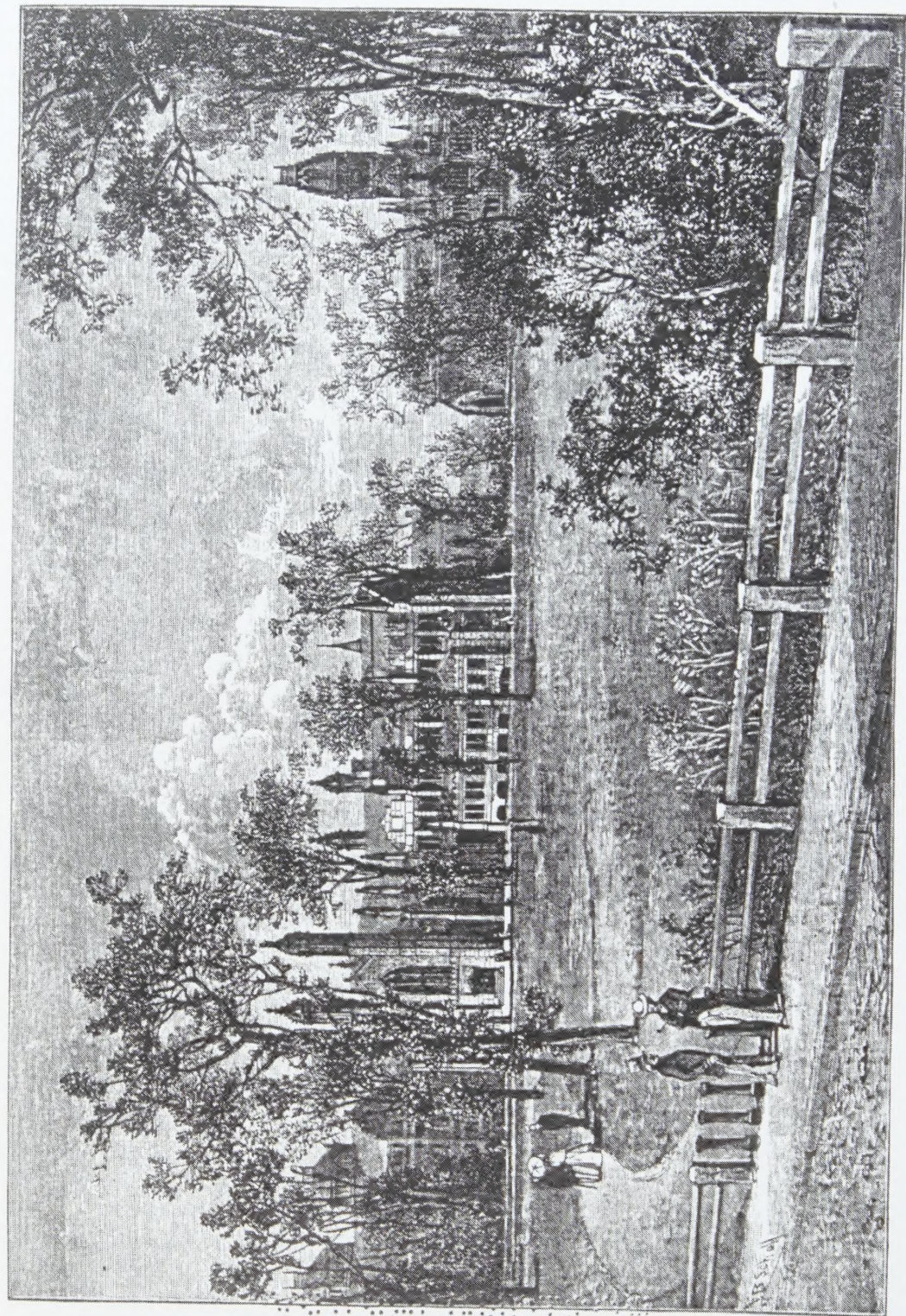
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HISTORY OF MIDDLESEX COUNTY,
MASSACHUSETTS.



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HISTORY OF MIDDLESEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS,

CONTAINING CAREFULLY PREPARED HISTORIES

OF

EVERY CITY AND TOWN IN THE COUNTY,

BY WELL-KNOWN WRITERS;

AND

A GENERAL HISTORY OF THE COUNTY,

FROM THE EARLIEST TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY

SAMUEL ADAMS DRAKE,

AUTHOR OF "OLD LANDMARKS OF BOSTON," "HOOKS AND CORNERS OF THE NEW ENGLAND COAST," ETC.

VOL. I.

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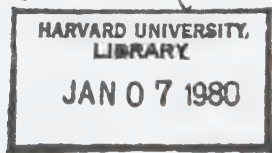
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PREFACE.

THE purpose of an historical introduction to these volumes is, chiefly, to present a narrative of public events which would dispense with frequent repetitions in the histories of the separate towns constituting the county, and thus secure a unity otherwise unattainable. For this design a general outline of the colonial history of Massachusetts was found to be indispensable.

No history of Middlesex could be written that did not largely embody the annals of Charlestown, the parent of all the towns of the county; the important part has, therefore, been related in the introduction, instead of in a separate article.

The history of Brighton, which so long formed a constituent part of the county, was also deemed essential to the general completeness of the work, more especially as the municipality has no separate written history of its own.

Deeming such a course not only equitable, but for the interests of historic truth, the authors of the articles in this work have freely expressed their own views upon controverted questions, but the editor accepts the responsibility only for what is embraced in the introductory chapters.

SAMUEL ADAMS DRAKE.

MELBORN, August 20, 1879.

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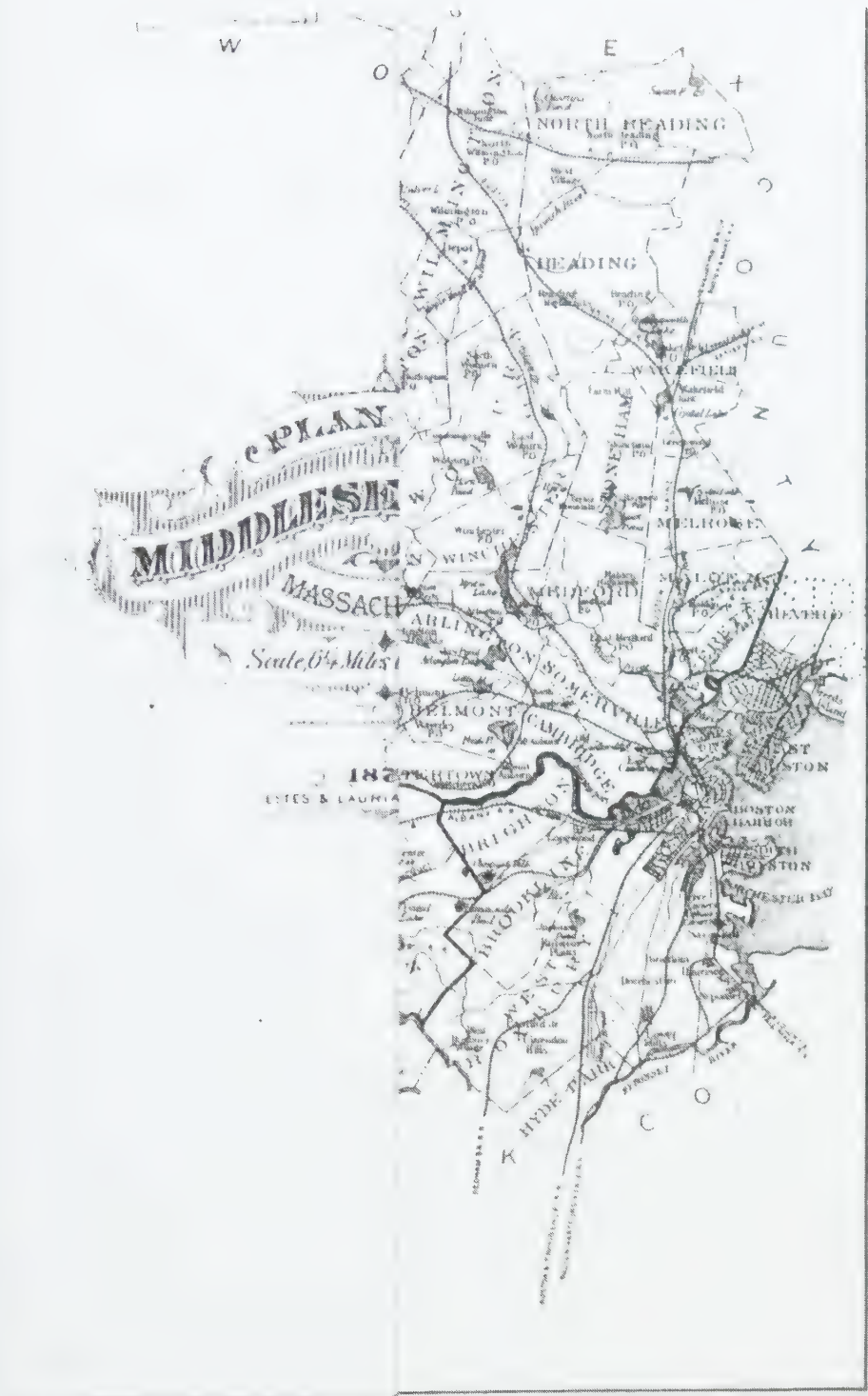
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HISTORY OF MIDDLESEX COUNTY.

I.

THE MASSACHUSETTS COMPANY.



It is not often that so small a political division as a county obtains a history of national significance. For us, the explanation is easy. In New England there is no difference of race, language, or religion to perpetuate distinctions. The county is usually regarded as a convenient subdivision of the territory of a state for the ordinary purposes of government, nothing more. Accident, and accident alone, may have made the ground historic. Family traditions may do something; but it is only in a few instances that a sentimental attachment can be founded on them. The state claims the citizen; the citizen, the state.

But it has happened in the State of Massachusetts that the counties of Plymouth, Essex, and Middlesex, instead of being merely the expansion from a common centre of population, were originally distinct political communities, and have, therefore, to some extent, a separate history of their own. Plymouth was a separate colony and government until the accession of William III. Essex witnessed the laying of the foundations for the colony of Massachusetts Bay; Middlesex, the formal assumption of government, under the royal charter, by men who brought with them to the New World the germ of an independent state. Thus, these three communities indicate three historic eras. Not merely accidental collections of adventurers, they are the embodiment of great principles which in time became the ruling ideas of a nation. To New England they indicate not only the boundary between barbarism and civilization, but the centres from which most of her native-born population is derived. In so far as great events may

illustrate a history, Middlesex surpasses her sisterhood of original shires. So much is hers of right to claim. It concerns us that the justice of this claim shall lose nothing by our presentation of it.

The History of Middlesex is so interwoven with that of the colony, province, and commonwealth, that it is indispensable to a correct understanding of the relation it bears to each, the causes which led to the settlements of 1628 and 1630, and the principles that animated the settlers, to review such portions of the common history as may guide to an intelligent opinion of the movement which resulted in establishing a second English colony in Massachusetts Bay. It is inseparable from the fact that the settlement of 1630 began upon territory of which the county was subsequently formed, and because the first church, the first formal act of government, were instituted and enacted there. A simple recital of what history has preserved of the principles and acts of the founders of the colony seems, therefore, the appropriate introduction to our subject.

We do not consider it needful to recapitulate the various attempts, successful or unsuccessful, to colonize New England. A knowledge of them is not essential to our present purpose. The founding of the colony of Massachusetts Bay constitutes a distinct and compact chapter of American history, having little or no relation to other attempts except in so far as they directed men's eyes and thoughts to New England when the time was ripe for a more vigorous and more prosperous undertaking. Already a little band of religious exiles had planted themselves in a corner of the Bay, and, by exercising the most heroic fortitude, history records, founded the colony of Plymouth. In point of time, in point of heroism, in respect of aims, civil and religious, that immortal little community

takes precedence of every other; and it must ever continue to command the unbounded admiration and respect of posterity.

Plymouth Colony had been in existence four years, and had given such assurance of its ability to sustain itself as to embolden some gentlemen of the West of England to attempt beginning a plantation at Cape Ann. In 1624 these persons formed a joint stock association known as the Dorchester Company, and sent over a number of emigrants to begin the work of planting and fishing, and to prepare the way for those that might come after them. The Rev. John White, a Puritan minister of Dorchester, England, appears prominently as one of the promoters of this enterprise, of which he doubtless considered himself the father. So far as the evidence goes, the Dorchester Company had no other motive than gain. By a permanent settlement they facilitated the fishery and increased its profits.

The handful of settlers at Cape Ann were joined the next year by Roger Conant, a "pious, sober, and prudent gentleman," and by John Lyford, a minister, both of whom had left Plymouth and were then living at Nantasket. Conant was appointed governor of the plantation at Cape Ann, and Lyford was invited to be its minister. Notwithstanding the excellent character given of him, Conant was unable to repress the insubordination of the lawless men sent over by the Company; while the Company, discouraged by heavy losses, very soon determined to sell their ships and abandon the enterprise. They offered a free passage home to England to such as wished to return; but Conant and a few others, upon the assurance of Mr. White that he would procure them a patent and send them men and provisions, decided to remain. Meanwhile, not liking their situation on the sterile cape, Conant and his men removed to Naumkeag, now Salem, where they cleared land, built houses, and awaited the fulfilment of the promise of efficient help. And this was the state of affairs at Naumkeag in 1626.

During the years 1626 and 1627 a movement for planting another colony in Massachusetts Bay was freshly agitated and finally matured. It originated, or is believed to have originated, with the Rev. John White, already mentioned, whose aim was to sustain the weak plantation at Cape Ann, which threatened to dissolve unless speedy measures were taken for its relief.

Through the active, unremitting exertions of

Mr. White, several gentlemen of Dorchester, or belonging to the neighborhood, purchased of the Council of Plymouth all that part of New England comprised between a point on the coast line three miles north of the Merrimack River and three south of the Charles, and extending westward to the South Sea. All the lesser grants which had from time to time been made within this territory were considered forfeited, or annulled, by the terms of the new cession, which was executed the 19th of March, 1628. The grantees took the name of the Massachusetts Company.

The names of the new patentees are Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Young, knights, and Thomas Southcoat, John Humphrey, John Endicott, and Simon Whetcomb, gentlemen. Thus early is John Endicott identified with the colony in which he subsequently bore so distinguished a part, in which he was a pioneer, and whose civil and religious government he exerted a commanding influence in moulding. Of the six persons named in this patent only Endicott and Humphrey are known to have emigrated to New England.

Very soon after this patent was obtained the patentees met and chose Matthew Cradock and Thomas Goff governor and deputy-governor. Both of these gentlemen were London merchants, and Goff had been interested in the settlement at New Plymouth. Though neither are mentioned in the patent, the position at once assigned them under it renders it probable that their active connection with the Company's affairs began at a very early day.

Within three months a ship was prepared for a voyage to New England to establish the new company in its purchase, and to relieve what remained of Conant's plantation. Captain Endicott was asked if he would go and reside at Naumkeag as governor of the colony, and he promptly replied in the affirmative. He was fully empowered to act as its executive head,—an authority which either ignored or quietly superseded that exercised by Conant over the original plantation. Toward the end of June, 1628, Endicott, with a company of emigrants, estimated at about one hundred persons, sailed from Weymouth, in the *Abigail*, for New England.

Having thus taken the preliminary steps to secure the privileges granted by their patent, the Massachusetts Company began to project measures on a grander scale. Their grant conveyed a title to the soil, but no well-defined powers of govern-

ment. They were compelled, too, to take cognizance of claims to portions of their grant by former proprietors, some of whom were already, by themselves or by their agents, in occupation of a few points in Massachusetts Bay, and seemed resolved to contest the attempt to dispossess them with which they were now threatened. The carelessness with which the Council of Plymouth had made all these grants, the loose way in which their boundaries were defined, added other complications. These considerations determined the Massachusetts Company to apply for a royal charter confirming their former grant, giving them clearly expressed powers of government, and conferring certain other valuable privileges. Through the intercession of Sir Dudley Carleton, Lord Dorchester, the king granted the charter to the original patentees and twenty others, some of whom became distinguished in the affairs of the colony and will be frequently mentioned in the pages of this work. They were Sir Richard Saltonstall, knight, Isaac Johnson, Samuel Aldersey, John Venn, Matthew Cradock, George Harwood, Increase Nowell, Richard Perry, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniel Wright, Samuel Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goff, Thomas Adams, John Browne, Samuel Browne, Thomas Hutchins, William Vassall, William Pynchon, and John Foxcroft.

The executive power of the new corporation was vested in a governor, deputy-governor, and eighteen assistants, seven of whom, with the governor, were authorized to meet in monthly courts for despatching such business as concerned the Company or the settlements begun by it. The legislative authority was conferred upon this so-called court of assistants, to which were joined all the freemen of the Company. Its four annual meetings were termed the "GREAT AND GENERAL COURTS,"—an appellation which has survived all the mutations of time and is still applied to the legislature of the Commonwealth. This Great and General Court was empowered to elect a governor, deputy-governor, assistants, and freemen, the latter being candidates for admission into the body politic with the privilege of speaking and voting upon its affairs. Power was also conferred upon the General Court to establish ordinances, not contrary to the laws of the realm, for settling forms of government, for determining fines, imprisonment, or other legal correction to be observed or enforced among the colonists. The "chief commander and other magistrates," who should from

time to time be over the government of the colony, were invested with absolute power to punish or pardon, and to rule the colonists according to the ordinances made in pursuance of the charter. We recite so much of the terms of this ancient instrument, not only because it is interesting to know how civil government was first legally established in New England, but because this charter remained the organic law until annulled by Charles II. in 1684; and because, further, its abrogation, and the abuses which followed, became a principal cause of precipitating the revolution of 1689 in the colony. The charter, which was brought over in 1630 by Governor Winthrop, with the great seal of England attached, may be seen in the office of the Secretary of State, at Boston.

Having thus prepared the way, the Company in England pursued with energy their plans of colonization. Their charter was more than liberal. Religious dissension within the kingdom procured crowds of applicants for transportation across the sea, into a land where a colony had already been founded beyond the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts. Others, impelled by love of adventure, or the hope of bettering their worldly condition, took passage for New England. The difficulties which for twenty years had baffled the wealth, enterprise, and energy of Sir Ferdinando Gorges quickly disappeared; and with them disappeared also the inheritance which this father of New England colonization sought to preserve to his heirs.

In March, 1629, we find the Company in London busy with preparations for sending out a larger number of colonists; with Sir William Brereton, who claimed under the Gorges patent a tract of country lying between the Charles and Nahant, extending twenty miles back into the interior; and with the question of how the company's lands should be divided among the settlers. They also, at this time, secured the services of Thomas Graves of Gravesend in Kent, an experienced mining and military engineer; and of other persons who would be likely to promote the public welfare in their professions or trades. We now first hear of overtures being made to the Rev. Francis Higginson, a silenced minister of Leicester, to go out to the new plantation, Mr. Humphrey being sent to Leicester for the purpose of communicating with him. The account of the interview gives so instructive a picture of the condition of a Puritan minister of the time that we transcribe it.

One day two messengers came to the minister's house, and with loud knocking cried out, "Where is Mr. Higginson? We must speak with Mr. Higginson!" His wife entreated him to conceal himself; but he replied that he should acquiesce in the will of God. As he entered the hall where they were waiting the messengers presented him with some papers, saying roughly, "Sir, we come from London, and our business is to convey you to London, as you may see by those papers." Mrs. Higginson burst into tears, while her husband opened the packet, in which he expected to find an order from the High Commission for his arrest. It proved, however, to be an invitation from the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay for him to embark for New England.¹

In April the Company formally chose officers for the plantation, who were to remain in office one year. Endicott was made, or rather continued, governor; Higginson, Skelton, Bright, John and Samuel Browne, Thomas Graves, and Samuel Sharp were chosen to be his council. The governor and council were directed to choose a secretary, and such other officers as might seem requisite for the management of the plantation. They were also required to take an oath of office, and were empowered "to make, ordain, and establish all manner of wholesome and reasonable orders, laws, statutes, ordinances," etc., not contrary to the laws of England, for the government of the plantation, reporting from time to time such acts to the Company in England. And this important day's work is called in the records "settling the government in the Plantation of the Massachusetts Bay."

The governor and council of the plantation were to consist of thirteen persons, seven of whom were elected by the Company in England, three by the governor and the seven already elected, and two others by the planters. The twelve persons thus appointed, with the governor, chose one of their number to be deputy-governor.

We suspend our narrative a moment, to remark that the corporation in England was constituted on a similar plan to the India and other great mercantile companies. The India Company received its first charter in 1600, and a renewal in 1609. It was doubtless the model on which the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts were formed into a body corporate. The history of the two companies is, however, very different.

Next in importance to establishing a form of government for the colony was the allotment of lands to the settlers, or "adventurers," as they are called in the records. This difficult question was disposed of in an eminently liberal and equitable manner. The governor and council were authorized to allot two hundred acres of land to every adventurer who had put fifty pounds into the common fund, and proportionately to those who had paid more or less than this sum. If the same were not allotted upon demand, full liberty was granted the adventurer to build where he pleased, provided he did not encroach upon his neighbor and selected his homestead within certain prescribed limits. Those who went over at their own charge, but had no adventure in the common stock, received fifty acres of land for the head of the family, or as much more as the governor and council might think proper to assign them. This method of procedure, the origin of land-titles in the colony, is considered indispensable to relate in connection with its history.

The ships, being ready to depart, were despatched the first week in June, and arrived in Naumkeag harbor on the last days of the same month. A copy of the charter and full instructions were sent to Governor Endicott for his information. The new plantation was now called Salem. A government with authority from the crown of England, having the amplest control over the governed, to all intents independent of the corporation in England, was thus established in the colony. Whoever might be governor in Old England, we regard Endicott's title to be considered the first governor of the colony of Massachusetts Bay as indisputable. One was the creature of the other; but the corporation had conferred upon its creation all the powers of local self-government itself possessed.

At this stage of the affairs of the Company a most important proposal was submitted for its consideration by Governor Cradock. This was that the corporation and its charter should be transferred to New England. A number of gentlemen of condition and estate, among whom we mention John Winthrop, Thomas Dudley, and Isaac Johnson, signified their desire to emigrate to New England, provided the government were removed thither. The subject was debated; an injunction of secrecy placed upon the members; and a committee appointed to take legal advice and make report. On the 29th of August, 1629, it was voted, by a show of hands, to transfer the

¹ See Hutchinson Papers (Prince Society), I. 60; original edition, p. 46.

government and patent to New-England. No opposition being made by the crown, immediate steps were taken to carry this decision into effect.

The high importance attached by historians to this proceeding gives rise to a multitude of conjectures upon the indifference displayed by the king. Whatever reason may be assigned, it is evident that neither he nor his advisers foresaw the difficulties to which the removal was the prelude. As for the Company itself, the acts creating a local government for the plantation at Salem are, as Hutchinson remarks, in evidence that they interpreted their charter privileges to mean that the body corporate should continue in England.

Agreeably to the new order of things, at a court held on the 20th of October a new choice was made of governor, deputy, and assistants, from among those who were to go to New England. John Winthrop was elected governor, John Humphrey deputy, Sir R. Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson, Thomas Dudley, John Endicott, Increase Nowell, William Vassall, William Pynchon, Samuel Sharp, Edward Rossiter, Thomas Sharp, John Revell, Matthew Cradock, Thomas Goff, Samuel Aldersey, John Venn, Nathaniel Wright, Theophilus Eaton, and Thomas Adams assistants. Some changes took place before the embarkation. Roger Ludlow was chosen in room of Samuel Sharp; Sir Bryan Jansen, William Coddington, and Simon Bradstreet in place of Wright, Eaton, and Goff. Dudley was subsequently elected deputy instead of Humphrey, who remained, for the present, in England.

It is curious to read that the court of assistants, at its very next meeting, was called upon to take cognizance of an act of religious intolerance in the plantation. This was the case of John and Samuel Browne, whose names appear among the patentees, who were members of Governor Endicott's council, and who had been especially recommended to him by the Company as valuable persons for the enterprise in hand. These men were expelled from the plantation by Endicott because they were dissatisfied with the form of religious worship established there; they now claimed redress from the Company for losses sustained by reason of their summary dismissal. Both were attached to the Church of England; both had opposed the entire separation from that church which took place under Endicott's government. Our attention is called especially to this act for its significant relation to the form of religious worship first receiv-

ing the sanction of the colonial government, and as an example of the exercise of the absolute power conferred upon that government. It is not known what satisfaction, if any, the two banished men received; the record is silent upon this subject.

After some discussion about the management of the joint stock affairs, the court adjourned until the 30th of November. It was then proposed that ten persons, five of whom should be "adventurers" and five planters, should take the joint stock at its real value, and assume its management, in consideration of which they should be entitled to half the beaver and other trade in furs, the making of salt, and the sole transportation of goods and passengers, at certain rates, for a term of seven years. Upon investigation it appeared, that the stock had depreciated to the amount of two thirds of all adventured. It was accordingly fixed at this value and taken up by the ten gentlemen whose names follow, and who were usually denominated the "undertakers." It was also ordered that the undertakers should provide a sufficient number of ships, of good force, for transporting passengers at five pounds each and goods at four dollars the ton. These ships were to be ready to sail from London by the first of March, 1630. Governor Winthrop, Sir R. Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson, Thomas Dudley, John Revell, Matthew Cradock, Nathaniel Wright, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goff, and James Young were the undertakers; and thus was consummated Governor Cradock's idea.

The assistants held their last court in England on board the *Arbella*, at Southampton, the 18th of March, 1630. No other public business appears to have been transacted except the substitution of the persons to be assistants, which has already been mentioned.

On the 29th of March, riding at Cowes, near the Isle of Wight, were the *Arbella* of three hundred and fifty tons, the *Ambrose*, the *Jewel*, and the *Talbot*. The ships all carried an armament, for England was at war with France and Spain. During the early morning Mr. Cradock, the steadfast and sagacious friend of New England, came on board the *Arbella*, and, seeing that the wind was favorable, advised the emigrants to improve it. At ten o'clock the fleet weighed and made sail amid a salvo of artillery in honor of their late governor as he took leave of them. Then, running up the Solent, it came to anchor off Yarmouth.

Besides these vessels there were lying at Southampton, not quite ready for sea, the *Mayflower*,¹ *Whale*, *William and Francis*, *Trial*, *Charles*, *Success*, and *Hopewell*. In these eleven ships were about seven hundred emigrants, with their cattle, merchandise, and household effects. Never before had so large an embarkation for New England occurred. Its numbers, preparation, and resources bespoke success; it carried its charter and government along with it; and it seemed to possess within itself all the requisites of a patriarchal community. In all things it offers a striking contrast to the unregarded departure of the Pilgrims from Plymouth ten years earlier.

On the 8th of April, at six in the morning, the

fleet again got under sail, passed Hurst Castle, and stood out to sea. Before ten it had cleared the Needles, but losing the wind was obliged to anchor. During the night it again weighed, and by daybreak the next morning was off Portland. This day the colonists were thrown into alarm by descriing eight ships astern, apparently in chase. Every preparation was made for action; but upon the two fleets closing the supposed enemy proved to be English. The fleet passed Plymouth, the *Lizard*, the *Scilly Isles* on the morning of the 10th. With a favoring gale to waft them on their course, and with emotions difficult to describe, the emigrants bade adieu to Old England forever.

II.

THE LEADERS: THEIR RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL AIMS.

HAVING thus far confined our relation to the plainest facts concerning the organization of the body of colonists who were henceforth to make New England their home, it is becoming in us to ask, Who and what were these men? In what way did personal character impress itself upon the various elements of which this new body politic was to be composed, and what was the principal cause which prompted more than a thousand souls² to seek voluntary exile in a wilderness? Sir Ferdinando Gorges tells us that in a very short time numbers of people "flocked thither in heaps," whereas he had hardly been able "for money to get any to reside there." We must first seek a knowledge of the men, afterward of their motives. They moulded the destinies of the future commonwealth; and we look back across the centuries with an interest heightened by contemplating the victories she has achieved, a pride commensurate with her greatness of to-day.

Matthew Cradock, the first governor of the Massachusetts Company, was a wealthy London merchant. Hutchinson tells us he was "more forward

in advancing out of his substance than any other, being generally the highest in all subscriptions." To him belongs the honor of the proposal made July 28, 1629, and adopted in the following month, to transfer the government to the settlement itself. Though he never came to New England, Cradock continued to take an interest in the colony, and to seasonably befriend it at home when the charter was in peril. He had establishments at Marblehead, Medford, and Ipswich, where his agent employed his capital in fishing and trading. He also carried on the business of shipbuilding at Medford. Cradock was a member of the Long Parliament in 1640. He died in London, August 27, 1641.

John Winthrop, who, with the commission of governor, brought over the Massachusetts charter in 1630, came of a family long seated at Groton in Suffolk, England. He was bred to the law, the profession of his father and grandfather, and was noted for wisdom, piety, and hospitality. Such was the gravity and steadiness of his character, that at eighteen he was made a justice of the peace. Chosen governor of Massachusetts at the age of forty-two, he converted his estate, worth £800 or £700 a year, into ready money, and embarking at Yarmouth April 7, 1630, landed June 12 at Salem, where the government was transferred to

¹ The same that brought the Pilgrims to Plymouth.

² When Rev. Francis Higginson arrived at Naumkeag, June 20, 1629, he reported the old and new planters at about 800, which, with the 700 brought by Winthrop's company, make up the above number. Indeed, the number emigrating in 1630 has been fixed as high as 1,500 souls.



The Arbella in Mid-Ocean.

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him by Endicott. He was twelve times chosen governor, dying in office, at Boston, March 28, 1649. Winthrop spent his whole estate in the public service. His election by the Company to the office of governor, at its reorganization, sufficiently emphasizes the confidence reposed in him, as it also does the general estimate of his greater fitness for the weighty undertaking in which the corporation had embarked than others who had been earlier identified with it. In the colony his long service as chief magistrate confirms the wisdom of that judgment; for it is evident that, notwithstanding his mistakes, and in disregard of his controlling idea that the people ought to have little share in government, Winthrop continued, by the force of his personal character, his abilities, and his sincere, unselfish devotion to the public welfare, to command the unshaken trust of the majority. In cases where his own opinions differed from theirs Winthrop had great tact in conforming himself with the expressed wishes of the people. We look in vain among his associates for another man so capable of bringing the infant state through the succession of trials which beset Winthrop's early administration of its affairs.

Thomas Dudley, one of the most eminent of the Puritan settlers of New England, was the son of Captain Roger Dudley, who was "slaine in the wars." Brought up a page in the family of the Earl of Northampton, he was afterwards a clerk in the office of Judge Nichols, a kinsman of his mother, thus obtaining a knowledge of the law which was of great service to him in his after career. He very early exhibited unusual intelligence, courage, and prudence, qualities which procured for him, at the age of twenty-one, the command of an English company, which he led at the siege of Amiens, under the heroic Henry of Navarre. He was afterwards intrusted with the stewardship of the estate of the Earl of Lincoln, which by judicious management was freed from a heavy load of debt. With a few others, although he was then fifty years of age, he undertook the settlement of the Massachusetts Colony, and came over as deputy-governor in 1630. In 1644, at the age of sixty-eight, Dudley was chosen sergeant-major-general, the highest military office in the colony. He was governor in 1634, 1640, 1645, and 1650, deputy-governor or assistant in the intervening years, and from the time of his arrival till his death, which took place at his house in Roxbury July 31, 1653, in his seventy-seventh year, was constantly

in the service of the colony. Dudley was a man of sound judgment, integrity, and piety, but he was also strongly imbued with the intolerance and bigotry of his age.

Sir Richard Saltonstall, the first assistant or magistrate named in the royal charter for the colony, came with his family in the fleet of Winthrop, but returned to England in the following spring. He was a nephew of Sir Richard, Lord-Mayor of London in Queen Elizabeth's time, and was born at the family seat, at Hipperholme, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, in 1586. Saltonstall was a bountiful contributor to the company's resources, and actively befriended them in England. With Rev. George Phillips he was a principal founder of Watertown, Mass. With Lords Brooke, Say and Sele, and other Puritans, he aided in the first settlement of Connecticut. In a letter to Cotton and Wilson, written in 1653, he reproved the tyranny and persecutions in New England, such as fining, whipping, and imprisoning men "for their consciences." His death occurred in England about the year 1658.

Isaac Johnson, esteemed the richest of the emigrants, a landholder in three counties, and called "the greatest furtherer of this plantation," was born about the year 1600. He inherited an estate of £20,000 from his grandfather, Robert, of North Luffenham, who became archdeacon of Leicester in 1584. With his wife Arbella, daughter of Thomas, third Earl of Lincoln, the head in that day of the now ducal house of Newcastle, to whom he seems to have been clandestinely united, he came over in Winthrop's ship, the Eagle, which in his wife's honor was rechristened the Arbella. Johnson was one of the founders of the church at Charlestown, and was one of the first to favor Blackstone's proposal to remove from that place to Boston. The Lady Arbella died at Salem a few weeks after her arrival. Her husband, who survived her only a month, was interred at the upper end of his lot in Boston, in what is now known as the King's Chapel Burying-Ground, the first place of interment in Boston.

John Endicott was born in Dorchester, Dorsetshire, England, in 1588. He was one of the six original purchasers of the grant for the settlement of Massachusetts, and led the party that arrived at Naumkeag September 6, 1628. In April, 1629, the company chose him governor of the plantation, in which office he was succeeded by Winthrop when the charter was transferred to New England.

In 1636 he led an expedition against the Pequots. In the same year the military commissioners adopted his view that the cross in the king's colors savored of popery, and ordered it to be left out. He was deputy-governor in 1641-43; governor in 1644, and from 1649 until his death, March 15, 1665, except in 1650 and 1654, when he was again deputy-governor. In 1645 he was made sergeant-major-general of the colony. In 1658 he was president of the colonial commissioners. He was well educated, brave, talented, self-reliant, and patriotic, but intolerant. He displayed wisdom and prudence in secular affairs, and the colony flourished under his administration.

William Pynchon, one of the assistants who came over with Winthrop, was the principal founder of the town of Roxbury, and the first in the formation of its church. In 1636 he led a party to the Connecticut and began the settlement of Springfield, so named from the town in England where he formerly resided. Here he was largely concerned in the beaver-trade, and was for many years a magistrate. This "gentleman of learning and religion" had the temerity to dissent from the Dissenters, and the publication of his "Meritorious Price of our Redemption," in opposition to the then prevalent view of the atonement, caused his deposition from the magistracy and the burning of his book in the market-place of Boston by order of the court, which cited him before it and placed him under heavy bonds for future good behavior. He was forced to explain or modify the obnoxious opinions, and as he was supposed to be "in a hopeful way to give good satisfaction," the judgment of the court was deferred until the next session, in May, 1652. Before that time Pynchon, disgusted with the persecuting and intolerant spirit of those in authority, returned to England, published a new edition of his book with additions in 1655, and died there in October, 1662, at the age of seventy-two.

Simon Bradstreet, sometimes called the "Nestor" of New England, was born at Horbling, Lincolnshire, England, in March, 1603. He was the son of a Non-conformist clergyman, was bred in the family of the Earl of Lincoln, and after spending a year at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, became steward to the Countess of Warwick. Having married Thomas Dudley's daughter Anne, afterwards celebrated as a poet, he was persuaded to engage in the settlement of Massachusetts, and arrived at Salem in the summer of 1630. He was

one of the founders of Cambridge in 1631, became secretary of the colony, and as a commissioner of the United Colonies in 1653 successfully opposed making war on the Dutch in New York and on the Indians. In 1662 he was sent to England to act as agent for the colony. He was an assistant from 1630 to 1679; governor from 1679 to 1686 and from 1689 to 1692. At the age of eighty-nine he became first councillor, having been in the public service sixty-two years. He was a popular magistrate, and exhibited his good judgment in opposing the witchcraft delusion of 1692, in recommending the surrender of the Massachusetts charter, and on many other important occasions. Governor Bradstreet died at Salem March 27, 1697, aged ninety-four.

Theophilus Eaton, governor of the New Haven Colony from 1639 to his death, January 7, 1658, was born at Stony Stratford, Bucks County, England. He was bred a merchant; was deputy-governor of the East land of the Baltic Company in London, and the agent of King James at the court of Denmark. He was one of the patentees of the Massachusetts Colony, and when in 1637 his intimate friend, Rev. John Davenport, was compelled to quit England, Eaton accompanied him to Boston, and soon afterwards to New Haven, of which he was a founder in 1638. As one of the commissioners of the United Colonies he exerted himself efficiently for the welfare of New England. These quaint lines are inscribed upon his monument in New Haven:—

"Eaton, no mock, so famed, so just,
The Phoenix of our world, here hides his dust.
This name forget, New England never must."

John Humphrey, "a gentleman of special parts, of learning and activity, and a godly man," deserving of especial remembrance for his services in promoting the settlement of Massachusetts, was a native of Dorsetshire, England, a son-in-law of Thomas, third Earl of Lincoln, and was bred to the law, a profession in which he acquired both wealth and reputation. He was one of the six persons who, in 1628, purchased Massachusetts from the Council of Plymouth, and was treasurer of the Company, at whose second meeting he was chosen deputy-governor. He did not come over until July, 1634, when, accompanied by his wife and children, he brought over money, goods, and cattle for the colonists. He settled first in Lynn, afterward in Salem; and was an assistant from 1632 to 1641. In October of the last-named year he returned with his wife

to England; and died there in 1681. Humphrey's interest in Lord Say's scheme of colonizing the Bahamas had been secured by the promise of an appointment as governor; but he was prevented from going with the expedition that sailed from Boston to take possession at New Providence, where the English found themselves forestalled by the Spaniards.

William Coddington, a native of Lincolnshire, England, and a founder of Rhode Island, came over with Winthrop. He was a prominent merchant of Boston, and for a time treasurer of the colony. He sided with Mrs. Hutchinson against Winthrop and the clerical party, upon whose triumph he removed in April, 1638, with eighteen others to Aquidneck, now Rhode Island, where he was chosen judge, with a council of three elders who were enjoined by a vote of the freemen to be "guided by God's laws." He was governor from 1640 to 1647, when a charter was obtained and the island incorporated with the Providence plantation. After visiting England he returned in 1651 with a new charter, and was again for a short period governor of the colony. Re-chosen in 1674, he died in office November 1, 1678, aged seventy-seven. Late in life he became a Quaker, and practised that tolerance toward others he had formerly been unable to secure for his own opinions.

William Vassall, one of the original patentees, was the son of John Vassall, an alderman of London, who fitted out and commanded two ships of war with which he joined the royal navy to oppose the Spanish Armada in 1588. He came over with Winthrop, but returned a month later, revisiting New England in 1635, at which time he was forty-two years of age. After a brief residence in Roxbury he settled at Scituate with others who were dissatisfied with the ecclesiastical policy of the colony. Removing to Jamaica after its capture from the Spaniards, he there laid the foundation of the large estate afterwards enjoyed by his descendants, and died there in 1655. Samuel, his brother, also one of the original patentees of Massachusetts, was an alderman of London, and a member of Parliament in 1640-41. He was the first that refused to pay the tax on tonnage and poundage, levied by Charles I., and suffered an imprisonment of sixteen years for his contumacy.

Increase Nowell, a nephew of Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's in Elizabeth's reign, was chosen an assistant in 1629, came over with Winthrop, and continued in the public service until his death,

November 1, 1655. He was a founder of the first church, and a ruling elder until 1632, when he became a founder of the church at Charlestown, then separated from that at Boston. Succeeding Bradstreet as secretary of the colony in 1636, he continued in that office until 1650.

It is assumed that the emigration under the auspices of the Massachusetts Company was a religious movement. Nearly all historians concur in assigning to it this character. Such an assumption, however true in the main, must be taken with allowance. That it was not a concerted movement, like that of the Pilgrims, is sustained by established facts: still, there was a spontaneousness about it which, being taken in connection with the subsequent acts of a majority of the colonists, or of the most influential part, allows of the construction generally given to it. It is not possible to clear away all doubts, but it is possible to place what is known in a light where it may be advantageously reviewed from an impartial standpoint.

The Pilgrims, it will be remembered, were hunted and driven from the kingdom after having formed their congregation. They were wholly separated from the Established Church: they maintained their own organization in Holland. Gain had, therefore, little to do with their history up to this time. They were a band of religious exiles. Except the Dorchester emigrants, who united in a congregation just before sailing for New England, there is not known to have been any organized body of Puritans in the great movement of 1628-30. As the leaders in this movement expressly disclaimed having separated from the Church of England, such a purpose can hardly be claimed for them. Their departure from the country was a voluntary act.

If the movement was concerted, whence the confusion in regard to the form of worship the colonists meant to adopt when they reached New England? If it were a concerted movement of Puritans to escape from the tyranny of the Church of England, is it probable the state would have looked upon the emigration with the indifference it did? These two questions being clearly answered, determine whether the emigration is to be considered one of a united body of co-religionists, or whether it was composed of the usual mixed constituents in which there was general agreement of religious views.

The first instructive step begins with the declaration of that Rev. John White¹ who has al-

¹ In the *Pleaser's Plea*, published at London in 1680.

ready been referred to as instrumental in founding the plantation at Naumkeag. He says that the original motive of the Cape Ann plantation was purely one for advantage in carrying on the fishery and barter in furs already established on the New England coast. Hitherto the ships engaged in this traffic were obliged to carry out a double complement of sailors, who resorted to some convenient place, and after completing their lading returned to Europe. Experience suggested that greater advantage would be had by establishing a small number of permanent settlers at the point usually visited. These settlers would aid in loading the ships, and, it was hoped, be able eventually to maintain themselves, so as not to be a charge to the adventurers. This proposal, says Mr. White, took so well "that it drew on divers others to join with them in this project; the rather because it was conceived that not only their own fishermen, but the rest of our nation that went thither on the same errand, might be much advantaged, not only by fresh victual, which the colony might spare them in time, but withal and more by the benefit of their ministers' labors, which they might enjoy during the fishing season; whereas otherwise, being usually upon those voyages nine or ten months in the year, they were left all the while without any means of instruction at all. Compassion towards the fishermen, and partly some expectation of gain, prevailed so far that for the planting of a colony in New England there was raised a stock of more than £3,000, intended to be paid in five years, but afterwards disbursed in a shorter time."

Colonization was not so much the object of certain numbers who engaged in this movement, the embryo of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, as concern for the religious welfare of the fishermen who might visit it, in the view of the author of the *Planter's Plea*. Gain, to be sure, is allowed to have had something to do with it. In conjunction with its more practical purposes, Mr. White says, in effect, that the plantation proposed was to be a sort of missionary post to keep the fishermen from forgetting that they were beyond the reach of Christian civilization. This statement, so far as it goes, is in entire harmony with the knowledge we possess of the lawless condition of that class then engaged in the American coast fisheries. It is also in harmony with the idea of the charter granted to the Massachusetts Company.

How the commercial venture failed has already

been related. Its failure necessarily involved any collateral purpose or purposes; for the adventurers in England who had advanced the money to carry it on abandoned the project when it became a source of loss instead of profit to them. We hardly need go beyond this fact to arrive at their motive. The "divers others" who had joined with them, and among whom we may class Mr. White, pursued their purpose as narrated in our history of the Massachusetts Company. This history of the Dorchester Company shows that although two ideas might have existed, gain was the dominant one. In closing his relation, which covers the whole period of the settlement in Massachusetts Bay, Mr. White makes the following highly suggestive declaration:—

"This is a brief relation of the occasion of planting of this colony. The particulars whereof, if they could be entertained, were clear enough to any indifferent judgment that the suspicious and scandalous reports raised upon these gentlemen and their friends¹ (as if, under the color of planting a colony, they intended to raise and erect a seminary of faction and separation) are nothing else but the fruits of jealousy of some distempered mind, or, which is worse, perhaps, savor of a desperate malicious plot of men ill affected to religion, endeavoring by casting the undertakers into the jealousy of state, to shut them out of those advantages which otherwise they do and might expect from the countenance of authority."

We can add nothing to the force and explicitness of this declaration, made while Winthrop and his company were pursuing their voyage to New England. But we can reinforce it with the letter of instructions to Endicott, in which he is warned against his attempted innovations in religion, and is at the same time cautioned that his superiors are "tender of the least aspersion which, either directly or obliquely, may be cast upon the state here, to whom we owe so much duty, and from whom we have received so much favor in this Plantation where you now reside." We may further reinforce it with the celebrated letter written on board the *Arbella*, in which the same solicitude is manifested that the intentions of the emigrants may not be misconstrued; and in which they declare themselves members of the Church of England. We believe it only reasonable to conclude that aspersions cast upon the motives of the proposing colonists gave rise to the emphatic denial

Winthrop, Dudley, and the rest of their company.

embodied in the *Planter's Plea* and in the letter addressed by Winthrop and others to their brethren in and of the Church of England. The idea of separating from the Established Church is equally condemned, equally repulsed, in both documents. We might easily trace both to the imprudence of Endicott in expelling the two Churchmen from Salem and to the reports spread by them on their return to England. In any case it is a disavowal of the policy inaugurated by Endicott, from the highest authority.

Speaking for itself, this authority says by the terms of its charter that, in order to govern the colony to be planted so religiously "as the good life and orderly conversation of the inhabitants might invite the natives to the knowledge of the Christian faith *which, in the royal intention and in the adventurers' free profession, was the principal end of the Plantation*," power was conferred as recited. In other words, in the royal understanding and the royal will the chief end of the colony was the propagation of the gospel among the Indians. It is not to be presumed Charles I. meant the gospel to be propagated in New England according to Puritan ideas or by agencies he had dissolved the Parliament of England and revived the High Commission to punish and suppress, with greater certainty and freedom; yet this construction is often erroneously placed upon the terms of the charter by those who suppose absolute religious freedom was guaranteed by it.

It is not in evidence, that the principal persons engaged in organizing the Massachusetts Company at first contemplated a transfer of its powers to New England; but, on the contrary, it does appear that this later and grander idea was the sudden outgrowth of conditions not then existing, and therefore not influential in moulding the character of the colony as originally planned. The company, no doubt, took advantage of the large disaffection prevailing among the Puritans to carry out their design. It gave them numbers of emigrants of a superior class who were little likely to return to their native country so long as oppression ruled there unchecked. For these the scheme of colonizing in New England offered an escape from that oppression; for them, it was a religious movement. But was such the intention of its originators? Was the colony meant to be an asylum for Puritan refugees?

Neal attributes the rise of Massachusetts Colony to religious causes and to nothing else. He as-

cribes the movement to the active agency of the suspended or deprived Puritan ministers. "I have before me," he says, "a list of seventy-seven divines, who became pastors of sundry little churches and congregations in that country before the year 1640, all of whom were in orders in the Church of England."

In the first embarkation, under Endicott, no minister was sent over to the plantation. At the second embarkation ministers were provided, but when a church was organized, as it immediately was, only thirty out of the three hundred old and new planters joined it. When the church was formed at Charlestown, of the seven or eight hundred emigrants there only four persons signed the covenant. We find nothing to prove that either of the three ministers first sent over, Skelton, Higginson, or Bright, exercised any active influence within the councils of the Massachusetts Company. Higginson was first recommended by letter and came up to London while preparations for the second emigration were in progress. Skelton's connection is referred to a former acquaintance with Endicott. Bright is supposed, on good grounds, to have been a conforming clergyman: he remained only about a year in the colony.

In the first general letter of instructions to Endicott and his council, notifying the appointment of these three ministers, the following passage occurs: "And for that the propagating of the gospel is the thing we do profess above all to be our aim in settling this plantation we have been careful to make plentiful provision of godly ministers; by whose faithful preaching, godly conversation, and exemplary life, we trust not only those of our own nation will be built up in the knowledge of God, but also the Indians may, in God's appointed time, be reduced to the gospel of Jesus Christ." Here is the idea of the founder, Rev. John White, of the charter, of the king, and of the Governor and Company. Surely Endicott could mistake neither the letter nor the spirit of his instructions, for not only were the two Churchmen so often referred to, John and Samuel Browne, named therein to be members of his council, but he was required by his oath of office to do his best to "draw on the natives of this country called New England to the knowledge of the true God, and to conserve the planters, and others coming thither, in the same knowledge and fear of God."

It is fairly presumable from the small number joining the church there that a majority of the set-

tlers were altogether unprepared to take so decided a step in departing from the State Church. A certain number, under the lead of the Brownes, gathered together "in a place distinct from the public assembly, and there sundry times the Book of Common Prayer was read unto such as resorted thither."¹ These people came over at the same time with Higginson and Skelton; they certainly did not suspect a design to prevent the free exercise of religion in the colony.

But about this time the aspect of the Company's affairs undergoes decisive change. Whether fearing a revocation of its charter by the crown, or seeing the rapid development of the advanced Puritan idea in the colony, or yielding to pressure which began now to be sensibly felt and which could not longer be resisted, or to all of these causes, combined, we do not undertake to determine; but on the 28th of July, 1629, the highly important proposal to transfer the government to New England is made by Governor Cradock to the court; and those present are desired to consider it "privately and seriously." They are desired "to carry this business secretly that the same may not be divulged."

That this injunction of secrecy could not have been directed at proposing settlers is evident, since the removal was in every way advantageous to them. So far as they were concerned it was the step most calculated to secure confidence in the undertaking, in its prospects, its influence, its stability. On this point Dr. Belknap very justly remarks of the Massachusetts Bay Colony: "This proved an effectual settlement, and the reasons which rendered it so were the zeal and ardor which animated their exertions, the wealth which they possessed, and which they converted into materials for a new plantation; but principally the *presence* of the adventurers themselves on the spot, where their fortunes were to be expended and their zeal exerted." It is therefore more probable that the king's interference was the thing to be guarded against in consummating this extraordinary proceeding. The critical condition of affairs within the realm, the terrorism pervading the ranks of the Puritans, the king's jealousy of any infringement of his prerogative, justify the opinion that the movers for the transfer of the charter felt they were taking a doubtful, if not a dangerous, step. Still, they were allowed to pursue their purpose without molestation to the end.

¹ Morton's *Memorial*, p. 147, ed. of 1828.

One month after the proposal of Governor Cradock, an agreement was entered into, at Cambridge, between twelve of the most influential members of the Company in which they mutually pledged themselves to remove with their families to New England provided the government and patent were legally transferred thither. In this agreement the signers, Saltonstall, Dudley, Vassall, West, Johnson, Humphrey, Sharp, Nowell, Winthrop, Pynchon, Brown, and Colbron say they have weighed the greatness of the work in regard to the consequence, God's glory and the Church's good. These men were the soul of the enterprise. Two days afterward the transfer was voted. The reorganization of the company proceeded, and Winthrop now became its head. Now if it should be asked what church was to be advanced, in the intent of the signers, the question is answered by a reference to the declaration of these same men, by their chief, or under their own hands, that they were still of the Church of England. We cannot therefore, justly assume what they so constantly deny, that their motive was to establish a Puritan church; for if this be admitted the charge of systematic duplicity is fully sustained. If the repeated declarations of the authors of the enterprise are to be believed, then the claim that it was a religious movement, within the meaning of Hubbard, Prince, Neal, and others, lacks proof. If, under a general and sounding declaration that the chief end of the colony was to propagate the gospel among the savages a different purpose was concealed, the most revered leaders in the colony must descend from the high pedestals on which posterity has elevated them. It is not evidence to say that their subsequent acts determine their motives; or that their real purpose was understood. So long as they themselves deny each and every such assumption, neither of these things can be proven. It does not appear that they were compelled to mask their real purpose in order to insure its success, for they had the royal countenance and a charter under the great seal of England. Not even the old restrictions upon emigrants were enforced in this case. All their preparations were made under the eye of the crown officers, and proceeded at several ports. The whole movement was organized in broad daylight.

We gather from the somewhat perplexing and contradictory testimony that the Massachusetts Company originally embarked in its scheme of colonization as a commercial venture; that they were willing to employ all means that promised to

promote that object without much regard for the religious preferences or professions of intending emigrants. To found a successful colony was their object. Puritans or Churchmen were equally welcomed to join with them. The Puritans eagerly seized the opportunity of escape from the tyranny of the State Church, and by their superior numbers, wealth, and influence possessed themselves not only of the government of the Company, but the direction of the civil and ecclesiastical affairs in the colony. Those who were dissatisfied were compelled to yield to the logic, the force of events. They constituted a respectable number. A hundred or more returned to England as soon as they found the government was to be founded on the most advanced Puritan idea; others withdrew to the plantations farther north, where more liberal opinions prevailed. We deem it hardly consistent with these results to claim a religious impulse as the controlling motive of the originators of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. Notwithstanding their *coup d'état*, the Puritans were very far from forecasting the horoscope of the future, which in a few short years produced irreconcilable antagonisms with the throne; which led so directly and inevitably to the loss of their extraordinary political privileges.

It is therefore claimed that while the Puritan element was largely in the ascendant among the colonists, its later development was not directed by any well-matured or even half-formed purpose at the beginning of the emigration. The few who, like Francis Higginson, held advanced opinions relative to separating from the Church of England were chiefly concerned lest they might be stopped by

the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. But the king, looking upon the emigration only as a vigorous and probably successful effort to plant a colony where so many failures had taken place, did not require the enforcement of the statute until the following year; and, as Sir F. Gorges tells us, then only in consequence of the complaints that came out of New England of the "divers sects and schisms that were amongst them." The restrictions were applied with more and more rigor as the policy, civil and religious, of the colonists became more and more pronounced, until, in 1633, Cotton, Hooker, and Stone with great difficulty escaped from the country. The enforcement of the Act became more severe in succeeding years, and was at last strengthened by royal proclamation, in 1637, "To restrain the disorderly transportation of His Majesty's subjects to the colonies without leave." We do not find in these proceedings evidence that the king quietly ignored the transportation of his Puritan subjects by the Massachusetts Company, or any degree of indifference on his part as to the religious government they might establish in New England. The men who had an ulterior purpose were only too strongly impressed with the danger of undergoing the royal suspicion, and, like Higginson, wrote home to their friends: "I would counsel you to come quickly, and that for two reasons; first, if you linger too long, the passages of Jordan, through the malices of Sathan, may be stopped that you cannot come if you would." Such declarations were doubtless evolved from the consciousness of the writers, but are little in harmony with the assertions of White, Winthrop, Dudley, and the Company's own records.

III.

RELIGIOUS CHARACTER OF THE EMIGRATION.

It is insisted by some writers that a marked difference must be observed between the Plymouth and Massachusetts colonists in respect to their religious views. They insist, too, upon the distinction between Puritan and Separatist as one which ought not to be lost sight of in considering the religious *status* of the respective colonies. For the purpose of fixing this difference, the Pilgrims, they say, are to be called Separatists, or Independents, and the Bay colonists, Puritans, or simply Non-conformists. If such diversity really existed it should unquestionably be expressed in history: if only a distinction without difference, the purpose of perpetuating it does not appear entitled to the grave consideration demanded for it.

We have earnestly sought to fix this line of demarcation between the so-called Pilgrim and Puritan colonists, and must regard it as purely imaginary. The name of "Pilgrim" is wholly without special religious significance. A man may be a Hindoo, Mahometan, Catholic, or even Protestant pilgrim, if he travels to any holy place. Thus the designation does not in any way definitely fix the religious character of the Mayflower's heroes and heroines. We discard it, therefore, in any such connection, using it only to distinguish the Plymouth colonists, for whom it is the received familiar title.

Speaking of the division of the old Virginia patent out of which arose the body known as the Council of Plymouth, Dr. Jeremy Belknap says: "Before this division was made, a number of families who were styled *Puritans* on account of their seeking a further reformation of the Church of England, which they could not obtain, and who had retired into Holland to avoid the severity of the penal laws against Dissenters, meditated a removal to America."

Neal, in his elaborate *History of the Puritans*, does not emphasize the difference between Puritan and Separatist as if the terms were inherently antagonistic, but calls the whole body of Dissenters Puritans; and this we believe to have been the

practice not only of his time, but the earlier period of which we are writing. In citing the organization of a Separatist congregation in 1592, at London, he says, "But the bishops' violent measures, instead of reconciling the Puritans to the Established Church, drove them farther off, and carried many into a total separation from her." Again, when discussing the arguments used for and against separation, he remarks, "This difference among the Puritans engaged them in a warm controversy *among themselves* about the lawfulness and necessity of separating from the Church of England, while the conforming clergy stood by as spectators of the combat. *Most of the Puritans* were for keeping within the pale of the Church, apprehending it to be a true church in its doctrines and sacraments, though defective in discipline and corrupt in ceremonies, yet being a true church they thought it unlawful to separate though they could hardly continue in it with a good conscience. They submitted to suspensions and deprivations; and when they were driven out of one diocese took sanctuary in another, being afraid of incurring the guilt of schism by forming themselves into separate communions. Whereas the *Brownists* maintained that the Church of England, in its present constitution, was no true church of Christ, but a limb of antichrist, or at best a mere creature of the state: that their ministers were not rightly called and ordained, nor the sacraments duly administered; or supposing it to be a true church, yet as it was owned by their adversaries [the conforming Puritans] to be a very corrupt one, it must be as lawful to separate from it as for the Church of England to separate from Rome."

This extract from Neal also gives us the true points of difference existing among the Puritans. Nothing seems clearer than that time and opportunity only were wanting to convert the whole body of Puritans into Separatists. We shall presently see what they did for the colonists who emigrated under the patronage of the Massachusetts Company.

It seems necessary and expedient first to establish the character of the Plymouth congregation, in order that we may see wherein it differed in religious sentiment, form of worship, or discipline from the Salem and Boston churches. Neal calls the Rev. John Robinson the father of the Independents, and says his adoption of more moderate views than were entertained by the rigid Separatists, also called in his day Brownists, gained for him at Leyden and elsewhere "the character of a Semi-Separatist." Robinson was the pastor of the congregation which removed from Holland to New England. In his parting exhortation he advised them to "abandon, avoid, and shake off the name of Brownists," as "a mere nickname and a brand for the making religion and the possessors of it odious to the Christian world." We do not hear of the name being afterward applied to the Pilgrims.

This Leyden congregation admitted the Reformed Dutch (Calvinistic) churches among which they lived to be true churches. They agreed with their articles of faith; they also mingled with them in worship as far as the knowledge of language permitted; and they administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to members of those churches. The extreme Separatists refused the Communion to members of other churches.

It appears, too, that the custom of prophesying, which originated with the old Puritans in the reign of Elizabeth, and which she sternly forbade, was practised by Robinson's congregation before and after their removal to New Plymouth, but was not observed in the other New England churches. Its non-observance was not, however, so much a matter of difference as of expediency; and being opposed upon this ground by such men as John Cotton, it failed to be adopted as part of the exercises of the early New England churches outside of Plymouth Colony. In other respects the simple form of worship practised by the Pilgrims did not essentially differ from that subsequently adopted by the primitive churches of the Bay Colony, and, with the exception of some innovations, with that now in use in the congregational churches. Extempore prayer was substituted for the prayer-book. Selections from scripture were read and expounded. Ordinarily there was a sermon, preceded or followed by a hymn sung by the congregation. Having abandoned the ceremonies of the Church of England, the early New England congregations seem to have made the primitive Christian churches

the model upon which they builded in the New World.¹

The ecclesiastical polity of the Pilgrims is ascertained by reference to their chronicles, where its spirit and practice will be found set forth with sufficient candor and clearness. These exiles did not wish the Church of England, from which they had forever separated, and from whose persecution they had fled, to be established among them. We find this disposition altogether consistent with the time in which they lived; and we also find it the natural outgrowth of their condition. Religious toleration did not, in their view at least, admit the right of the old hierarchy to free entrance into their little community. They desired no collision with it; but, on the other hand, the fact that they had emigrated three thousand miles to get away from it was freshly remembered. They asked nothing but to be let alone. An old maxim declares it to be a principle that every religion which is persecuted becomes itself persecuting: for as soon as it rises above persecution it attacks the religion which persecuted it. This condenses the religious history of the principal New England settlements in a nutshell.

It happened that some of the later emigrants to Plymouth Colony were Episcopalians. They were men sent over by the "undertakers," or commercial partners of the Pilgrims, and are to be considered in a different light from the original colonists, by whom they were regarded with more or less distrust. These new-comers did not like the simple, austere life or the rigid religious ordinances of the

¹ I am indebted to the Rev. Henry M. Dexter, D. D., the result of whose researches in England and Holland into the antecedents of the Pilgrims is expected to be given to the public in connection with a new history of the Old Colony, for the following transcript from *Richard Clyfton's Advertisement, etc.*, which is presumed to be nearly identical with the order of service followed by the Leyden Congregation:—

- "1. Prayer and giving thanks by the pastor or teacher.
- "2. Reading of two or three chapters of the Bible, with brief explanation of the same, as the time may serve.
- "3. The singing of some of the Psalms of David.
- "4. A sermon, — that is, the pastor or teacher expounds and enforces some passage of the Scripture.
- "5. The singing again of some of the Psalms of David.
- "6. The sacraments are administered, — that is, the Lord's Supper on stated Sundays, and baptism whenever there might be a candidate.
- "7. Collection is then made, as each one is able, for the support of the officers and the poor."

It will be perceived, by those who may be interested in making the comparison, that this order does not differ from that given by Thomas Lechford as the practice of the early New England churches.

Pilgrims. Still, as Governor Bradford says, the Pilgrims were willing and desirous that any honest men might live with them that would carry themselves peaceably and seek the common good, "or at least do them no hurt." A few "honest men," like Roger Conant, who could not become reconciled to this principle of action, withdrew from Plymouth and began a small plantation at Nantasket. The disaffected who remained found in Rev. John Lyford and John Oldham two men so inflated as to attempt the creation of a party hostile to the government; civil and religious, of the Pilgrims. They hoped, with the aid and countenance of some of the merchant adventurers in England, who sympathized with them, to obtain full control of both,—possibly to establish the same state of things in the colony that the Pilgrims had found so intolerable at home. They were suspected, watched, and after full conviction of their evil purpose in presence of the whole people, were expelled, not from the country, as afterwards happened to two Episcopalians at Salem, but from the colony. Lyford and Oldham went first to Nantasket; the former afterwards joined Conant at Cape Ann, where he remained but a short time. It needs an accomplished casuist to prove that these men should have been allowed to pursue their design without hinderance, and we hesitate to speculate upon what would have been the result of its success. In all communities and in all governments the law of self-preservation has always been held paramount, and nowhere perhaps was the necessity for swift action more fully realized than at Plymouth. Lyford's treachery was peculiarly dark, peculiarly wicked. It was unpardonable. He had been sent over to act as minister. He had begged to be admitted into the congregation; begged humbly, servilely. As soon as he had won their confidence he began to betray it; to plot against his unsuspecting brethren of New Plymouth, and to write letters home to England filled with misrepresentation, abuse, and insinuation. In the light of his public declarations his secret statements are amazing for their hardihood, baseness, and hypocrisy. Few will be found to question the justice of his sentence, for a more ignoble personal history does not disgrace New England annals.

All Christendom seems to have been at this period in a state of religious fermentation. Catholic persecuted Protestant; Protestant, Catholic; while the Jews were persecuted by both. The followers

of Luther and of Calvin were still widely separated. The year before the Pilgrims sailed for New England the synod of Dort had condemned the Arminians to exile. The Church of England was, as has been related, torn by dissensions. It was the day of Charles I. of England, the High Commission, the Star Chamber, the dissolution of the ancient and legal government of the realm by the exercise of arbitrary power. France was being deluged in blood. The very year that saw the founding of the colony at Salem witnessed also the siege of Rochelle by Louis and Richelieu; its heroic defence, its fall, and with it Protestant power in France. Charles I. was pretending to help the cause of Protestantism there by affording feeble aid to the Huguenots, while grinding the Puritans at home beneath a tyranny so monstrous as shortly to excite civil war within his own kingdom,—a conflict in which he lost his crown and head, a struggle out of which arose the Commonwealth. It is not by way of apology that we say the English Puritans were not before their age in their ideas of religious toleration, but because it is one of the truths of history. What in the spirit of our laws and the breadth of our religious and political education would be considered indefensible in the nineteenth, was regarded in a very different light in the seventeenth century.

Considering that the plantation at Salem consisted of the same elements, was begun by the same authority, and controlled by similar conditions with that afterwards begun at Charlestown, its precedence in point of time, perhaps the influence of its example, entitle it to be treated as part of our subject. The church at Salem was merely the forerunner of those of Charlestown and Boston.

Here the planters seem to have had no settled form of religious worship until the arrival of Rev. Mr. Higginson with the second embarkation, which sailed from Gravesend on the 25th of April, 1629. Whatever may be the opinion in regard to the use of the Book of Common Prayer by the colonists while on shipboard, the journal kept by Mr. Higginson sets the question at rest so far as the vessel in which he was a passenger is concerned. Furthermore, he is considered the leader of this division of colonists.

"We constantly served God," says the reverend author, "morning and evening by reading and expounding a chapter, singing, and prayer. And the Sabbath was solemnly kept by adding to the

former preaching twice and catechising. And in our great need we kept two solemn fasts, and found a gracious effect. Let all that love and use fasting and praying take notice that it is as preavailable by sea as by land, wheresoever it is faithfully performed. Besides, the shipmaster and his company used every night to set their eight and twelve o'clock watches with singing a psalm and prayer *that was not read out of a book*. This I write, not for boasting and flattery, but for the benefit of those that have a mind to come to New England hereafter, that if they look for and desire to have as prosperous a voyage as we had, they may use the same means to attain the same." Mr. Higginson arrived at Naumkeag on the 29th of June. We may presume the hint contained above was not lost on those who came over the next year.

Rev. William Hubbard, speaking of the differences between the old Puritans, or Non-conformists, and Separatists, says that Mr. Higginson leaned towards the latter, and that Rev. Mr. Hildersham¹ advised him and other ministers looking this way to agree upon their form of church government before leaving England, "which counsel, if it had been attended to, might have prevented some inconvenience that hath since fallen out, or at least have saved some of the succeeding ministers from the imputation of departing from their first principles because they were not publicly declared at the beginning of things." Mr. Hubbard was only a single generation removed from the first settlers, having been born one year after the settlement at Plymouth. Being ordained minister of Ipswich as early as 1658, he is doubtless speaking from experience.

Before the arrival of Higginson, Skelton, and their company, Governor Endicott had written to Governor Bradford of Plymouth soliciting him to send a physician to Naumkeag, where the colonists were suffering from disease contracted during the first long, dreary winter. Bradford immediately complied by sending Dr. Samuel Fuller to Naumkeag. In a second letter, after acknowledging the kindness of Bradford and the services rendered by Fuller, Governor Endicott says: "I acknowledge myself much bound to you for your kind love and care in sending Mr. Fuller among us

and rejoice much y^e I am by him satisfied touching your judgments of y^e outward form of God's worships. It is, as farr as I can yet gather, no other than is warranted by y^e evidence of truth, and y^e same which I have professed and maintained ever since y^e Lord in mercie revealed himselfe unto me: being farr from y^e commone reporte that hath been spread of you touching that perticuler." Endicott here avows himself in complete accord with the Plymouth Separatists.

The 20th of July was appointed a day of solemn prayer and fasting by Governor Endicott. On this day the people made choice of Mr. Skelton as pastor and Mr. Higginson as teacher; both being inducted by imposition of hands. The organization of a church was not, however, completed until August 6, when a covenant drawn up by Mr. Higginson was signed by thirty members. Governor Bradford and other delegates from the church at Plymouth assisted in the ceremony of ordination by giving the right hand of fellowship to Skelton and Higginson. The covenant was wholly drawn from Scripture authority, and nowhere mentions the Church of England. No form or ceremony of that church is known or believed to have been used on this occasion. The active participation of the church at Plymouth, by its delegates, establishes the fact of harmony in opinion and in practice. It is therefore almost needless to refer again to Hubbard, who says, in language that will bear no other interpretation, that the Salem congregation received its platform of church order from Plymouth.

Such being the organization of the second congregational church in New England, it is interesting to know what was the spirit of its action toward the Church of England, or such as remained faithful to that church. It has already been related how the two Brownes were expelled from the colony. These men, with others that still adhered to the Old Church, had set up a separate society, and used the service of that church. This action, coupled perhaps with some ill-advised denunciation of the Separatists, constituted their whole offence. The affair took place almost immediately after the church government was instituted, for on the 19th of September we find the Brownes back in England laying their grievances before the Company. We see, therefore, that the congregation at Salem was far more rigid in separation, far more intolerant toward the Church of England than the Plymouth congregation: and this fact, sufficiently attested,

¹ Arthur Hildersham was the minister of Ashby de-la-Zouch, near Leicester, England, where he preached forty-three years. In that time he was four times silenced and restored. He had been imprisoned, heavily fined, excommunicated by the High Commission. He died in 1682.

we think, by the evidence presented, leads us to inquire why a distinction should be made between the religious character of the two. If the church at Salem was not an Independent, Separatist church, it is difficult to assign it a name that will embody a meaning, or characterize its principles. The separation was enforced by the civil arm: the holding an Episcopal service made a test of citizenship. Churchmen were to be tolerated so long as they desisted from the attempt to worship God after the forms of Episcopacy, and no longer. This policy became thenceforward the rule of action in the colony. Its logical and legitimate result was the entire suppression of every form of Episcopacy for more than half a century; and it was only then suffered to appear as a form of public worship on the peremptory mandate of King James. The preservation of a distinction of religious ideas or usages between the founders of Plymouth, Salem, and Charlestown seems to us to belong to the category of futilities. Whatever may have been the opinions these colonists held in England, history recognizes only their public acts. Here Plymouth, Salem, and Boston were equally determined in separation.

It is in evidence that the Company in England viewed the action at Salem with inquietude if not with astonishment. In October a letter was despatched under its authority which conveys a sharp reprimand to Governor Endicott; and another of similar tenor was sent to Higginson and Skelton. It is noteworthy that the names of John Winthrop and Isaac Johnson are among those attached to these documents, because in less than a year both signed the church covenant at Charlestown, and became pioneers in organizing another independent congregational church in New England.

The terms of the Company's letter to Endicott are especially strong in reproof, and on no other hypothesis, except that a private letter accompanied the official one to explain it away, can the genuineness of the astonishment and alarm therein expressed be questioned. Not only is Endicott rebuked for the "rash innovations begun and practised in the civil and ecclesiastical government" of the colony, he is told that he seems unequal to a sound and prudent administration of its affairs; and he is warned against bringing the Company under the censure of the home government. Finally, they say to their over-zealous agent, that if he knows "anything which hath been spoken or done either by the ministers (whom the Brownes do

seem tacitly to blame for some things uttered in their sermons or prayers) or any others, we require you, if any such thing be, that you form due process against the offenders and send it to us by the first, that we may, as our duty binds us, use means to have them duly punished."¹ We do not hear more of either process or punishment; and although the Brownes were not the first persons in New England to suffer for opinion's sake, yet their case is not strictly identical with that of Lyford and Oldham, who were banished from Plymouth not more on account of religion than for their efforts to create faction in the colony, and not then until forbearance had lost its virtue.

While the ships that bore Winthrop's company were lying in Yarmouth harbor a letter was drawn up on board entitled, "The humble request of his Majesty's loyal subjects, the Governor and the Company late gone for New England; to the rest of their brethren in and of the Church of England."

After entreating the prayers of the reverend fathers and brethren of the Church, the letter proceeds in the following unequivocal language:²—

"And howsoever your charitie may have met with some occasion of discouragement through the misreport of our intentions, or through the disaffection, or indiscretion, of some of us, or rather, amongst us; for wee are not of those who dreame of perfection in this world; yet we desire you would be pleased to take notice of the principals, and body of our company, as those who esteeme it our honour to call the *Church of England*, from whence wee rise, our deare mother and cannot part from our native countrie, where she specially resideth, without much sadness of heart, and many tears in our eyes; ever acknowledging that such hope and part as we have obtained in the common salvation, wee have received in her bosome and suckt it from her breasts; wee leave it not, therefore, as loathing that milk wherewith wee were nourished there, but, blessing God for the parentage and education, as members of the same body, shall always rejoyce in her good, and unfainedly grieve for any sorrow that shall ever betide her, and while we have breath sincerely desire and endeavour

¹ The letter may be read in Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, pp. 290, 291. The reader is requested to keep it in view as determining the religious character of the emigration.

² This letter may be found, in full, in Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts Bay*, Vol. I., Appendix; also Hubbard's *New England*, p. 126, ed. of 1815.

the continuance and abundance of her welfare, with the enlargement of her bounds in the kingdom of CHRIST JESUS."

We see no reason to impeach the entire honesty of this declaration, or to question the rectitude of those making it. In their view, — and we refer the reader to the extract from Neal in support of our deduction, — they who signed and they who assented to it considered themselves still within the Church of England. The deep love they express shows us how strongly their hearts yearned toward her, cruel and unnatural as that mother had proved herself; and that up to this hour the idea of complete separation, however silently it might be making its way, had not developed into an active principle among the colonists. We infer from the language that some peculiar occasion — perhaps the affair of the Brownes — called forth the declaration which by its every word so unmistakably evidences the repugnance with which those men and women regarded a severance from the mother church. They had come together, for the first time, from all parts of the kingdom, and with little opportunity for interchange of religious opinion. They considered themselves still upon the soil of England, and would no more acknowledge themselves Separatists in Yarmouth harbor than when in the streets of London or Leicester. Indeed, it is unlikely that they either asked or expected more in New England than liberty to secure those reforms for which they had hopelessly battled in Old England, within its lawful church.

The voyage undoubtedly contributed to form settled opinions, by its opportunity for free discussion, and through the influence of such as held more advanced ideas than the great body of colonists. For the first time, too, in their lives, they found themselves freed from ecclesiastical tyranny and persecution. Broader views began to prevail; so that the idea which they had repudiated grew into vigorous being as they approached the shores of New England.¹ But whether such an hypothesis is or is not sanctioned by the intelligent judgment of the descendants of these men, it is con-

¹ An illustration of this undeveloped purpose among the colonists occurs to us. In the beginning of our great Civil War the purpose of government and people was proclaimed to be the integrity of the Union; and this became the watchword of the North. Had the abolition of slavery been that avowed purpose, we doubt if the people would have sustained it, as they did, later, when it became the vital principle of the contest. Yet who shall say that thinking men did not foresee this at the beginning?

sidered wholly consistent with the very peculiar conditions under which the colonists embarked in Old and disembarked in New England, where they found independent churches already established at Plymouth and at Salem, and a public opinion already formed which disallowed the reading of the Book of Common Prayer within the jurisdiction of either.

If we are not to read the letter of Winthrop and his associates in a Machiavellian sense, the religious *status* of the colonists seems sufficiently and authoritatively pronounced by its terms. That Winthrop's followers became Separatists soon after landing in New England is shown by their first church covenant, adopted at Charlestown on the 30th of July, 1630. It was the day appointed for a public fast in consequence of the great sickness and mortality that had broken out among them. We may be sure that the occasion was one of unusual solemnity to the four men who subscribed to the following articles: —

"We whose names are here underwritten, being by his most wise and good Providence brought together into this part of America, in the Bay of Massachusetts, and desirous to unite ourselves in one Congregation or Church under the Lord Jesus Christ, our head, in such sort as becometh all those whom he hath redeemed and sanctified to himself, Do hereby solemnly and religiously (as in his most holy Presence) promise and bind ourselves to walk in all our ways according to the Rule of the Gospel, and in all Conformity to his holy Ordinances, and in mutual Love and Respect, each to the other, so near as God shall give us grace."¹

The first signers of this covenant were, as we have said, only four in number, Governor Winthrop, Dudley, Johnson, and John Wilson, subsequently their pastor; so that it seems unlikely the movement for founding a church could have been generally agreed upon. Two days afterward five more joined, and then others. Mr. Wilson was chosen pastor, and the first church of these colonists began its mission of gathering souls into the fold of the Lord Jesus Christ without the consecration of bishops, and without an allusion in their covenant to the Church of England, its authority, its ordinances, or its discipline. Whatever may have been the convictions, the preferences of the colonists at the moment of embarkation, connection with the mother church was now completely renounced, and an independent congregational church

¹ Foxcroft's *Century Sermon*, preached August 23, 1730.

established under the authority and example of the leaders in the enterprise of colonization.

It is true that the same anxiety to repel the charge of separation, so often instanced, characterizes the letter written by the deputy-governor, Dudley, to the Countess of Lincoln, dated the 28th of March, 1631. In this letter, which gives by far the most interesting and the most connected account of the new plantation, Dudley refers to the "false and scandalous reports" of those who went back in the same ships that brought them over the last year, and who out of their antipathy for their

late associates "affirmed them to be Brownists in religion and ill-affected" to the state. The deputy entreates his friends not to believe these reports. He asserts that no alteration in the civil or religious views of his confederates has taken place since their coming over; and instances that it was the daily custom to pray for the king and royal family. But, notwithstanding this averment, the policy of Endicott became that of his successor, and the "rash innovations" inaugurated in 1629, at Salem, the settled principle of civil and religious government within the limits of the Massachusetts charter.

IV.

THE SETTLEMENT AT CHARLESTOWN.

THE settlement under the personal direction of Winthrop and his associates began on the peninsula between the Charles and Mystic Rivers, called by the Indians Mishawum and by the English Charlestown. It was the first spot, within the subsequent limits of Middlesex County, to receive an English name, and the cradle of the infant commonwealth. In 1614 Captain John Smith saw the entrance to Boston Bay. Mistaking it for the estuary of a noble stream, he called it Charles River, in honor of the prince who afterward ascended the throne as Charles I. The name of Charlton was certainly applied to some locality in Massachusetts Bay as early as 1620. Governor Bradford transcribes, in his *History of Plymouth Plantation*, a portion of a letter written by Captain Dermer, in that year, in which Charlton is mentioned as a place adapted for English settlement because the savages there were less to be feared than those inhabiting the country farther south. Captain Dermer had seen Smith's map, but it is only on the later editions, subsequent to 1614, that Charlton is designated, on the south side of the river Charles. Still, as Smith assigned English names to localities along the coast according to his fancy, it is quite possible the name of this future settlement, like that of Plymouth, may have originated with him, and if so he has the greater honor. His map and relation of New England had been seen and read previous to the emigration of either the Pilgrims

or the Massachusetts Bay colonists. The names he gave could not have escaped notice; indeed, they are frequently used by Winthrop and other early writers on New England. Plymouth, therefore, was already named when the Pilgrims disembarked there.¹

The name of the river Charles was given to the earliest settlement, which maintained a separate existence until 1873, when it was annexed to Boston. Though swallowed up in the steady expansion of the metropolis, with which its interests and its history were too closely identified for a longer separation, we trust the ancient and historical name of Charlestown may survive the political union and remain the distinctive designation of the peninsula for many generations to come.

Winthrop's company were not, however, the first settlers of Charlestown. The territory was a disputed one. In 1622 the Council of Plymouth granted to Captain Robert, son of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, a patent covering ten miles in breadth on the coast and extending thirty miles inland on the northeast side of Massachusetts Bay. Upon the death of the patentee his grant was inherited by his brother, John Gorges, who by a deed dated January 10, 1629, conveyed to Sir William Brereton, Baronet, of Handforth, in the county of Chester, and

¹ Morse's *Geography* (1797) gives the Indian name of Charles River as *Quisobrynia*; N. W. Jones' *Indian Bulletin* gives it as *Qas-ne-bo-guin*; meaning it is circular or crooked.

his heirs, "all the land in breadth lying from the east side of Charles River to the easterly part of the cape called Nahant, and all the lands lying in length twenty miles northeast into the main-land from the mouth of the said Charles River, lying also in length twenty miles into the main-land northeast from the said cape Nahant." This is the same Brereton mentioned in our account of the Massachusetts Company. It will be perceived that his grant covered the same tract already conveyed under patent to that Company.

Sir William, in a spirit which does him honor, declined to contest the Company's title to the lands jointly claimed, but asked that a "proportionable quantity" might be allotted to him for the people and servants he was about sending over. The Company refused to entertain this or any proposal that might seem to concede the validity of Brereton's grant; although he either was already become, or had declared his intention of becoming, a partner in their undertaking.

Sir William Brereton being thus disposed of, a new claimant appears in the person of John Oldham, whose expulsion from Plymouth Colony has been related. His claim was in virtue of a grant from Gorges to himself and John Dorrell, for all the lands lying between the Charles and Saugus rivers, extending in a straight line five miles up the first and three miles up the last named stream. William Blaxton, or Blackstone, clerk, and William Jeffrys, gentleman, were authorized to put Oldham in possession. It thus appears, beyond a reasonable doubt, that John Gorges was in actual possession of his patent by his agent, Blackstone. The records of the Massachusetts Company show that Oldham applied to have his patent examined by them, and though they refused to take official action upon the application, the examination was nevertheless made, when the tenor of the grant appeared to be as just related. Oldham's grant was declared to be void in law by the Company, but in order to strengthen their own position, and at the same time render Oldham powerless, — for he was personally urging his claim with the dogged perseverance characteristic of the man, — Governor Cradock wrote to Endicott, in April, 1629, to send forty or fifty persons to inhabit the disputed territory as soon as the ships, then preparing to sail, arrived at Naumkeag. He was also advised to treat such old planters as might be living within the boundaries of Oldham's grant in the same manner as the Company's people were treated; or

even to allow them still greater privileges if he saw cause for so doing.

Among those who arrived at Governor Endicott's plantation at Salem were the three brothers, Ralph, Richard, and William Sprague, who seem to have been possessed with a desire to explore the shores of the bay lying to the westward. Having obtained the governor's consent, they with three or four companions set out from Salem, and, after a fatiguing journey through the woods, came to the peninsula between the Charles and Mystic rivers. They found it full of natives who are termed Aberginians, whose chief, John Sagamore, freely consented that the strange Englishmen might settle at Mishawum. They also found here an Englishman named Thomas Walford, a smith, living in a house covered with thatch and surrounded by a palisade. Thomas Walford¹ was, therefore, the first white settler within the original limits of Middlesex County. Upon further survey these explorers found the peninsula, as well as the adjacent mainland, full of stately timber. The Charlestown records,² from which this account is taken, refer the arrival of the Spragues to the year 1628.

How or when this solitary white man, Thomas Walford, first became a resident of Mishawum is only a matter of conjecture. The simple fact that he and three or four others of his countrymen made their habitations in this wilderness is full of romantic interest. What were the motives which prompted this seclusion? What the fearless character of the man who ventured thus alone to rear his humble thatch among the wigwams of the red Aberginians? Was he an outcast seeking an im-

¹ Too little is known of this man. The records state his occupation to have been that of a smith. In April, 1631, he was banished for "contempt of authority," etc. When fined for some unknown offence he paid the penalty by killing a wolf. Like many others he removed to Piscataqua. It is a hard commentary upon the policy of the new-comers that the original English settlers disappeared before it.

² We do not use these records with that confidence which usually inspires the historian when drawing from such sources. The account of the first English settlement at Charlestown was written in 1664, many years after the events it describes, and is, of course, largely traditional. There is confusion in fixing the time of arrival of the Spragues and of Graves, the engineer, in the same year, 1628. Graves did not come over until the next year. Moreover, there is a difference between a settlement begun by six or seven persons ("Ralph, Richard, and William Sprague, with three or four more") and one begun by nearly a hundred persons, as was that under Graves and Bright. We therefore incline to the opinion that the discovery party of the Spragues did not remain at Mishawum, but returned to Naumkeag to report what they had seen, going back with Graves the next summer.

pregnable asylum, or was he a wanderer who shunned the companionship of his own race, — the restraints of their laws, their customs, their religion? His boldness in seeking a home among the savages, his contempt for the authority of the Puritan magistrates when the settlers invaded his solitary state, lead us to infer that he was one of those free spirits who cannot breathe freely in the atmosphere of cities, yet who by the very act of separating themselves from society become the unwilling pioneers of civilization itself. Thomas Walford builded better than he knew.

It is probable that the Spragues, with their companions, after exploring not only the peninsula of Mishawum, but the neighborhood, returned to Naumkeag to make report of their discovery; for upon the arrival of the ships with the second embarkation Governor Endicott, mindful of his instructions, despatched Thomas Graves, the Company's engineer, with a considerable number of the new settlers, directly to the spot visited by them. Rev. Francis Higginson tells us that when he and his companions arrived, the old and new planters numbered about three hundred, of whom two hundred settled at Naumkeag, now called Salem, while the rest were beginning to build a town in Massachusetts Bay which they called Cherton, or Charlestown. This was in the summer of 1629.

Thomas Graves, whose experience in mining, surveying, and fortification had brought him to the Company's notice, was under a contract to serve them one year in his capacity of mining, civil, and military engineer, or three, if his services should be required so long. He was also appointed a member of Endicott's council, and seems to have possessed sufficient knowledge and ability to render his co-operation valuable in the new plantation. Mr. Graves immediately laid out the town of Charlestown about the eminence called the Town Hill; the proposing inhabitants were each allotted two acres of land, which Graves surveyed and measured for them.

"Upon which," say the records, "Ralph Sprague and others began to build their houses, and to prepare fencing for their lots, which was afterwards set up almost in a semi-circular form on the south and southeast side of that field laid out to them, which lies situate on the northwest side of the Town Hill. Walter Palmer and one or two more shortly after began to build in a straight line upon their two-acre lots on the east side of the Town Hill, and set up a slight fence in common that ran up

to Thomas Walford's fence; and this was the beginning of the East Field."

Engineer Graves also built an edifice sufficiently large to be designated as the "Great House," designed for the use of such as were expected to come over the next year. This building, which was afterwards purchased by the inhabitants and used for a meeting-house, was erected by direction of Governor Winthrop and others. Mr. Frothingham, the indefatigable historian of Charlestown, says it stood wholly in the square opposite the lane by the Mansion House. It continued to be used as a place of public worship until 1636, when a new church was built between the town and the neck. Graves also laid out a small fort on the summit of Town Hill, which the inhabitants, stimulated by a report that the Narragansett Indians were intending to drive all the English into the sea, raised with great expedition.

The records having erred in fixing Graves's operations in 1628, absolute accuracy cannot be claimed for these interesting details which bring the primitive acts of the first inhabitants so vividly before us; yet, as they state that Ralph Sprague and others did not begin to build until the town was laid out, we conclude that the actual settlement goes no farther back than the summer of 1629. The testimony as to the number of houses erected is equally unsatisfactory, equally open to criticism. Captain Roger Clap tells us in his *Memoirs* that when in May, 1630, he and others landed at Nantasket, there were some few English in a very destitute condition at Charlestown, which he afterwards found to consist of a few wigwams and one house; he also is writing long after the occurrence he relates. The records assert that upon the arrival of Winthrop's Company the governor and some of the patentees occupied the Great House. If this be true, there were then two houses standing on the peninsula, the other being that of Walford, the smith.

Clap's account has led to the inference that the settlement had been abandoned by all except Walford when he visited it.¹ There is no positive evidence of other occupation when Winthrop arrived. During the winter of 1629-30 disease had again attacked the Salem colonists, and it is not improbable may have also visited the handful of settlers

¹ Captain Roger Clap came over with Captain Squeb, in the *Mary and John*, landing at Nantasket 30th May, 1630, some weeks before the arrival of Winthrop. Clap's *Memoirs* were printed in Boston in 1701.

at Charlestown. Neither Winthrop nor Dudley mentions in his journal the presence of any inhabitants at Charlestown, though Maverick, the solitary settler on Noddle's Island, is mentioned. We think it hardly probable that such a circumstance would have been forgotten by them, though it must be remembered that neither they nor their companions had then fixed upon a place for settlement, and that the subsequent selection of Charlestown for the chief town was not so much a matter of choice as of necessity. But whether the settlement begun by Graves and the Spragues was or was not a continuous one, Charlestown had now a definite *status* and a name among the New England plantations.

We must now interrupt our narrative to mention an attempted settlement in another part of the county. Before the sailing of Winthrop and his company from England another band of emigrants had embarked at Plymouth on board the ship *Mary* and *John*, of four hundred tons burden. These people were principally from Devonshire, Somersetshire, and Dorsetshire. With them were the Rev. Mr. Warham, Rev. Mr. Maverick, and two of the assistants of the Massachusetts Company, Rositer and Ludlow. They sailed from Plymouth Sound, March 20, 1630, arriving at Nantasket on the 30th of May following. Squeb, their captain, conceiving his voyage terminated, put all his passengers on shore at Nantasket, refusing to carry them into Charles River, which they claimed he was bound by his agreement to do. Their situation here, without other shelter than a few miserable huts left standing by Conant, and without even a boat to transport themselves to their true destination, became one of grave apprehension to them; and finding the shipmaster inexorable, they immediately cast about for a place of permanent settlement. This accidental landing upon the southernmost point of Boston Bay led to the settlement of Dorchester, as a disembarkation at Charlestown might and probably would have led to a settlement somewhere upon Charles River.

The first thing these emigrants did was to procure a boat from some of the old planters about the bay, and to despatch in her a party of explora-

tion. These discoverers landed first at Charlestown, where they were received by a man presumed to be Thomas Walford, who, then having nothing else, gave them fish to eat. They pursued their way up the Charles until it grew narrow and shallow, when they landed under a steep bank and with much toil conveyed their goods to the shore. Night coming on, sentinels were set, for they were apprized that a large body of Indians were watching their movements. Having with them an old planter, who, it is presumed, acted as their pilot on this occasion, the Englishmen sent him to advise the savages not to enter their encampment during the night, and were unmolested by them; but in the morning friendly communication was established by the exchange of a bass for an English biscuit, after which the Indians came freely among them. The scene of this adventure is supposed to be on the ground now occupied by the United States Arsenal at Watertown.

The exploring party had remained here but a few days, during which they erected a shelter for their goods, when they were recalled to join their brethren at a place called Mattapan by the Indians and Dorchester by these people. Dr. Abiel Holmes relates in his *Annals* that the place of landing on Charles River was called "Dorchester Fields." Thus ended the first attempt to build a town above Charlestown on the Charles. We shall see that its accomplishment was not long deferred.

Before taking leave of the Dorchester settlers it is proper to remark that they were unquestionably the most compact, best assorted, and most homogeneous body of men who came over in the great emigration of 1630. Before sailing they had made choice of their ministers, solemnizing the occasion by a fast, and by preaching and prayer, in the New Hospital of Plymouth. Being settled in their religious organization, they transported themselves to New England as a congregation in which the doubts, dissensions, and anxieties that assailed others had apparently no place. In fixing the order of New England congregational churches we do not see how the third place can be more properly assigned than to the Dorchester congregation.

V.

THE GREAT EMIGRATION.

THE fleet whose departure from England has been witnessed had a long and tempestuous voyage across the Atlantic. At two o'clock on the afternoon of the 6th of June land was discovered in forty-three and a quarter degrees north, from the deck of the Arbella. Towards night it grew calm and foggy, the wind blowing from the south and east. Being to the northward of the Isles of Shoals, they steered west by north, meaning to make the land off Mount Agamenticus. On the 7th, it still being calm and the ships making little way, they diverted themselves by fishing for cod. On the 8th they sighted the peaks of Mount Desert, ten leagues distant. Then they tacked and stood W. S. W., the fair June day and the welcome shore refreshing them with their sunshine and their fragrance. The 9th they sailed merrily along the New England coast. The 10th the grand White Hills, vague and shadowy as spirits of the air, glided into view. With favoring breezes the ships bounded over the swelling billows, and like mettled coursers seemed to put forth their greatest speed as they neared the goal.

On Friday, the 11th, the voyagers were off the Isles of Shoals, where they saw a ship at anchor. The wind being adverse they were all day in sight of Cape Ann. About four in the morning of the 12th the colonists were roused from slumber by the report of a cannon. The ships were nearing their port. The eventful day was just breaking. On the right loomed in the obscure light of early dawn the high promontory of the cape, crowned with the forest and enthroned amid the everlasting surges. Here, in its spacious haven, was the scene of the beginning of Conant's plantation, and there, by the shore, were the humble cottages of the men who, emulating the high example of the Pilgrims, said, "We will not go back." Here the tawny cliffs of Norman's Woe were bathed in glistening foam. The cool morning air came laden with the pungent odor of pine and cedar, the aromatic perfume of magnolia, bayberry, and sweet fern. As the Arbella forged slowly on towards the harbor a

ship was seen lying there at anchor. The master of the Arbella immediately launched his skiff, which pulled off to board the stranger. In about an hour the Arbella was herself boarded by Isaac Allerton. Seeing now another shallop coming towards them, the Arbella stood on to meet her. Passing through the strait between Baker's Isle and Little Misery, the vessel dropped her anchor between Marblehead and the highlands of Beverly. The voyage was ended.

The ship lying in the harbor of Cape Ann was the Lion, Captain William Peirce, from Bristol, England, whence she had brought a number of colonists to join their brethren at Plymouth, from whom they had been nearly ten years separated. Captain Peirce immediately repaired on board the Arbella, and, after greeting the newly arrived head of the colony, went on shore to fetch Governor Endicott. The latter came off to the ship in the afternoon, and then, with true hospitality, invited the principal personages with their wives on shore, where they supped on "good venison pasty and good beer," and were afterwards conveyed on board their vessel. The common people went on the Cape Ann shore, and regaled themselves as plentifully, if not as sumptuously, as their betters, on the wild strawberries they found growing there. Surely, no stronger contrast could be drawn than this bounteous welcome of Man and Nature with the sad, ill-omened landing from the Mayflower at Plymouth on that bleak December day.

One other incident, in which history repeats itself, deserves to be recorded. As Samoset welcomed the Pilgrims, so now Masconomo, sagamore of Agawam, came on board the Arbella to welcome the Englishmen. It is not the first instance of true nobility concealed beneath a dusky skin. Whatever doubts may have lurked in his breast, the chivalric spirit of the savage chieftain prompted a deed of high courtesy to those who were to become his neighbors, and—did he vaguely forecast it?—ere long his successors in the land of his fathers.

Before proceeding further with our narrative, it

is proper to mention a source of information from which we have liberally drawn, and which cannot fail to deeply interest even the casual reader.¹

The first and by far the most picturesque account of the settlements in Middlesex is that of Thomas Dudley, one of the five original undertakers; also one of the assistants of the new colony; deputy, and subsequently governor. Remembering his noble benefactress, the Countess of Lincoln, who, he says, had honored him with many favors in Old England, he sits down by his own humble fireside, and with the paper on his knee,—for he had no table,—interrupted by the frequent coming and going of the members of his family, stopping from time to time to restore warmth to his benumbed fingers, while the chill March winds scatter the ashes on the hearthstone, the sturdy old soldier writes the letter which so graphically portrays the trials with which the colonists found themselves unexpectedly confronted. He is frank, too, and plain-spoken in exposing the bombast of those well-meaning but inflated writers whose exaggerated accounts had been received in England as true and reliable. And he says he does this “lest other men should fall short of their expectations when they come hither, as we to our great prejudice did by means of letters sent us from hence into England, wherein honest men out of a desire to draw over others to them wrote somewhat hyperbolically of many things here.”

From the 12th until the 17th the new-comers remained at Salem. Cordial as their welcome unquestionably was they were unprepared for what awaited them. More than eighty of Endicott's people had died during the winter; many were still sick, and others weak and dispirited. Not more than a fortnight's supply of bread and corn remained in the plantation; and it was now found that the provisions intended for the Company's servants here had, through negligence, not been put on board. So they were forced to give all these persons whose labor was hired their liberty. How painfully must the reflection have come home to Winthrop, Dudley, Johnson, and others, like them, that they had been deceived by the “too large commendations” of their friends!

“But,” says the patient Dudley, “bearing these things as we might, we began to consider the place of our sitting down, for Salem, where we landed,

pleased us not.” With this object in view, on Thursday, the 17th, Governor Winthrop with others went to Massachusetts, which then meant the territory comprised between the headlands of Nahant and Nantasket. The party is said to have gone six miles up the Mystic River; but as that stream is not navigable so far, it is impossible to fix the limit of their exploration with precision. They reported, however, on their return, having found a suitable situation on this stream. A second party, which followed the first to confirm or condemn its judgment, found a location more to their liking up Charles River. Upon this, the new colonists with much cost and labor put their goods into other vessels and brought them to Charlestown. But now an insuperable obstacle prevented the execution of their plan. Many of the newly arrived emigrants were sick of fever and of the scurvy; so many that the rest were obliged to renounce their intention of settling higher up the river, because the well were unable to transport the baggage, stores, and ordnance so far. Nevertheless, time was pressing. Under such conditions the settlement at Charlestown began.

By the 6th of July thirteen of the seventeen vessels despatched by the Company had arrived at Charlestown and Salem, some bringing their passengers in good health, others landing theirs half starved. The *Talbot* lost fourteen persons on her outward voyage, and in one or another of the ships there were serious losses of horses, goats, and other live stock. At this time the roadstead, the strand, and the hills of Charlestown must have presented a busy scene. The ships were hoisting out their cargoes; deeply laden boats continually passed to and from the shore, where active laborers unloaded them. The river dotted with horses, kine, sheep, and goats swimming to the land, the air filled with neighing, lowing, and bleating, the songs of the sailors, the rattling of tackle, the hallooing, shouting, and laughter from ship to shore, were at once a curious spectacle and a rude transition from the silence of ages. About the Town Hill the multitude were busy building cottages, making booths, or setting up tents and even wigwags for a shelter from the sultry summer sun or copious rains that alternately scorched or drenched them. At such a time all must labor. Tender women must cut rushes and evergreen boughs for the new roof; while the solemn old woods echoed again to the axes of the men. Others were eagerly seeking out and gathering their household goods about them. Little

¹ We also refer to Governor Winthrop's *Journal*, the Charlestown records, *Wonder-Working Providence*, Hubbard, and Priests.

children sought for their dumb playmates, or gazed with wondering eyes upon some painted and bewildered savage. It was like an encampment of gypsies, or a long picnic, or the inhabitants of a moderate-sized town made suddenly homeless;—this thousand or more English men and women sleeping under the stars, snatching their slender meals where, when, and how they might, with neither wall, moat, nor gate for a bulwark or a defence, but only trust in God and in each other to guard and keep them.¹

So passed the first weeks, until at length the peninsula presented the appearance of a settlement. True, there was neither turret nor spire, but some order began to come out of the chaos. And now, having leisure to think of organization, the first step taken was the gathering of a church, as has been related in the preceding pages.

But the house in which they met was not made with hands. The Great House which afterwards became their place of meeting must have been given up to the sick and helpless, and, remembering that

"The groves were God's first temples,"

they worshipped abroad, under the spreading branches of a tree, where, says Roger Clap, "I have heard Mr. Wilson and Mr. Phillips preach many a good sermon."

This step, so pregnant of results, not only to this plantation but to all New England, being consummated, the colonists were suddenly called upon to meet an unforeseen peril. By some newly arrived ships news was received of hostile preparations by the French for a descent upon the weak New England colonies. This intelligence created such alarm at Charlestown that it was hastily decided to disperse the colonists among several plantations rather than attempt the building of a fortified town in any one place, as was first resolved upon. Some confusion exists as to the order in which the new settlements were made; but that at Watertown seems entitled to precedence, as it was in existence before the last week of August. Certainly none other, that at Dorchester excepted, had been begun at this time.

Sir Richard Saltonstall was the founder of the

¹ "Samuel Green, the famous printer of Cambridge, arrived with Governor Winthrop in 1630. He came in the same ship with the Hon. Thomas Dudley, Esq., and used to tell his children that upon their first coming ashore both he and several others were for some time glad to lodge in an empty cask to shelter them from the weather, for want of housing."—*Boston News-Letter*, January 4, 1723.

settlement at Watertown. Johnson says that, having brought over cattle and servants, he wintered there. This charming and attractive location seems to have favorably impressed the colonists from the first. The Dorchester men had, as we have seen, prepared the way, and it was doubtless this situation to which Dudley refers when he says the second party sent out from Salem found a place they liked better three leagues up Charles River; for Dr. Fuller of Plymouth writes from Charlestown on the 28th of June to Governor Bradford, "The gentlemen here lately come over are resolved to sit down at the head of Charles River; and they of Mattapan purpose to go and plant with them." Hubbard does not know why the name of Watertown was given to this plantation. Farmer supposes it to have been derived from a small place in the West Riding of Yorkshire, where some of the ancestors of Sir Richard Saltonstall originated. Others refer it to the natural features of the place, which the scarcity of good water at Charlestown brought prominently into view.

The two settlements of Charlestown and Watertown being commenced, a curious incident, one which has given rise to much speculation, occurred. For reasons which have not been satisfactorily explained, an election for the principal officers of government was held on the 23d of August, at which Winthrop was chosen governor, Dudley deputy, and Simon Bradstreet secretary. Edward Johnson is the authority for this statement, and he says the court of election was held on board the *Arbella*; but according to the colony records the court held August 23d was the Court of Assistants, which had no power under the charter to elect officers. That authority was exclusively in the General Court, and the records do not mention the meeting of a General Court until September. Winthrop simply mentions under the first date that a court was held. His silence as to any election has led Prince and others to doubt Johnson's statement:¹ yet considering that the charter prescribed holding an election on the last Wednesday in Easter term yearly, and that the colonists were then at sea, his account is consistent with the view that this lapse might have been held to affect the validity of the charter. Hence an election may have occurred; but as the day could not be that fixed by law the act was omitted from the record.

¹ The *History of New England*, or, as it is usually quoted, *Wonder-Working Providence of Sion's Servants*, was printed in London in 1654. Its authorship is attributed to Edward John-

The purpose of settling any doubt as to the respective powers of Winthrop and Endicott may also have had weight in determining an election. Salem might still have continued to be the seat of government had the principal men not disliked its situation, as Dudley relates.

At this court¹ the first formal act of the new government took place. There were present Governor Winthrop, Deputy-Governor Dudley, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Roger Ludlow, Edward Rossiter, Increase Nowell, Thomas Sharp, William Pyncheon, and Simon Bradstreet. This first assumption of political power on the soil signalizing, as it did, the formal erection of a new political community whose future not even the imagination of those nine legislators could forecast, is worthy to be transcribed here, if for no other reason than to show what public business was the subject of deliberation, and what, in the estimation of the colonists, its importance. The record follows:—

“Imprimis it was propounded how the ministers should be maintained, Mr. Wilson and Mr. Phillips only propounded; ordered that houses be built for them with convenient speed at the public charge. Sir R. Saltonstall undertook to see it done at his plantation for Mr. Phillips; and the

son, who, having emigrated from Kent, England, is styled a “Kentish captain.” His narrative begins with the settlement of 1629, and is brought down to the year 1652. The author is believed to have been one of the colonists of 1630, who came over with Winthrop. He settled first at Charlestown and later at Woburn, of which town he was the putative father. Captain Johnson is therefore very early identified with the history of Middlesex, and his narrative takes us back to the humble beginnings of the colony of Massachusetts Bay. He died at Woburn in 1672. The reader is referred to the history of that town, in this volume, for a more extended notice of his active connection with its founding and early growth. The *Wonder-Working Providence* contains notices more or less minute of all the towns then settled, and gives the names of magistrates and ministers. Indeed, the churches given in their order of formation constitute the basis of the work, a little topographical information being added, with some chapters on the general history of New England, its civil polity, wars with the Indians, religious contentions, and remarkable occurrences. The work is plentifully interspersed with labored panegyrics of eminent public characters, chiefly divines, written in verse; but the author courted the muses with too indifferent success for us to reproduce specimens of his grandiose, monotonous style. Notwithstanding its errors, Johnson's *History of New England* is valuable as the work of a contemporary historian who writes of what he saw and of what he was himself a part. His narrative is liberally used by Rev. Thomas Prince, in his *Chronological History of New England*, printed at Boston, 1736.

¹ Johnson says that many of the first planters attended this court and were made freemen by it. The whole number this year he estimates at one hundred and ten. After this only such were admitted as joined the churches.

governor at the other plantation for Mr. Wilson; Mr. Phillips to have forty pounds a year, beginning at the first of September next; Mr. Wilson to have twenty pounds a year till his wife come over, beginning at 10 July last; all this at the common charge, those of Mattapan and Salem excepted. Ordered that Morton of Mount Wollaston be sent for presently; and that carpenters, joiners, bricklayers, sawyers, and thatchers take no more than two shillings a day, under pain of ten shillings to giver and taker.”

The maintenance of their ministers as a matter of public duty, and the regulation of labor so that no man might make his neighbor's necessity the occasion for exorbitant demands, seem thus to have been the paramount questions of the moment. Having disposed of them by legislative enactment, the colonists set to work making themselves permanent homes.

The founders of the new settlements were to meet still greater trials, to undergo still greater hardships. Sickness daily increased. The want of proper shelter and food fostered disease and aggravated suffering. Death was soon reaping a fearful harvest on the hillsides of Mishawum. The most useful and honored among the men, the most beloved and accomplished among the women, were daily gathered to unknown graves. “Many perished and died, and were buried about the Town Hill,” say the ancient records, “and although the people were generally very loving and pitiful, yet the sickness did so prevail that the whole were not able to tend the sick.” Many volumes of suffering are condensed in this sad history.

The settlers at Charlestown, too, were, in this time of sore distress, troubled by the want of good water. They could find but one brackish spring, and this scanty supply was accessible only when the tide was out.¹ This increased the general discontent with their present place of abode. Hearing of their distress, William Blackstone, the solitary settler on the opposite peninsula of Shawmut, came and informed Governor Winthrop that an excellent spring existed on his side of the river. This good man entreated the governor to remove to Shawmut, and some of the settlers did remove there. Others located themselves on Saugus River, others on the Mystic, and still others on the main-

¹ The records say the peninsula abounded in good water which from want of sufficient search the settlers failed to find. The spring they used is believed to have been located near the old state-prison.

land, nearest Shawmut, calling their settlement Roxbury.

Meanwhile mortality made rapid strides. Among those who died were Mrs. Pyncheon, wife of William Pyncheon, Mrs. Coddington, wife of William Coddington, Mrs. Phillips, wife of the Rev. George Phillips, first minister of Watertown, Mrs. Alcock, sister of Mrs. Hooker, Lady-Arbella, wife of Isaac Johnson, and many others. It may well be imagined that these rapidly succeeding misfortunes cast a gloom over the infant colony, filling the weak-hearted with dismay, the strong with heavy affliction. Consternation, disappointment, or disaffection so worked upon those who were left that a hundred or more went back to England in the same ship that brought them over. Others went to Piscataqua.¹ Dudley computes the whole number of deaths, from April to December, at two hundred, closing the mournful catalogue with the exclamation, "So lowe hath the Lord brought us!"

Four days after the first court a public fast was kept, when, Mr. Wilson was ordained pastor of the church by imposition of hands, this ceremony being used, as Winthrop hastens to aver, only as a sign of election and confirmation, and not of any intent that Mr. Wilson should renounce his ministry in the Church of England. On the 7th of September a second court, called the Court of Assistants, was held at Charlestown, which ordered the sending of Thomas Morton² of Mount Wollaston a prisoner to England. It was also ordered that no one should be permitted to plant within the limits of the patent except by consent of the governor and assistants, or a majority of them; and it was finally voted that the settlement at Trimountain, on the other side of the river, should be called Boston, Mattapan, Dorchester, and the town upon Charles River, Watertown. This action decisively fixes the number of settlements then existing which were deemed considerable enough to receive public recognition. The name of Boston was intended to be conferred upon the principal town the colonists might build, and as that place seems now, by general consent, to have become the capital, the more picturesque and first English name it had received was replaced by that of

a town of Lincolnshire, England. In designating the names of towns, rivers, and other waters the new-comers always express their love and attachment for the motherland, as if the dominant idea with them was really to erect a New ENGLAND, wherein old associations, old ties, and old memories should be forever preserved. These were bonds they never meant to shake off; and if their nomenclature shows nothing else, it certifies a love of country which survived oppression, a yearning which no tyranny could extinguish in their breasts. Names more appropriate, more expressive, and to-day more historical might have been found; but the original settlers had not begun to eradicate the idea that they were themselves part and parcel of Old England. The names they gave were at least an echo from home.

Before the departure of their fleet from New England the adventurers despatched the ship *Lion* to England for the needful fresh supplies. John Revell, one of the five resident undertakers, William Vassall, one of the assistants, with his family, and the minister, Francis Bright,¹ who has been mentioned in connection with the beginnings of Charlestown, sailed in this ship.

During September the deaths of several persons of distinction occurred, — William Gager, a skilful surgeon, and one of the deacons of the church of Charlestown, Rev. Francis Higginson of Salem, and lastly Isaac Johnson, who has been called father of the settlement at Boston. The death of this latter gentleman inflicted the most serious loss of any that had taken place. Dudley says he was the greatest promoter of the plantation, and that he had the best estate of any man in it. He died at Boston and was buried, according to tradition, in what is now known as King's Chapel Ground. It is remarked that none of the founders of Boston, — Blackstone, Johnson, or Winthrop, — have been honored in any substantial way; but our descendants will doubtless repair the neglect.

After the death of Johnson the governor, Mr. Wilson, and the greater part of the people at Charlestown removed to Boston. The frame of the governor's house, which was being made ready, was also carried thither; the Bostonians fell to work building new homes ere winter should overtake them. The few people remaining at Charlestown viewed these proceedings with discontent, especially the removal of the governor's residence and the

¹ Since Portsmouth. "We accounted ourselves nothing weakened by their departure," remarks Dudley.

² For an account of this singular personage see Savage in *Winthrop's Journal*, I. 41; *Drake's Boston*, 27 *et seq.* He did not go to England until the December following.

¹ In the Charlestown records he is called "Minister to the Company's servants."

loss of distinction it implied. By the departure of the pastor and great body of the church they were compelled to go over to Boston on the Sabbath until a church of their own was, in November, 1632, gathered together, and a covenant entered into. Hitherto the Boston settlers had been obliged to come to them, but now the case was reversed.

A list of those who remained and became inhabitants of the town in this year is given as follows: Increase Nowell, Esq., Mr. William Aspinwall, Mr. Richard Palsgrave, Edward Convers, William Penn, William Hudson, Mr. John Glover, William Brackenbury, Rice Cole, Hugh Garrett, Ezekiel Richeson, John Baker, John Sales, Captain Norton, Mr. Edward Gibbons, Mr. William Jennings, John Wignall. The four last went and built on the mainland "on the northeast side of the northwest creek of this town." It is thought that these were not all the inhabitants, but on this point the records are obscure. The settlers of 1629 accounted for are Ralph Sprague, Walter Palmer, Abraham Palmer, Nicholas Stowers, John Stickline or Stickland, and Thomas Graves.

Having brought our relation down to the settlement of Boston, it is instructive to observe that, notwithstanding the superior numbers, wealth, and preparation of our colonists, they encountered the same experiences, were beset by the same difficulties, and were near succumbing to the same calamities that befell their brethren at Plymouth and Salem. Notwithstanding the favorable season of the year for prosecuting their explorations and their labors, they were scourged by disease and nearly threatened by famine. Dudley tells us there

was hardly a house in which one or more did not lay dead, and it is apparent that had not the Lion brought seasonable relief, the story of the ensuing winter would have been a mournful one. Still, all these vicissitudes served more firmly to unite the settlers, as men who had proved each other. Even the new-made graves served to bind the survivors more closely to the land of their adoption, — to admonish them not to abandon the work of reclaiming the wilderness in which so many useful lives had been spent, but to regard it as a sacred bequest whose fruits History and the Future should demand of them. We know how nobly the mission was fulfilled.

The effect of the great emigration upon Old England was very marked. So soon as the colony had proved its ability to maintain itself, great numbers passed over to New England every summer. Four thousand is the number fixed by Mather who emigrated in the ten or twelve years succeeding the settlement, carrying with them in materials, money, merchandise, and animals the value of nearly two hundred thousand pounds, without computing merchandise sent over for traffic with the Indians. "Upon the whole," says our authority, "it has been computed that the four settlements of Plymouth, the Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, and New Haven, all of which were accomplished before the beginning of the civil wars, drained England of four or five hundred thousand pounds in money (a very great sum in those days), and if the persecution of the *Puritans* had continued twelve years longer, it is thought that a fourth part of the riches of the kingdom would have passed out of it through this channel."

VI.

PROGRESS IN THE COLONY.

A THIRD court assembled on the 28th of September at Charlestown. Only nine of the original assistants were now left at the head of affairs, and but three of the resident undertakers. Before the end of October the number of assistants was still further reduced by the decease of Rositer. Death had made no distinction between leader or follower, gentle or lowly born; the former supporting all the privations which the latter endured, and by the example infusing new courage among the faint-hearted. Five settlements already existed; others were beginning at Medford and Roxbury. Of these, the former was probably the earlier commenced; it has, moreover, a special interest of its own, which brings it into intimate association with the infancy of the colony, and to some extent with a personage who exerted an important influence upon its fortunes.

"Some of us settled upon Mistic, which we named Medford," says Dudley, without assigning a date for the event. Regretting the omission, we recollect that he was writing a letter, in which things were related, not in their order, but as he remembered them. The Charlestown records are equally unsatisfactory in this respect. Recounting the exploration made by the Spragues, in 1628, they say of the peninsula of Mishawum, "upon surveying, they found it was a neck of land, generally full of stately timber, as was the main, and the land lying on the east side of the river called Mistick river (from the farm Mr. Cradock's servants had planted, called Mistick, which this river led up into) and indeed generally all the country round about was an uncouth wilderness, full of timber."

If the account given by these records be accepted as true, not only were Mr. Cradock's servants already seated upon the Mystic, but the river itself derived its name from this plantation. We are compelled to reject both statements. It is not believed that any one sent out by the Massachusetts Company had settled within the limits of the dis-

puted patents up to the time when the Company instructed Endicott to take possession by sending "forty or fifty persons to Massachusetts Bay to inhabit there." It is clear that the Company meant to enforce its rights with numbers sufficient not only to maintain possession, but to expel intruders. These instructions are dated April 17, 1629. They embody directions as to the policy Endicott was to observe towards the old planters, who might then be resident within the disputed territory. It is nowhere assumed that the Company was then in possession. The last paragraph of the Company's letter of instructions, in which Endicott is further advised to defeat Oldham's claim by "causing some to take possession" of his tract, is generally accredited to Governor Cradock. If Governor Cradock's men were then established on the Mystic, this end was already gained. It is needless to observe that Governor Cradock would certainly have been apprized if such were the fact.

In this letter, and in a subsequent one, written in May, Governor Cradock's own active participation in the affairs of the colony, as an individual, first appears. By the vessels then getting ready to sail he was sending over shipwrights, fishermen, cattle, etc., to be employed for the joint account of himself and the Company. In their second letter the Company say that all the cattle sent over, except three mares, had been provided by Governor Cradock. His name occurs on every page of its records, as uniting his own resources with those of the Company for the common good. Indeed, Matthew Cradock, governor, or Matthew Cradock, the individual, appear, up to this time, as bearing much the greater proportion of the burdens of the enterprise.

As his plantation at Mystic was certainly begun before September 28, 1630, it is not unlikely that on the arrival of the second embarkation some of Cradock's men may have accompanied Graves's party to Charlestown, and extended their explo-

rations farther up the Mystic River; but our reading of Dudley's letter does not justify the assumption that any definite settlement took place upon this stream until after the general dispersion, late in the summer of 1630, mentioned by him. No mention is made by Winthrop of the existence of such settlement when he ascended the river, on the 17th of July.

It is a matter of surprise that not only is the exact relation borne by Medford to the colony at this time in doubt, but its very location is unsettled. The names Medford and Mystic have usually been understood as referring to the same plantation, although Wood, in 1633, enumerates them as distinct settlements. Up to the year 1634 the colony records mention only Medford in the apportionment of money or men for the public service. At the same time it does not appear to have had a settled minister, and it was not entitled to representation in the General Court; nevertheless, we find a tax levied upon "Meadford" so early as the court referred to at the beginning of this chapter, and for this reason September 28, 1630, is usually fixed as the date of its incorporation. Medford is also taxed the following year for the palisade at Newtown, and is henceforth a *quasi* member of the body politic, enjoying taxation without representation for a certain term of years.

This condition of semi-organization favors the inference that Medford and Governor Cradock's plantation were the same. Hutchinson concludes such to be the fact. In 1632 a ship of a hundred tons was built here, which was an affair of magnitude for that early day, and goes to confirm the opinion that a considerable number of Cradock's men were employed in and about his plantation. Wood's description, to be hereafter given in his own language, is unfortunately worthless in elucidating the question. His printed account of Medford would locate it on the banks of Willis' Creek, or Miller's River, a tributary of the Charles; while his map designates it as being north of the Mystic. This first is, of course, an error. Dudley says Medford was on the Mystic.

Although the site of Cradock's plantation alone is then definitely known, we consider the village of Medford to have originated at or near its present location at the head of navigation on the Mystic. The bridge and weir at Medford are very early mentioned in the colony records. Winthrop's party of exploration crossed the river at Medford in February, 1631, and his itinerary indicates that the

place of crossing was as high up as the present bridge.¹

The winter of 1630-31 was a memorable one in the new colony, — memorable for its hardships, its rigor, and the prolonged combat with famine and disease. The early part of the season was not so severe, but by the last week of December the cold became intense. Many of the poorer class, who were living in huts or miserable hovels, hastily erected, perished of cold and hunger. How to keep warm, how to subsist, became the problems of each succeeding day. Never before had these English men and women passed such a Christmas as now dawned upon them. The comfortable fire-sides, merry greetings, and abundance of their English homes were now exchanged for misery, dejection, and want. The peal of Christmas chimes, the Yule-log, the groaning board, were replaced by howling blasts, decaying embers, and bare cupboards. Homesickness crept into many households. To support life was the chief end of living. The store of bread was soon completely exhausted: the scanty supply of corn brought in by Indians soon failed. Clams and mussels, ground-nuts and acorns, furnished a precarious supply of food, reducing the whites to the same straits as their savage neighbors. It is related that some one who came to Winthrop's house to upbraid him with his sufferings became dumb on finding the last batch of bread was then in the governor's own oven. In the midst of universal famine it seems almost a mockery that a day of public fasting should be proclaimed. It was, however, to have taken place on the 22d of February, but on the 5th, to the colonists' great joy, the *Lion*² came into port with a cargo of provisions. The day of fasting was turned into one of thanksgiving, memorable as the first observance of the kind by these colonists.

During the winter fires were of such frequent occurrence that the settlers began to fear their towns would be destroyed by conflagrations. The few houses that had been built were covered with thatch, and had wooden chimneys plastered with clay. By far the greater number of people lived in wigwams and huts built of the most combustible materials. Necessity had so ordered it. Many

¹ According to J. H. Trumbull, whose knowledge of the language of the New England tribes is probably unsurpassed, Mystic, as a river name, is unquestionably Indian, denoting a broad tidal stream or estuary.

² The celebrated Roger Williams came in this ship.

had twice provided temporary homes for themselves and their families, first at Charlestown, later at Boston. The question of where their principal town should be was still unsettled. The chiefs of the colony still pursued their idea of a fortified town far enough from the sea to be safe from attack by a hostile flotilla; so long as they held this purpose there could be no settled feeling among the people.

On the 6th of December the governor and most of the assistants, with others, met at Roxbury, and there agreed to build a fortified town upon the neck between that place and Boston. This project was, however, upon mature consideration abandoned. On the 21st of the same month the governor and assistants again met at Watertown, where they found a situation, proper for their purpose, one mile east of the town. After some consideration — Dudley says on the 28th of December — it was agreed that all the assistants, except Endicott¹ and Sharp, should build houses the coming spring, and pass the following winter there. The example, the removal of ordnance and munitions to the new town, were expected to draw to it all the old emigrants who were able to remove, and certainly such as might come after its founding. This was the beginning of Cambridge and of its numerous progeny of towns.

Only two of the assistants, Dudley and Bradstreet, performed their promise of building at the new town in the spring. Governor Winthrop performed his only so far as to build a house by the time appointed, which some of his servants lived in; but he continued his own residence at Boston, and in a very short time, to the disgust of Dudley, removed the house to that place. A lot was assigned to Saltonstall, who presently sailed for England, where he permanently remained. The other assistants, Nowell, Pyncheon, Ludlow, and Coddington,² took no steps whatever to carry out their agreement.

The governor's free interpretation of this agreement exasperated Dudley, for Winthrop's active co-operation was all important, and the deputy seems to have strongly favored the proposed new town. A coldness sprung up between them which continued until the matter of difference — and this strongly illustrates the patriarchal character of the government — was submitted to mediators,

when the governor admitted that in removing his house without consulting the other parties to the original engagement he was blamable. Both Winthrop and Dudley fell into a passion before the conference ended, exchanging hot words and bitter reproaches, but the arbitrators finally pacified them.

It came out at this discussion, in which each charged the other with exceeding his lawful authority, that Dudley had impaled a thousand acres at the new town, and had assigned lands to persons there without having first obtained warrant for it from the court. It also transpired that the governor had exercised large discretionary powers in settling questions of public concern without reference to the legislative authority of the colony. The necessity of the case, the evil that would arise from delay, appear to have decided the governor's course, — a rule of action that excited Dudley's ire, although the people do not appear to have been disturbed by the thought that their liberties were in danger.

The antagonisms of these two men possess a curious interest. They were the ruling spirits of the colony. They were frequently at variance, and were as often brought into harmony by the influence of a trait common to both, but of which the governor alone held the master-key. Both were generous; but what in Winthrop was natural and habitual, existed only in the depths of Dudley's character. Those depths must be sounded and stirred before the man revealed himself.

Each distrusted the other; yet each had, at the bottom, a sincere respect for the other. Dudley was fiery, suspicious, and perhaps envious of Winthrop, though he does not hesitate to praise the governor's piety, liberality, wisdom, and gravity when writing to his noble patron, the Countess. Winthrop's more noble nature subdued the impetuous Dudley by its incontestable superiority. The strife for pre-eminence gave way to one of generosity; and this was a struggle in which neither would allow himself to be defeated. There can be no question that the deputy was an uncomfortable associate; yet his jealous watchfulness, his hasty temper, served to bring out more prominently what was best in himself and most admirable in his habitual antagonist.

The new settlement adopted the name of Newtown, a name perpetuated in that part of it now constituting the prosperous city of Newton. Although some steps were taken to carry the original purpose into effect, the design failed for reasons

¹ Endicott lived at Salem: Sharp was going back to England.

² Nowell lived at Charlestown, Pyncheon at Roxbury, Ludlow at Dorchester, and Coddington at Boston.



..... Jacob, before Whilcox left Dudley

already mentioned. Instead of being the political, Newtown became the intellectual, centre of the colony; instead of a fortress, she erected a citadel of learning. In 1638 Newtown was named Cambridge, from the ancient university town of Old England.

The three towns whose humble beginnings have thus been sketched embraced a large portion of Middlesex County. From them came the greater part of the fifty-four towns now constituting the county. Charlestown originally included Malden, Woburn, Stoneham, Burlington, and Somerville; also parts of Medford, Cambridge, Arlington, and Reading. Watertown embraced Waltham, Weston, and portions of Belmont and Lincoln. Cambridge, by its original and added limits, comprehended Newton, Brighton, Arlington, Lexington, Bedford, and Billerica, extending nearly thirty-five miles, from the Charles to the Merrimack, and requiring a day's journey to traverse. As originally constituted the earliest of the towns were without definite limits. In March, 1632, a commission was appointed to fix their boundaries, which have from time to time been changed as portions have been taken from or added to the parent towns.

Not only did this trio of original towns multiply themselves into thirty or forty within the colony of Massachusetts Bay, they were the means of founding other colonies which eventually became great and flourishing states. In 1635, a year memorable in the annals of New England, Watertown people planted Wethersfield, in Connecticut, which plantation they first called after their own Watertown. Some of these planters were afterwards original settlers of Stamford, Milford, and Branford. The founders of Dedham came from Watertown. Concord very early received Watertown families. Sudbury was begun by inhabitants of Watertown. Lancaster and Martha's Vineyard also owe their settlement in whole or in part to the "straitness of accommodation at Watertown."

In 1635 there was a general exodus of the people of Newtown, when Mr. Hooker and most of his congregation removed to Connecticut, where they founded Hartford. The history of this new pilgrimage into the wilds of a remote region will be briefly narrated in its order. It is now mentioned as an example of the widespread influence of Massachusetts upon the destinies of her sister colonies.

No events of particular moment occurred during

the years 1631, 1632, and 1633. The whole country was yet an unsubdued, or, as the old writers call it, an uncouth wilderness. There were yet no roads nor other ways of inland travel except the Indian paths. In the year first named a ferry was established between Boston and Charlestown. At this time from the capital to Winnisimmet, or to Mattapan, was a day's journey by land. Here and there were a few natural clearings. The Indians had, in their primitive way, made others near their villages: but for the present the extensive salt meadows, bordering upon tidal waters, were the chief resource for grazing and hay. Time was necessary to convert rank meadow and thorny upland into fertility, yet this was being accomplished with the energy and perseverance characteristic of the English race. Higginson and Graves had overpraised the country. The disappointed settlers went to work like men determined to make it realize all that had been claimed for it. The season of exaltation being past, the serious business of life began.

It is easy to say that where we now stand was once a wilderness; but the full meaning of the contrast cannot be realized by a simple statement of the fact: it may be by an anecdote.

Early in 1631—we doubt if it could have been before the spring of this year—Governor Winthrop began making a farm on the west side of Mystic River, the title to which was confirmed to him by a grant of six hundred acres in September of that year. Here he erected a dwelling and built a little vessel called the *Blessing of the Bay*, the first to be launched in the colony. This event took place July 4, 1631. The governor called his farm Ten Hills, from that number of little eminences within its borders.

One evening in October the governor took a musket on his shoulder and walked out from his farm-house thinking he might shoot a stray wolf. He tells us that wolves were then very numerous between the Charles and Mystic, devouring calves and swine daily. He was overtaken by darkness after having strolled half a mile from the house and lost his way. At length he came to a deserted Indian wigwam elevated upon posts. He built a fire outside it, and, having found some old mats, threw himself upon them, but could not sleep. Possibly thoughts of the wolves may have prevented. He passed the night gathering wood for his fire, pacing up and down before it, and in singing psalms. A little before day it began to rain.

The governor, having no cloak, clambered up a pole into the wigwam. In the morning a squaw came and tried to get into the wigwam, but the intruder says that, perceiving her intention, he barred the door so she could not. After the squaw went away the governor returned home, when he found his people much troubled by his long absence and their own fruitless search for him during the night. The scene of this adventure was within the present limits of the city of Somerville.

This was by no means an exceptional experience. Dudley relates how one of the Watertown settlers having lost a calf, and hearing the howling of wolves round about his house, roused his neighbors, who frightened the wolves away by discharging their muskets. The noise of the firing was heard in Roxbury, where the inhabitants rose from their beds in great alarm, beat their drum, seized their weapons, and sent a messenger post haste to Boston, where the same scene was repeated. In the morning the calf was found unhurt.

The departure late in March of the ship *Lion* should be noticed as an event of some importance to the colony. She carried Rev. Mr. Wilson; Sir Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Thomas Sharp, and Mr. William Coddington back to England. Saltonstall and Sharp did not return; but Wilson and Coddington recrossed the ocean to resume their respective places of pastor and magistrate. The latter subsequently removed to Rhode Island, where he became governor. In Saltonstall the colony lost a zealous and influential supporter. He remained long enough in the colony to see his plantation at Watertown the most populous and thriving of any except that at Boston. Sharp had been an assistant since the first election of Winthrop as governor. In this ship also went Dudley's famous letter "To the righte honorable my very good Lady, the Lady Brydget Countesse of Lincoln."

On the 6th of July a small vessel called the *Plough* arrived from England. She landed her ten passengers at Watertown. Winthrop says they were the company called The Husbandmen; that most of them were Familists and vanished away.

In November the busy *Lion* again anchored before Boston with a notable company on board. She brought the governor's wife, his oldest son, and young Eliot, afterwards the renowned apostle to the Indians. Now ensued a scene in striking contrast with that of the last winter, when the same ship arrived so opportunely for the starving settlers. When the governor with his wife and

children came on shore they were received by the train-bands with a *feu-de-joie*, furnished with a guard of honor, and welcomed by the people of the near plantations, who brought or sent fat hogs, kids, poultry, venison, geese, and partridges as an offering of love to their governor and a testimonial of their affection for his household. It was a marvel so many people and such store of provision could be got together at a few hours' notice. It was a spontaneous exhibition of good-will towards the man who had so faithfully served them without favor or reward. Beyond this the sight could hardly fail to assure the sixty passengers who came in the *Lion* that plenty reigned within the colony. In a few days this rejoicing and festivity was followed by a thanksgiving.

In January a further exploration of the territory of Middlesex took place by a party of reconnoissance consisting of Governor Winthrop, his son Adam, John Masters, and Robert Feake. They went about eight miles above Watertown on Charles River. Coming to a "fair brook" on the north side of the river, they named it Beaver Brook, "because the beavers had shorn down divers great trees there, and made divers dams across the brook," which came from a pond a mile from the river. Farther on they came to a great rock on which stood a high stone which had been cloven asunder. They complimented the youngest member of the party by calling this Adam's Chair. Going still farther up the river they came to another stream, larger than the first, which they called Masters' Brook; and a high pointed rock in the neighborhood they named Mount Feake. Ascending another rocky eminence, they obtained an extensive view of the unbroken wilderness beyond, of Mount Wachusett and the more distant summits in the northwest.

A second exploration was made on the 7th of February. This time the governor was accompanied by Mr. Nowell and Mr. Eliot. Crossing the Mystic at Medford, the excursionists penetrated northward as far as Spot Pond in the present town of Stoneham. They gave this charming sheet of water the name it now bears from the number of small rocks protruding above its surface.

In November, 1632, the people of Charlestown, who since the removal of the pastor and great body of the church to Boston had been united to that church, began a separate organization by procuring their dismission from the Boston church and by calling Rev. Thomas James to be their minister.

Eighteen men and fifteen women united in forming it. The records of this church say that the covenant was entered into on "the second day of the ninth month 1632." The people of Charlestown were thus released from the necessity of crossing over to Boston during the inclement winter season to hear the gospel preached.

The winter of 1632 is described by Edward Johnson as one of extraordinary severity. He says the year ended "with a terrible cold winter, with weekly snows and fierce frosts between while, congealing Charles river, as well from the town to seaward as above, insomuch that men might frequently passe from one island to another upon the ice."

An event of importance to the whole colony, and especially to Boston and Newtown, occurred in September, 1633, when the ship Griffin arrived at Boston with two hundred passengers after a passage of eight weeks from the Downs. Among these passengers were three ministers, Cotton, Hooker, and Stone, who had all got out of England with great difficulty, in consequence of the rigid enforcement of the acts of supremacy and allegiance. Cotton and Hooker boarded the ship at the Downs, while the pursuivants were waiting for them at the Isle of Wight. Soon after their arrival Hooker and Stone went to reside at Newtown.

On the 11th of October, the day after the ceremony of ordaining Cotton as pastor of the church of Boston, Hooker was ordained pastor and Stone teacher of the congregation at Newtown, thus consummating the civil and ecclesiastical organization of that settlement. Charlestown, Watertown, and Newtown may now be considered as being in full religious communion with each other and with the sister churches. Medford has a recognized place, but no church organization.

Hot disputes had more than once broken out in the congregation of Watertown upon the question of whether the Church of Rome was or was not a true church; and they had only just composed a difference, which promised to be serious, by calling in the governor to expound what in his judgment were true doctrines. A question of another kind now arose between the executive government and the people of this settlement. A levy of £60 had been made on the different plantations for fortifying Newtown. Watertown refusing to pay its proportion, the pastor, elder, and others were cited to appear before the governor and assistants. The former alleged that considering the government —

meaning the governor and assistants — only in the light of officers of a corporation, or, as they termed it, "a mayor and aldermen," its right to make laws or levy taxes without the consent of the people was questioned. An important principle was involved here; and the question raised by the people of Watertown has become the settled principle of all free communities. It is true that the governor and assistants had in this, as in other ways, exceeded the legitimate powers conferred upon them by the charter; but the people submitted to the usurpation of these powers because it was universally recognized that where everything must be created, power to determine questions of public importance must, in the interim of the court, be delegated, or if not delegated, be exercised by some body constantly sitting, like the governor and assistants. Governor Winthrop claimed that the Court of Assistants was a sort of parliament sprung directly from the people, and therefore a representative body of the people and for the people. He succeeded in bringing the Watertown men over to this view, "and so," he says, "their submission was accepted and their offence pardoned." He reminded them that at the first General Court, held at Boston after their arrival, the whole body of freemen then voted to invest the assistants with power to choose a governor and deputy-governor from their own number, who, with the assistants, should have the power of making laws and choosing officers to execute them. The freemen were still to elect the assistants; but their charter privilege, of choosing the governor and deputy-governor, was hereby formally surrendered. When the inconvenience of calling the widely scattered body of freemen together is considered, it does not appear how the government could be efficiently administered by an assembly which met but once each year. It naturally and gradually adjusted itself to the necessities of the case, to what experience suggested; and with less friction, too, than might reasonably be expected in an experiment of such importance.

It is time to speak of the relations existing between the colonists and their Indian neighbors. Sagamore John, whose Indian name was Wonaquasham, has been mentioned in connection with the settlement at Charlestown. His treatment of the English continued to be as kind as his reception had been friendly. Disagreements occasionally arose between his own subjects and the whites, which were equitably settled. Indeed, it was the policy of the Massachusetts colonists to treat the

natives with forbearance, and to use all proper means to foster and maintain a good understanding. If an Englishman wronged an Indian, redress was at once demanded of the governor; did an Indian commit an injury upon a white, the case was referred to the sagamore. Where each meant to deal justly by the other, no cause of grievance could sow distrust. When the English were starving, the Indians brought in their scanty stores of corn; when the Indians were dying of a malignant disease, the English ministered to their wants and assuaged their sufferings.

As the news of the English settlements spread among the neighboring tribes many of the principal chiefs came to visit the white sagamore at Boston. In March, 1631, came Chicataubut from his village on Neponset River, with a considerable retinue. He behaved himself on this occasion, say the chronicles, "as soberly as an Englishman." In April a deputation arrived from the Connecticut River to solicit some of the English to go and settle in their country. The chief was named Wahginnicut. He was accompanied by an Indian named Jack Straw, who had lived in England and had been in the service of Sir Walter Raleigh.

Owing to some rumors of an intended incursion by the Mohawks, the English now began to post guards at nightfall on Boston Neck, at Dorchester, and at Watertown. Firing was prohibited after the setting of the watch; training-days were established; and the people warned not to travel singly or without arms.

In July, 1631, Miantonomoh, chieftain of the Narragansetts, visited Boston. The next month, August, a war party of Tarratines fell upon the Agawam (Ipswich) Indians, a small tribe living in friendship with the whites. Sagamore John and his brother James, who were then visiting Masconomo, the Agawam chief, were both wounded. The Agawams lost seven killed, several wounded, and others who were carried away captives. This affair occurred within the jurisdiction of the patent, though beyond the line of English settlement in the colony.

No further hostilities occurred within the colony, but an enemy appeared in the villages of the Massachusetts Indians more dreaded than Mohawk or Tarratine. The small-pox, that terrible scourge of the red race, broke out among them during the winter of 1633. The Indians died by scores and by hundreds,—so fast, indeed, that the services of the whites were called into requisition to give

them burial. Sagamore John and his brother James were among the victims. The pestilence was not confined to any single locality, but swept with destructive effect through all the seaboard nations. The Narragansetts were reported to have lost seven hundred men by the disease; the warlike Pequots an unknown but considerable number. This terrible visitation released the English from all present apprehension of Indian troubles. Those of the Massachusetts tribes who survived were too few to be feared; and those Indians more remote were in no condition for war. A plague had cleared the way for the Plymouth Colony; a pestilence now destroyed the power of the Indians within the Massachusetts patent.

During the years of 1631, 1632, and 1633 many vessels arrived, bringing all kinds of provisions, implements, and merchandise, with large accessions of emigrants, who were distributed among the several plantations. A better feeling began to prevail,—the feeling of stability and permanence fairly won. This is a most interesting period in the history of the colony; rendered more so by the existence of an account of the several plantations as they appeared at this time.

That portion of William Wood's *New England's Prospect*¹ which relates to Middlesex County is best presented in the author's own quaint, graphic language. His may be considered the first account, after the settlement, of any value as an authority. Wood resided four years in New England. He supposed it to be an island isolated by the waters of the St. Lawrence and the Hudson, or else a peninsula. Captain Smith's description is commended by him. Wood's own relation is brought down to the 15th of August, 1633, and being really confined to the settlements in Massachusetts Bay, is all the more valuable for our purpose. He begins with Wessagusset, or Weymouth, the plantation farthest south, describes Mount Wollaston, Dorchester, Roxbury, Boston and its appendage of Muddy River (Brookline), then crosses Charles River into our territory. He says:—

"On the north side of Charles River is *Charles Towne*, which is another necke of land, on whose north side runs Misticke river. This town, for all things, may be well paralleled with her neighbor

¹ "*New England's Prospect*: A true, lively, and experimental description of that part of America commonly called New England; discovering the state of that countrie both as it stands to our new-come English planters; and to the old native inhabitants," etc. London, 1634.

Boston, being in the same fashion with her bare neck, and constrained to borrow conveniences from the main, and to provide for themselves farms in the country for their better subsistence. At this town there is kept a ferry-boat to convey passengers over Charles river: which, between the two towns, is a quarter of a mile over, being a very deep channel. Here may ride forty ships at a time.

"Up higher it is a broad bay being above two miles between the shores, into which runs Stony river and Muddy river. Towards the south-west, in the middle of this bay, is a great oyster-bank.

"Towards the north-west of this bay is a great creek, upon whose shore is situated the village of Medford, a very fertile and pleasant place and fit for more inhabitants than are yet in it. This town is a mile and a half from Charlestown; and at the bottom of this bay the river begins to be narrower, being but half a quarter of a mile broad.

"By the side of this river is built *Newtown*, which is three miles by land from Charlestown, and a league and a half by water. This place was first intended for a city; but upon more serious considerations it was not thought so fit, being too far from the sea, being the greatest inconvenience it hath. This is one of the neatest and best compacted towns in New England, having many fair structures, with many handsome contrived streets. The inhabitants, most of them, are very rich, and well stored with cattle of all sorts, having many hundred acres of ground paled in with one general fence, which is about a mile and a half long, which secures all their weaker cattle from the wild beasts. On the other side of the river lieth all their meadow and marsh ground for hay.

"Half a mile westward of this plantation, is *Walerstowne*, a place nothing inferior for land, wood, meadow, and water, to *Newtowne*. Within half a mile of this town is a great pond, which is divided between those two towns, which divides their bounds northward. A mile and a half from this town is a fall of fresh waters, which convey themselves into the ocean through Charles river. A little below this fall of waters, the inhabitants of

Water-towne have built a wear to catch fish, wherein they take great store of shads and alewives. In two tides they have gotten one hundred thousand of those fishes. This is no small benefit to the plantation. Ships of small burthen may come up to these two towns: but the oyster-banks do bar out the bigger ships.

"The next town is *Misticke*, which is three miles from Charles-towne by land, and a league and a half by water. It is seated by the water's side very pleasantly; there be not many houses as yet. At the head of this river are great and spacious ponds whither the alewives press to spawn. This being a noted place for that kind of fish, the English resort thither to take them. On the west side of this river the governor hath a farm, where he keeps most of his cattle. On the east side is Master Cradock's plantation, where he hath inclosed a park, where he keeps his cattle, till he can store it with deer. Here likewise he is at charges of building ships. The last year one was upon the stocks of a hundred ton. That being finished they are to build one twice her burden. Ships without either ballast or loading may float down this river. Otherwise the oyster-bank would hinder them which crosseth this channel."

Winnisimmet is the last town Wood describes in Boston Bay, or, as he terms it, the "Still Bay." He then touches at the islands, mentions the first orchard planted on what is now Governor's Island, then passes to the north of the bay in order to describe the remaining plantations of Saugus, Runney-Marsh (Revere), Salem, Marblehead, Agawam (Ipswich), and Merrimack (Newburyport). "These," he says, "be all the towns that were begun when I came for England: which was the 15th of August, 1633."

Wood's account is accompanied by a rude map delineating the coast from Narragansett Bay to Agamenticus, and giving the name and location of the English settlements then begun; the ponds, rivers, creeks, and bays that had then received English or Indian names. It is not sufficiently accurate to decide nice geographical questions.

VII.

FROM 1634 TO THE CLOSE OF THE PEQUOT WAR.

FROM the beginning of the year 1634 until the close of 1637 is embraced a very eventful period in the annals of Massachusetts. Settling fundamental principles of government, composing ecclesiastical feuds, and marshalling, for the first time, the scanty resources of the colonists for deadly struggle with the Indians, crowd these years with a succession of highly important civil, religious, and military achievements. The infant commonwealth was threatened on all sides, from within and from without; but it was her destiny to pass through these as well as many subsequent fiery ordeals unscathed.

Winthrop notes, under date of 1633, that many of the Charlestown congregation had become dissatisfied with Mr. James; and that Nowell and others began to regret their separation from the church at Boston. Within two years the difference had grown to such proportions that the withdrawal of Mr. James became unavoidable. He was succeeded by the teacher, Mr. Symmes.

The General Court, convened on the 14th of May, 1634, fixes an era in the civil government of the colony. Hitherto the governor and assistants had exercised almost arbitrary powers, but these powers were now to be limited and defined. Instead of coming to the court in a body, as formerly, the freemen now deputed two or three persons from each town to act for them, who are subsequently called deputies, and become a co-ordinate representative branch of the government. Twenty-four deputies having assembled, they first asked to see their charter; they next had a conference with Governor Winthrop, who warmly advocated preserving the old order of things. He was unwilling to delegate the law-making power to representatives fresh from the people; but would permit them to revise such laws as the Court of Assistants might make, — the delegates to be called together by the governor once in each year for this purpose. The deputies, however, resolved that only the General Court should have power to make and establish laws, elect or appoint the governor, deputy-gov-

ernor, assistants, treasurer, secretary, or military officers, remove them for misdemeanor, or define their powers and duties. It was also resolved that the General Court alone should have power to raise moneys, levy taxes, or dispose of lands. In a word, a clean sweep was made of all except the executive powers; the people recovered what they had lost by gradual encroachment, indifference, or indiscreet surrender: the governor and assistants retained what the charter conferred, and no more.

After these resolutions the court proceeded to elect Dudley governor in the place of Winthrop, and Roger Ludlow deputy. Some changes were made in the assistants. The number of general courts to be held in each year was fixed at four, but this number was soon reduced to two. The legislative body, thus organized, continued with some unimportant changes as long as the charter was retained. The freemen refused to permit the governor and assistants to retain powers not delegated by the charter, but themselves assumed others not expressed by its terms.

It appears that each town sent three deputies to this court. The record does not state what towns were represented, but it is presumed only Newtown, Watertown, Charlestown, Boston, Saugus, Roxbury, Dorchester, and Salem were present by their deputies, as none of those named came from the other plantations. The names of the first deputies are: William Goodwin, William Spencer, John Talcott, of Newtown; Richard Brown, John Oldham, Robert Feakes, of Watertown; Thomas Beecher, Abraham Palmer, Robert Moulton, of Charlestown; John Coxall, Edmund Quincy, Captain John Underhill, of Boston; John Johnson, William Heath, George Alcock, of Roxbury; Israel Stoughton, William Felpes, George Hull, of Dorchester; Captain Nathaniel Turner, Thomas Willis, Edward Tomlins, of Saugus; John Holgrave, Roger Conant, Francis Weston, of Salem.

This year the people of Newtown complained that their limits were too narrow, and, there being

no contiguous ungranted land, they desired the court to grant them an unoccupied tract for enlargement or removal. An exploring party was accordingly sent to Agawam and Merrimack for this purpose. Neither situation appears to have pleased them; for later in the season some of the Newtown people went to Connecticut with the same object. On the 4th of September a court assembled at Newtown. Its principal business was to consider the removal of the plantation to Connecticut. The session continued a week, and as no decision was then reached, it was adjourned until the 24th, when the court again met. After Mr. Cotton had preached, it again took up the question of removal, which was finally decided in the negative by the vote of a majority of the assistants. The Newtown people then accepted the offer of more land by Watertown and Boston, which gave them the additional territory now included in the towns of Brookline, Brighton, and in Newton. The Brookline (Muddy River) grant was subsequently forfeited by the removal of Hooker and his congregation, but Newtown held possession of the other tracts.

This adjustment of the question was only temporary. Hooker and the larger part of his congregation were fully determined on removing to Connecticut, with or without leave of the other members of the colony. Winthrop mentions, under date of November, 1635, the departure by land of about sixty men, women, and little children, with their cows, horses, and swine, who after a tedious and difficult journey arrived safely at their destination. Although he does not say that these emigrants were of Newtown, we presume such was the fact. He also notes the return to Boston, by vessel, the same winter, of seventy men and women, who were thus rescued from famine. Notwithstanding these events, and the hostile attitude of the Dutch on Connecticut River, Hooker's congregation put its resolution to remove into effect. On the last day of October, 1636, they departed for their promised land. Mrs. Hooker was carried in a horse-litter, and a hundred and sixty cattle were driven before. Their possessions at Newtown were purchased by Rev. Thomas Shepard and others, who arrived in the autumn of 1635 and the spring of 1636.

In the summer of 1634 a question of serious embarrassment arose. The previous year had witnessed an order of the king in council prohibiting the departure of certain ships then getting ready to sail for New England. Upon petition by the

shipmasters these vessels were allowed to depart; but what was of infinitely greater consequence to the Massachusetts Colony, ex-Governor Cradock was, by the same order, commanded to bring its charter before the council. The governor wrote over to the colony for its return, and thus one of the questions which originally determined its transfer to New England confronted those holding places under it. The withdrawal of that instrument, the appointment of a governor by the king, was the perpetual nightmare of the chiefs of the colony. After a long and anxious consultation, answer was returned to Mr. Cradock that the royal letters-patent could only be sent out of the colony by an act of the General Court, which body would not assemble until September, it then being in July. Time was thus gained, and it was hoped the king's mandate would be allowed to slumber. The demand was, however, peremptorily renewed and as often evaded, until the affairs of the kingdom withdrew attention from New England.

When the court did assemble, after settling the Newtown removal controversy, a levy of £ 600 was made on the plantations to be applied to fortifications. One of the newly arrived ships brought a copy of the commission granted to the two archbishops and ten of the council to regulate all plantations, to call in all patents, to make laws, raise tithes and portions for ministers, to remove and punish governors, and to hear and determine all causes and inflict all punishments, even to the death penalty. This plenary power, the colonists were advised, was levelled at them: ships and soldiers were said to be preparing in England to bring over a royal governor and to give effect to the much dreaded commission. The work of erecting fortifications was hastened. A solemn consultation between the magistrates and ministers resulted in the determination to defend themselves against these innovations by force if there was a prospect of success, and to temporize if there were none. Only in the fourth year of its existence, the colony now stood on the verge of open rebellion: and while thus in daily apprehension of the total subversion of the government, an act coming little short of rebellion was performed.

At the November court complaint was made by Richard Brown of Watertown that the colony flag had been defaced at Salem by cutting out part of the red cross. No action was taken at this court, but at the next, Endicott, the old governor, was called to answer for the defacement. The alleged

cause for the act was that the cross was an emblem of Popery. Opinion being divided, the cause was again postponed; and in the mean time the newly created military commission ordered all the ensigns to be laid aside.

At the next court, which was one of election, John Haynes was chosen governor and Richard Bellingham deputy-governor. Endicott was left out of the number of assistants; and being again called upon to defend his mutilating the ensign, was reprimanded and disqualified from holding office for a year. To allay the excitement growing out of this affair, it was seriously proposed to substitute the red and white rose for the cross in the colors. The military commission afterwards, in the exercise of its powers, left out the cross in the colors borne by the colony troops, and caused a flag having the king's arms to be raised over the castle in Boston harbor. This leads us to observe that the fathers of the colony were making rapid strides towards independence. They had established a church different from that of the kingdom, refused to tolerate the only form of religious worship recognized by the laws of their country, disobeyed a royal mandate, and at length exercised the sovereignty of an independent state by adopting a flag of their own.

In November, 1634, a Pequot warrior arrived at Boston to solicit the friendship of the whites for his people. The envoy brought two bundles of sticks to signify how many beaver and other skins his tribe would give to secure that friendship. This messenger was followed by others, who renewed the application for a treaty of amity. They desired the friendship or neutrality of the English as against the Narragansetts, with whom the Pequots were at war. The English at once demanded, as a preliminary, the surrender of the Indians who had killed some Englishmen on the Connecticut River. This was agreed to. The Pequots also consented to yield Connecticut to the English rather than to have the Dutch take it from them by force. The alliance was formally concluded by an exchange of presents. The English were not bound by it to defend the Pequots against their enemies, but only to stand neutral, and to supply them with English goods. In fact, it was a treaty of commerce and neutrality.

As reference has been made to the military commission, a brief explanation of the nature of its powers and duties is deemed necessary. The order establishing it named the governor and deputy,

Winthrop, Humphrey, Haynes, Endicott, Pynchon, Nowell, Bellingham, and Bradstreet as members. This commission controlled absolutely all the military affairs of the colony. Not only was it charged with the execution of existing laws, it was invested with the war-making power, with authority to call out and to command the colony forces, to frame the oath they should take, and finally to inflict the death penalty when it should become necessary.

Upon no other hypothesis, except that the relations of the colony with the mother country were considered extremely critical, can such an extraordinary surrender of power—and by a people, too, who had so recently shown such jealousy of their magistrates' assumptions—be explained. The commission was not created to take cognizance of Indian affairs. Peace existed with the Narragansetts, and had only just been concluded with the Pequots; peace was not threatened in any other quarter. The demand to yield up that freedom for which they had endured so much, to bow their necks to the old yoke of ecclesiastical despotism, was producing its legitimate results. The colonists began to look upon England as a possible enemy; to measure their own feeble strength with the resources of the empire; and, very likely, the idea of separation was already germinating in some minds.

The court authorizing this commission and the subsequent court of election were held at Newtown, which appears to have shared with Boston the honor of being the capital,—probably from the circumstance of Dudley's residence. It was also the residence of Bradstreet, and of Haynes, whose election to the office of governor, only the second year after his arrival in the colony, testifies to the high consideration in which he was held. These early courts were, according to tradition, sometimes held in the open air, under the spreading branches of an oak which formerly stood on the northerly side of Cambridge Common. That this was not always the practice is evident from Winthrop's interesting account of the method of procedure at the election of Haynes in 1635. He says that the governor and deputy were chosen by ballots on which the candidates' names were written. In choosing the assistants the governor nominated a person, after which the deputies all left the room and subsequently came in by another door, when each dropped his ballot into a hat. No names were written on the ballots for assistants. The



••••• William Verelsteyn's Journal •••••

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negative votes were blank: the affirmative had some mark or scroll to distinguish them.

The first steps towards creating a code of laws appear to have been taken by this court; a committee being appointed for this object to act in conjunction with certain of the ministers. The result of their labors was to be submitted to the General Court. In connection with this movement for a body of laws, it should be mentioned that the first grand jury was created in this year; and at the court which assembled in September it presented over one hundred causes, some of the magistrates being of the number of offenders.

New plantations began to spring up, the narrow zone of settlements to extend itself more and more into the wilderness. In March, 1633, John Winthrop, Jr., with twelve others, began the English settlement at Agawam, which was in August, 1634, named Ipswich, from the port in England whence many of the colonists had departed for New England. In 1635 the old settlement of Wessagusset was formally recognized as a plantation, though it does not appear to have so early received its present name of Weymouth. The same year some of the Ipswich settlers began to be "straitened," and obtained leave to "sit down" at Quasacumque, which was made a town and named Newbury. The people of Watertown and of Roxbury were also given leave to remove to any place they might select within the government.

At the September court leave was granted Mr. Buckley (Rev. Peter Bulkely) and about twelve more families to begin a town at Musketaquid. They were granted six miles upon the river (Musketaquid) and freedom from taxation for three years. The settlement was called Concord. To expedite its establishment the magistrates of the nearest towns were required to impress teams to transport the proposing settlers' goods. The Indian title to Concord was obtained by purchase of the Squaw Sachem, queen of the tribes inhabiting this region. The toil and suffering endured by those who first settled among the tangled thickets of Musketaquid are feelingly depicted by Edward Johnson in his *Wonder-Working Providence*.

This was the first inland town settled. The inhabitants first built on the south side of the hill extending from the public square to Meriam's Corner. The formation of a church did not take place until the following year, and it was not then gathered at Concord, but at Newtown, Mr. Bulkely

and Mr. John Jones, two English ministers, being appointed for the purpose. Owing to what was conceived to be a want of proper respect paid to them, neither the governor nor the deputy attended at the ceremony, although both were invited. It was a year later (1637) before the church organization was completed by the formal choice of Bulkely for teacher and Jones as pastor. Even then Governor Vane, Cotton, Wheelwright, and the leading spirits of the Boston church refused the approbation of their presence to the new congregation because the orthodoxy of the two clergymen was more than questioned. The ordination took place at Newtown.

The same year that the grant to Concord was made a town was begun above the falls of Charles River at what was subsequently Dedham. These continual shiftings of population during the first ten years not only seriously retarded growth in the original towns, but continually changed their relative rank in the colony. Newtown, which had acquired importance from the high character of its original settlers, was wellnigh depopulated. Watertown was seriously crippled. The ambition of some, the greed of others, and the alleged overcrowding of the coast towns, all contributed to this result.

Two notable arrivals are now to be mentioned: that of John Winthrop, Jr., who came back from England with a commission from Lords Say and Brook to be governor of Connecticut; and that of Henry Vane, then only twenty-three years old, but whose eventful and romantic career has employed many famous pens. One of Vane's first recorded acts was the attempt, in conjunction with the celebrated Hugh Peters, to heal the old feud between the followers of Winthrop and Dudley, which was always smouldering, always ready to break out afresh upon any new cause of disturbance. We remark with surprise the deference thus early paid to young Vane by men who were his superiors in knowledge of affairs, in experience, and in judgment, to say nothing of the wisdom which age is supposed to bring. The conference censured Winthrop mildly for his disposition to relax the severity of the laws, or, in other words, for his habitual clemency to offenders. Winthrop humbly accepted the reproof as just, and promised to conform his own acts with the expressed judgment of the majority.

The opportune arrival of Rev. Mr. Shepard and his companions at Newtown has been mentioned.

Two days after landing at Boston, which was on the 3d of October, 1635, they went to Newtown, where they found everything in the confusion incident to the departure of Hooker's congregation. As many houses were empty, the new-comers were soon accommodated in the dwellings of their departing brethren. It appears that neither Shepard nor his friends meant Newtown to be their permanent home, but after some trial of the place it was decided inexpedient to remove. In February a new church was gathered with all the solemnity characteristic of such occasions. Mr. Shepard was chosen pastor, Mr. Cotton gave the right hand of fellowship, and then after a most edifying season of prayer and exhortation the grave assemblage broke up. We note in this connection that Jonathan Mitchell, the successor of Shepard, arrived in August, 1635, in the same ship with Rev. Richard Mather, the celebrated minister of Dorchester.

At the court of election in May, 1636, Vane was chosen governor. His administration was destined to be anything but a succession of triumphs. The mutterings of discontent at home soon mingled with the alarms of war from abroad. The prelude to what is known as the Pequot War was the killing of that John Oldham whose expulsion from Plymouth will be remembered. Oldham appears to have led, after this event, a sober and industrious life. He was one of the earliest settlers of Watertown, and one of its first deputies to the General Court. He was one of the pioneers who, in 1634, traversed the wilderness to the Connecticut River, thus leading the way for the settlement at Windsor. He was a man of indomitable spirit; for neither his ignominious treatment at Plymouth, nor the disappointment, not to say wrong, he endured at the hands of the Massachusetts Company, seems to have crushed him. His murder was traced to the Block Island Indians, on whom the Massachusetts authorities determined to inflict exemplary chastisement.

With this object, which public sentiment fully approved, four companies of about twenty-five officers and men each were raised, and placed under the command of Endicott. The captains were Underhill, Turner, Jennison, and Davenport. The men all volunteered for the expedition, receiving their subsistence, but no pay from the colony.

¹ Having presumed to return to Plymouth after his banishment, he was compelled to run a sort of gauntlet between a double file of musketeers, each of whom struck the culprit with the butt of his piece as he passed.

The English forces arrived at Block Island during the last of August. On attempting to land they were stoutly assailed by the islanders, who as yet possessed no firearms, but plied the invaders with arrows from the shore. At length, the troops having landed, the natives fled and hid themselves so effectually that the English were able, after two days' search, to execute the sanguinary order, to kill all the men found on the island, upon only fourteen. They, however, destroyed the cornfields, burnt all the wigwams, and then re-embarked.

Endicott's instructions were to proceed from Block Island to the Pequot country, there to demand the murderers of Captain Stone, an indemnity of a thousand fathoms of wampum, and hostages for future good behavior. If these demands were refused, he was to use force in order to bring the Pequots to terms. Endicott landed his troops on both banks of Pequot, now Thames, River, and, having failed in negotiating, destroyed some wigwams and killed two of the enemy. He then returned to Boston.

The little injury inflicted on the Pequots served only to exasperate them, and they immediately began hostilities against the feeble settlements on the Connecticut. The gravity of the situation now forced itself upon the attention of all the English; upon the three or four weak plantations on the Connecticut; upon the handful Roger Williams had only just gathered about him at Providence; upon the more remote but foolish instigators of this outbreak, who now realized the impolicy of their conduct in letting loose this nest of wasps upon themselves and their countrymen. Alarm spread through all the plantations. The Pequots had naturally begun the work of massacre and revenge upon those nearest them. Now it was feared that Pequots and Narragansetts, though hereditary enemies, might combine to destroy the English. Governor Vane acted with promptitude in the emergency. He invited Miantonomoh, the Narragansett sagamore, to Boston, and the chief-tain came, in savage pomp, attended by twenty of his warriors. He was easily induced to sign a treaty of alliance, but the English, between fear and distrust, put so little faith in it that they at once despatched messengers to Roger Williams entreating his aid in preventing a peace between the two great rivals. Notwithstanding Pequot emissaries were already at work among the Narragansetts, Williams succeeded, at the risk of his life, in frustrating the alliance, and in deciding the Narragansetts to keep their



Slaughter of Peasants.

society

treaty with the English. Had he failed, the history of the Pequot War might have had a very different reading. Time brings its revenges. Williams banished, fleeing from the oppression of those who now so earnestly besought his help, was become their mediator and their savior.

Notwithstanding they had been baffled in their purpose of effecting at least a truce with the Narragansetts, the Pequots continued their efforts to destroy the settlements at Saybrook and at Wethersfield. Intercourse between the plantations was almost cut off by roving bands of the enemy.

In the following spring the loyal Narragansetts took the field against the Pequots, inflicting some losses upon them. In May the settlements on the Connecticut held a general court at Hartford, at which war was formally declared against the Pequots. Ninety men were enrolled under the orders of Captain John Mason. Eighty Mohegan warriors were also joined to this force. Massachusetts Colony had previously sent a few men to Saybrook under command of Captain Underhill. Plymouth did not co-operate in the war when invited by Massachusetts to do so. She had been the first established on the Connecticut, and felt herself badly treated in that quarter by her more powerful neighbor.

With these forces Mason proceeded by water to Narragansett Bay, where he was well received by Miantonomoh, who furnished a reinforcement of four hundred warriors. Mason then began his march for the Pequot stronghold at Mystic. He arrived before the fort on the night of the 26th of May. The Pequots, deceived by Mason's long détour, when they had expected him to land in the Thames, were lulled in fatal security. They had passed half the night in joyous festivity, and were now stretched upon their mats in deep slumber.

Mason formed his men by the light of a splendid moon, and gave the order to advance with caution. When the English had reached the foot of the hill, on the summit of which the fort was situated, they perceived that their Indian allies had deserted them. Nothing daunted, Mason gave the final signal, when the English rushed on to the assault. A horrible scene of carnage ensued, the English being, as Underhill says, "bereaved of pity." When it was over the power of the Pequots was forever broken. Between six and seven hundred perished by fire and sword. The conquerors took only seven prisoners. But two Englishmen were killed. The surprise was complete; the slaughter horrible.

Before Mason marched from Narragansett Captain Daniel Patrick of Watertown notified him of his arrival, with forty Massachusetts soldiers, at Roger Williams's plantation. Mason marched without him. Patrick afterwards joined Mason at Pequot harbor, and moved with him to Saybrook. These forty men were part of two hundred which Massachusetts was levying for the war. The emergency having thus happily passed, a day of thanksgiving was kept throughout Massachusetts for the signal victory over the Indian enemy. Captain Israel Stoughton of Dorchester was then despatched, with a hundred and twenty additional soldiers, for the scene of action. In conjunction with the other troops, he captured or destroyed the remnant of this once dreaded nation. The Pequot women and children were parcelled out among the conquerors as servants, Stoughton himself stipulating for the fairest one he saw among them. Thus the war which began with a fatal blunder ended gloriously for the English arms. Connecticut was saved; Plymouth and Massachusetts had forty years in which to prepare for their deadly struggle with the Narragansetts.

VIII.

FROM THE PEQUOT WAR TO THE FORMATION OF THE COUNTY.

WHILE the war which threatened to decide the very existence of the English was progressing, the government, ministers, elders, and people of Boston were engaged in a bitter wrangle over questions of religious opinion, — questions that now astound us to think they could ever cause serious division. The other plantations were more or less affected by what is known as the Antinomian controversy, but Boston was the hotbed, the centre, of this extraordinary affair. Here the entire community was arrayed in two factions; a state of anarchy, almost impossible to describe, prevailed. Universal madness seems to have seized upon the whole people. Mrs. Anne Hutchinson and Rev. John Wheelwright led the crusade against the Old Theology. In Boston public opinion was so excited that the General Court — and, later, an ecclesiastical council for the examination of the new heretical doctrines and their advocates — was held at Newtown; the public stores of arms were also removed from Boston to Roxbury and Newtown as a measure of precaution. Both Mrs. Hutchinson and Wheelwright were banished, the former going to Rhode Island, the latter to what is now Exeter, N. H., of which he was the founder. Wheelwright appealed to the king's majesty, but his judges refused to entertain his appeal. Many persons of note and condition were disfranchised, a large number disarmed; and some very worthy citizens left the colony in disgust, never to return. Among them may be mentioned Coggeshall and Coddington, both of whom became honorably identified with the early history of Rhode Island.

We have not the space and little disposition to pursue the history of this controversy, which, but for its disastrous consequences, might be compared to a tempest in a teapot. The country towns seem to have been generally united against the heretical opinions of the capital, as we find only two persons in Charlestown who were disarmed. At the first court this year, 1637, which was held at Newtown, Winthrop was again elected governor. The dislike he felt for Vane seems to have pro-

duced something like open rupture between them. Each represented a faction bitterly hostile to the other. The struggle for the control of this court resulted in the defeat of Vane and his friends, who attempted to obtain a revocation of Wheelwright's sentence without success. Party spirit ran so high that it is related of Rev. Mr. Wilson of Boston, that he harangued the multitude from the limb of a tree, the first recorded instance we find of stump-speaking in the colony. Vane soon left Boston for England, where he became an actor in the great drama of the Civil War.

In October, 1636, during the height of the Pequot war, the court "agreed to give 400 *l.* towards a school or collidge whereof 200 *l.* to be paid the next year and 200 *l.* when the work is finished and the next court to appoint when and what building." This was the foundation of Harvard College. The next year, in November, 1637, while religious strife was blazing fiercely in the capital, — so fiercely that the court held its own sessions at Newtown, — the college was ordered to be at that place because, as Shepard says, it was free from the contagion of Antinomian opinions. A committee consisting of Winthrop, Dudley, Bellingham, Humphrey, Harlakenden, Stoughton, Cotton, Wilson, Davenport, Welde, Shepard, and Peters was appointed to carry the order into effect. Into the hands of these twelve eminent magistrates and ministers was consigned this most important educational trust; and thus in the midst of an emergency which threatened the very existence of their structure of religious government the life of their religious seminary began.

In the following year the name of Newtown was changed to Cambridge, thus establishing an identity of name and purpose between college and town. Peters, Welde, Wilson, Shepard, and Cotton, who had all been educated at Cambridge, were, no doubt, influential in causing the change to be made. In March, 1639, the institution was ordered to be called Harvard College, out of respect to Rev. John Harvard of Charlestown, who at his

death, in the previous year, bequeathed half his estate, which was estimated at about £1,800, and his library of three hundred volumes to it. The next year the ferry at Charlestown was granted to the college.

The example of the pious Harvard bore immediate fruit. His bequest was followed by one of £200 from the magistrates for the library, and by donations of smaller sums from others. The desire to help forward the enterprise was thus communicated to the people. Those who had money to give, gave it; and those who had not, sent sheep, cotton cloth, pewter flagons, and such articles as they supposed might be of use or convertible into money. Such gifts as a fruit-dish, a silver-tipped jug, one great salt, a sugar-spoon, and a small trencher-salt, which the records faithfully preserve in connection with the names of the givers, may perhaps excite a smile, but cannot be otherwise regarded than as constituting one of the most interesting pages in the annals of the university,—one which presents in the strongest light the contrast between its humble origin, when beginning its high mission, and its commanding attitude of to-day. The more lowly that origin, the grander the development; the more obstacles to be surmounted, the greater the achievement in overcoming them.

Notwithstanding these evidences of public and private favor, the college was, at the outset of its career, singularly unfortunate in its first master. The choice fell upon Nathaniel Eaton, a member of the church at Cambridge, who was also intrusted with the receipt of donations and superintendence of the building to be erected. By a vote of the town, May 11, 1638, two and two-thirds acres of land were set aside "to the town's use forever, for a public school or college; and to the use of Mr. Nathaniel Eaton" as long as he should be employed in that work. This tract, though not directly conveyed to the colony, is considered to be the town's contribution to the college, and its recognition of the act fixing its location at Cambridge. Holworthy, Stoughton, and Hollis are supposed to stand on the ground originally conveyed. The colony subsequently granted Eaton five hundred acres of land, to be confirmed if he continued in his appointment for life.

So far from justifying the trust reposed in him, Eaton was brought before the General Court, in 1639 on the charge of assaulting and cruelly beating Nathaniel Biscoe, his usher, "with a walnut-

tree plant, big enough to have killed a horse, and a yard in length."¹ The examination further showed Eaton and his wife to be guilty of gross cruelty and neglect towards the students under their charge. Its disclosures concerning the preparation of food for the scholars are revolting, and difficult to believe. Eaton was heavily fined, and debarred from exercising his calling, within the jurisdiction. It excites a smile to read that after being sentenced Eaton greatly disappointed, surprised, and pained his judges by not breaking out in praises to God for the magnanimity and justice of the verdict.

The church of Cambridge now proposed to take Eaton in hand, but before it could "deal with him" he ran away,—first to Piscataqua, where he was again apprehended, but by a clever ruse escaped to a ship bound for Virginia,—and finally reached England, leaving his debts in the colony unpaid. The church then cast him out.

After the dismissal of Eaton his functions were transferred to Samuel Shepard, by whom they were performed until the appointment, in August, 1640, of Henry Dunster, with the title of President of the college. Dunster is mentioned by Lechford (probably in 1641) as having a class of about twenty young men.

In 1642 a government for the college was organized. It was composed of the governor, deputy-governor, and magistrates, together with the ministers of the six next adjacent towns, who with the president constituted a corporation for regulating its affairs. At a public commencement this year nine young gentlemen received the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Hutchinson says most of them went to England soon afterward. Several became celebrated; George Downing, soldier, negotiator, traitor, and Rev. William Hubbard, minister and historian, are the most eminent. The thesis of the first class of graduates may be found in *New England's First Fruits*, printed in London in 1643.

The next year, 1643, the college organization was further perfected by the choice of Herbert Pelham to be its treasurer, and by the adoption of a seal having for its device three open books on the pages of which was the word "Veritas." Harvard continued to be an object of attention throughout the New England colonies. The commissioners of the confederacy urged their constituents to aid it by voluntary offerings. Connecticut

¹ Winthrop's Journal, I. p. 372.

made contributions of money and produce, and may be considered to have acquired a title to some share in the fame of the university. Seven years later the government of the college was made a corporate body, and received a charter, under the colony seal, which remained in force until the colony charter was itself vacated.

The building first erected was of wood. Edward Johnson quaintly says it was "thought by some to be too gorgeous for a wilderness, and yet too mean in others' apprehensions for a college." He says, further, that it had a fine hall, comfortable studies, and a good library. When he wrote, it was being enlarged by the purchase of some neighboring houses. The author of *New England's First Fruits*, published in London in 1643, whose account precedes that of Johnson, describes the college building in much the same terms; mentioning in addition that a fair grammar school stood by its side in which young scholars were prepared to enter the college by Master (Elijah) Corlett.

Not long after Johnson's account was written, the subject of Indian education being revived, a brick building of two stories was erected in 1665, near the college, chiefly at the cost of the Society for Propagating the Gospel. Master Corlett seems also to have had charge of this Indian school, which, however, never realized the hopes of its founders that it would prove instrumental in diffusing knowledge among the aborigines. The number of pupils was never large, and the name of only one Indian stands on the list of college graduates. The well-wishers and active promoters of the enterprise, among whom Eliot and Gookin are prominent, were compelled to acknowledge the experiment a failure. The building was soon converted into a printing-office, and Green's press set up there.¹

Early in 1638 Winthrop and Dudley, then in their old places of governor and deputy, went together to Concord, in order to make choice of land which had been granted them for farms. Each offered the other the first choice, and after some friendly contention about it Dudley yielded. In testimony of reconciliation they named two great stones which marked the deputy's boundary the "Two Brothers," a name which received legal sanction from the General Court.

Among others a new plantation was begun this year at what is now Sudbury, although its incorporation did not take place until the following

year. The question of boundary between Massachusetts and Plymouth now came up for the first time, and became a matter of frequent controversy. Connecticut, too, had her grievance. She wished to be independent of Massachusetts; while Massachusetts desired to retain some sort of control as the head of a confederation which she was now proposing to the other colonies.

An event of importance was the establishment by Stephen Daye, in 1639, of a printing-house at Cambridge. It is probable that its want had been seriously felt in the great increase of public and private business; but especially for the multiplication of public documents of every description, which until now had been done by professional scribes. Thus, the first thing printed was the "Freeman's Oath," the next an almanac made by William Peirce, mariner, and the next, the Psalms "newly turned into metre."¹ Samuel Green, the successor of Daye, is sometimes erroneously called the first printer in the colonies, but this honor belongs to Daye. Green's most important work was the Bible, translated into the Indian tongue, which issued from his press in 1661 and 1663; the New Testament being published in the first and the Old Testament in the last named year. This stupendous task of translation, on which Eliot's heart had been set since 1649, was achieved under the patronage and at the expense of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians, first established in England in 1649. The Society sent over a printer to assist Green, named Marmaduke Johnson, an idle, dissolute fellow, of whom the commissioners of the United Colonies made serious complaint to his employers. A copy of the Indian Bible being presented to Charles II., to whom it was dedicated, caused the learned Baxter to declare it "such a work and fruit of a plantation as was never before presented to a king."

¹ The Bay Psalm Book, as it is called, is of such excessive rarity, that copies have been sold in Boston at \$1000. A copy belonging to the late George Brinley recently sold for \$1200. Prince, in his Preface to the revised edition of 1758, gives the following account of its origin: "By 1636, there were come over thither, near thirty learned and pious ministers, educated in the universities of England, and from the exalted principles of Scripture purity in religious worship, they set themselves to translate the Psalms and other Scripture songs into English metre as near as possible to the inspired original. They committed this work especially to the Rev. Mr. Welde and the Rev. John Eliot of Roxbury, well acquainted with the Hebrew and Greek also. They finished the Psalms in 1640, which were first printed by Mr. Daye, that year and had the honour of being the first book printed in North America, and, as far as I find in the whole new world."

¹ Captain Samuel Green, printer, of Cambridge, father of Bartholemew Green of Cambridge and Boston.

The two regiments of militia in the Bay, that is, of the towns near Boston, were mustered this year for exercise at Boston, probably on the training-field, since called the Common. They together numbered a thousand men, and were commanded by the governor and deputy. Winthrop says they were well armed and officered. The Pequot War had doubtless infused a martial spirit among the people, which the very equivocal attitude of the colony towards the mother country taught the authorities to foster and encourage. This thousand men represented the number that might be called together in an emergency, but by no means the whole military strength of the colony.

The representative body, having increased to thirty-three deputies under the old apportionment, was reduced by restricting the number to two from each town. The old, unsettled question of a body or code of laws, which had so often been agitated, likewise approached solution. The people earnestly desired such a code. The rulers on the contrary, being conscious that many usages which already had the force of laws in the colony were repugnant to the laws of England, and therefore in violation of their charter, interposed delays rather than enact a code which might be used as conclusive evidence against them. They preferred a civil and judicial administration resting upon customs which should be as fully recognized and take the form of laws; but, meaning to obey the statutes of England only in so far as those statutes were not repugnant to their own ideas, they had judiciously refrained from putting their condemnation on record. It was, however, no longer possible to pursue such a policy. The people insisted upon having a body of fundamental laws; the work was put into the hands of two ministers, Mr. Cotton of Boston and Mr. Nathaniel Ward of Ipswich, each of whom was to frame a code to be submitted to the next court. In 1641 the code prepared by Ward, who had been bred to the law in England, was accepted by the General Court, and called the "Body of Liberties." Even then the court did not enact, but called upon the people to consider and obey its provisions as if they were laws. The tide of emigration to New England had now ceased to flow. Hutchinson estimates the number of emigrants during the twelve years ending in 1640 at 21,200 souls; and the number of ships employed in bringing them at two hundred and ninety-eight. The English Puritans no longer looked to New England for an asylum, but were

preparing for the tremendous conflict which a few years later overthrew the monarchy and erected the Commonwealth on its ruins. For a hundred years to come New England was to depend wholly upon the natural and legitimate increase of population and resources. We consider therefore the close of the decade after the settlement of Boston as fixing a distinct era in the history of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay.

In 1641 Bellingham was chosen governor and Endicott deputy-governor. The following year rumors prevailed of an uprising among the Narragansetts, which upon investigation proved to be without foundation. Miantonomoh, upon being summoned, came to Boston and defended himself with dignity against the accusations of his enemies. This year, too, witnessed the publication in England of Thomas Lechford's *Plain Dealing; or, News from New England*. Lechford lived several years in Boston, where he had practised, under the vexatious restraints imposed, his profession of attorney. He was also employed by the authorities in transcribing important public acts, among others the celebrated "Body of Liberties." His book gives by far the best account of the organization and procedure in the government, the courts, and in the churches of New England that can be found; supplying an important need to making an intelligent opinion on the civil and ecclesiastical administration in the colony.

A reference to the origin of two of the staunchest and most substantial of the original towns of Middlesex will complete the catalogue as it existed at the organization of the shire. As early as September, 1639, the inhabitants of Lynn were granted four miles square, at the end of their limits, for an inland plantation. In May following the court granted the usual exemption from taxation, to begin when seven houses should be built and seven families settled. The Indian title was purchased in 1640 of Sagamore George, Abigail his sister, and others, for the sum of £10 16s. This grant, by which Middlesex received an accession from Essex, included, under the name of Lynn Village, Reading, North Reading, and Wakefield. The settlement was not incorporated until the 20th of May, 1644.

The rise of another town in Middlesex is also to be recorded. In May, 1640, Charlestown petitioned the General Court for additional territory, which was immediately granted by assigning two miles square of unappropriated land, on which the

thriving town of Woburn now stands. Exploring parties immediately set out to establish the boundaries of the new tract, which first received the name of Charlestown Village. Among the first explorers were Increase Nowell, an assistant, and secretary of the colony, Rev. Zechariah Symmes, then the pastor of the church of Charlestown, and Edward Johnson, author of *Wonder-Working Providence*. Johnson also accompanied a second party in September, of which Captain Robert Sedgwick, who became highly distinguished under Cromwell, was one.

The original grant having been doubled, and the projected settlement meeting with more and more favor, a number of settlers took possession of a site in and about the present centre of the town in the following spring, laying out house-lots and erecting dwellings. It may be mentioned that the church at Charlestown regarded this second exodus with some alarm, though she had at first actively joined in the movement. In August, 1642, a church organization was effected, and soon after the Rev. Thomas Carter of Watertown was ordained as pastor. The town was incorporated the same autumn under its present name of Woburn.

The year 1643 is remarkable for several important events: for the war which broke out between the Narragansetts and Mohegans, in which Miantonomoh was made prisoner and put to death; for the confederacy between the colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, — Rhode Island and Maine being left out, — which was in the nature of an alliance, offensive and defensive, for mutual protection. Thus was consummated what had been agitated since 1638, but what the mutual jealousies of the contracting parties had defeated of earlier accomplishment. In this connection it should be mentioned that Massachusetts in 1641 assumed jurisdiction over the whole of New Hampshire, by virtue of surveys made of the Upper Merrimack and by a broad interpretation of the terms of her charter.

In May, 1643, the whole colony was divided into four shires, Middlesex, Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk. Middlesex included the towns or plantations at Charlestown, Cambridge, Watertown, Sudbury, Concord, Woburn, Medford, and Beading, then called Lynn Village. Essex contained Salem, Lynn, Enon (Wenham), Ipswich, Rowley, Newbury, Gloucester, Chocchichawick (Andover). Suffolk embraced Boston, Roxbury, Dorchester, Dedham, Braintree, Weymouth, Hingham, Nantasket (Hull). Norfolk included Salisbury, Hamp-

ton, Haverhill, Exeter, Dover, Strawberry-Bank (Portsmouth). The whole number of towns embraced in these subdivisions was thirty. Only Essex retains all the towns originally assigned to her by the act creating these four counties. Norfolk comprised all the settlements in New Hampshire and none of those now constituting the county of that name. Suffolk was in part formed of the towns now in Norfolk, which has changed its place on the map from north of the Merrimack to south of the Charles. It may be stated, in explanation of the very curious appearance which the map of Norfolk now presents, that Hingham and Hull remained parts of Suffolk County until their transfer to Plymouth in 1803. These four original shires derived their own names from the English counties of the same name.

In the same year that these four counties were erected, a new organization of the militia was determined upon. The three regiments constituting the colony forces were to be commanded by a major-general, and each regiment by a sergeant-major. In furtherance of this object the Middlesex deputies were ordered to meet at Cambridge to nominate a candidate to command the shire regiment, who should then be voted for by the freemen. The reorganization was effected in the following year. Having a contemporary account written by one of the regimental officers, under whose incognito of "Kentish captain" we discover the author of *Wonder-Working Providence*, we insert it as it is printed in his book.

"The first sergeant-major chosen to order the regiment of Essex¹ [Middlesex?] was Major Robert Sedgwick,² stout and active in all feats of war, nurst up in London's Artillery Garden and fur-

¹ This should read "Middlesex." See the last sentence, which refers to Essex.

² Robert Sedgwick, who is described by Johnson as having "a very good head-piece," and who is identified with the early history of Charlestown, deserves a more lengthy notice than our limits permit. He was engaged with Leverett in the reduction of the French posts in Acadia, in 1654. Having entered the Protector's service, he was sent by him to complete the conquest of Jamaica, where he fell a victim to the climate; or, if we may believe Thurloe, died of a broken heart because Cromwell imposed the command of the army there upon him. Sedgwick had been admitted a freeman of the colony in 1635, was an original member of the Artillery Company of Boston, and had been one of the London Artillery before emigrating to New England. He gave two small shops in Boston to Harvard College. Carlyle calls him a very brave, zealous, and pious man, and says his letters to Cromwell on the expeditions to St. Domingo and Jamaica are the best worth reading on that subject. The Sedgwicks of Connecticut and of Western Massachusetts, including Judge Theodore, Catherine Maria, and General John Sedgwick, are descendants.

thered with sixteen years' experience in N. E. exact theory besides the help of a very good head-piece, being a frequent instructor of the most martial troops of our artillery men; and although Charles Town (which is the place of his own companies residence) do not advantage such o're-topping batteries as Boston doth, yet hath he erected his to very good purpose insomuch that all shipping that comes in, either to Boston or Charles-Town must needs face it all the time of their coming in; his own company are led by the faithful captain-lieutenant Francis Norton (a man of a bold and cheerful spirit) being well disciplin'd and an able man; the companies under his service have not all captains at present; Watertown band was led by Capt. Jennings, who is supposed to be now in England, his lieutenant remains Hugh Mason; the band of Cambridge led by Capt. George Cook, now Colonel Cook, in the wars of Ireland, but now led by Capt. Daniel Gookin, a very forward man to advance Marshal discipline and withal the truths of Christ; the band of Concord led by Capt. Simon Willard being a Kentish souldier as is Capt. Goggin. The band of Sudbury lately led by Capt. Pelham who is in England at present, his lieutenant remains Edm. Goodinow; the band of Wooburn led by another Kentish Captain; the band of Reading led by Lieutenant Walker; the band of Malden being as yet a young town, who have not chosen their officers are led by Mr. Joseph Hill. These belong to the Regiment of Middlesex, the two counties of Essex and Northfolk are for the present joyned in one regiment, their first Major who now commandeth this regiment is the proper and valiant Major Daniel Denison."

Under this partition of jurisdiction, which seems to have been agitated a year or more before it was finally sanctioned by legal enactment, not only the military, but the political and judicial machinery of the colony were rearranged, and the transaction of public business thereby facilitated. Cambridge became the shire-town, although county courts were also subsequently established at Charlestown.

At the session of the General Court in October, 1645, the following manner of holding its sessions for the future is thus prescribed:—

"Forasmuch as the court hath used several ways and means for lessening the great charges of the country and most equall dividing thereof which would abundantly satisfy the minds of most, there being now proposed a way which hath not been tried, think it meet that the way be put in practice for the time to come, viz. that each town shall bear the charges of their own deputies at the General Court, or otherwise and each shire the charges of those magistrates at the quarter courts where they shall be: that the general courts be kept in each shire town by turns, now next at Boston, then at Cambridge and last at Salem and so to keep their turns, and wherever the general court is, or shall be that shire to bear the charges of all strangers and those magistrates that reside there, and the charges of the magistrates at the general court, and meetings of the council to be borne by the shires where they live, and that the courts be equally divided between Middlesex and Suffolk to be kept by turns at each shire town; further that Norfolk shall have two courts in a year, as Salem and Ipswich, they bearing the charge thereof and agreeing among themselves of a convenient place; this order is consented to with the addition and condition, that first that arrearages of all our diet shall be all paid for at Boston; then at the next year, beginning in May, 1646, the courts shall be at Boston and so the next two years at Cambridge and Salem successively, and at the end of those three years all the courts shall be kept in the places and at the times they now are, unless the court do take further order therein."

In October, 1649, the General Court established a county court for Middlesex, and fixed the times of holding it. In 1652 Thomas Danforth was appointed Recorder for the sale of lands and mortgages in the county of Middlesex. Before this time the records of land titles of the several towns had been kept at Boston.

IX.

THIRTY YEARS OF PEACE.

HAVING now reached a period when the County of Middlesex began to have a history of its own, it is our purpose to pursue that history, so far as we may, without losing sight of the community of interests, of every kind, which bound her to the commonwealth. We have given, as succinctly as we deem expedient for an intelligent view, the origin and development of the colony of which Middlesex constituted so important a member. We have portrayed her ancient structure of government, civil and religious; the vicissitudes attending their establishment on a solid foundation; the trials and the perils with which at every step the colonists found themselves confronted. Perhaps the most serious of these perils was the attitude of semi-defiance which the rulers of the colony maintained towards the mother country, where the flames of civil war had now been lighted, and the desperate struggle between king and parliament, liberty and despotism, fully inaugurated. Immunity for the past was secured, or rather the day of reckoning was postponed until another generation came upon the stage, and the old monarchy once more rose from the dust to perpetuate its hatreds and its revenges. For the present, however, the charter was safe: for the future the new generation was too deeply imbued with the spirit of liberty—which the successful resistance of the fathers had cemented and strengthened—to fear any new attempt to wrest from them their ancient and privileged franchise. In this conjuncture, while the empire shook with the mustering of armed hosts, while the air resounded with the clash of steel, New England enjoyed the blessings of uninterrupted peace throughout all her magnificent domain.¹

Though she did not participate in the civil war, Massachusetts could not be an unconcerned spectator. The progress of events in England was watched with the keenest interest; the sympathy so generally felt for the triumph of the parliament

led many gallant spirits to cross the ocean and to draw their swords in maintaining its cause. Among these were Israel Stoughton, William Rainsborough, Nehemiah Bourne, John Leverett, and William Hudson. Rainsborough, who had formerly lived at Charlestown, was made colonel, Stoughton lieutenant-colonel, and Bourne major of a parliament regiment. Leverett received a commission of captain, Hudson one of ensign in the same service. All these New-Englanders distinguished themselves under the banners of the parliament; and all, except Rainsborough and Stoughton, lived to return to their adopted country. Rainsborough had attained the rank of general, when he was killed, or rather murdered, before Doncaster in 1648, by a party of royalists, who invaded his camp in the night, with the object of making him their prisoner.¹ Stoughton died in England. Besides those named, Captain George Cooke and Ensign Samuel Shepard of Cambridge went to England, where the former attained the rank of colonel and the latter that of major in the parliament forces. The catalogue might be extended did our space permit.

Another struggle took place between the magistrates and deputies in 1644, growing out of the greater power of the former in the General Court and the exclusive authority exercised by them during the intermission. Agitation at this time resulted in the two bodies thenceforth sitting separately, votes being sent from one to the other. The magistrates also consented that in appeals from the lower courts and in all judicial proceedings, when the two bodies differed, a majority of both should decide; but they firmly refused to surrender any part of the executive authority, or admit the deputies to its joint exercise with themselves. This controversy, a long and obstinate one, originated in a question about the ownership of a sow. Not only the court but the whole colony divided upon it.

An episode of surpassing interest now introduces

¹ There were breaches of the peace by the Narragansetts and Mahigans, but without seriously involving the English.

¹ See *Old Landmarks of Middlesex*, p. 12.

one of the grandest figures to be met with in the history of New England. Nothing, we venture to say, in that history is more to be remarked than the absence of any attempt on the part of the English colonists to make the gospel known to their Indian neighbors; yet for twenty years no effort worthy of being called such was put forth, although the charter conferred by Charles I. recited that the conversion of the Indians was the principal, the declared, object of the founders of the colony.

Rev. John Eliot seemed especially called to the work which he embraced with so much zeal, patience, and devotion. His was no ordinary task, no common undertaking. After fitting himself for it by mastering the Indian language, he began his missionary labors in October, 1646, at the Indian village of Nonantum, in the northeast part of what is now the city of Newton. When he had arrived within a short distance of the wigwams, Eliot and his companions were met by Waban, one of the chief men, accosted with English salutations, and welcomed with that native courtesy so characteristic of the red man. They were then conducted to Waban's lodge, in which the Indians were assembled, wondering, but grave, decorous, and attentive.¹ Eliot began with a fervent prayer, and at its conclusion preached a sermon from a text in Ezekiel. These exercises were followed by questions and answers directed to the subject of the missionary's discourse. Other meetings took place in November and December. In the hands of this veritable apostle the good work continued to prosper; the Indians yielded more and more to the influences of civilization and Christianity. Eliot found earnest and willing helpers in Rev. Thomas Shepard, Daniel Gookin, and others. His efforts so far prevailed, that these Indians at length manifested a strong desire to change their own rude way of life for one more like the English mode, and for this purpose, as Eliot's own opinion was that they ought to live somewhat remote from the English, the tract called by the Indians Natick, meaning a place of hills, was assigned to them by the General Court. In the year 1651 the settlement was begun. It had streets, house-lots, orchards, a bridge to cross the river, and a building for a church and school, all built by the Indians themselves, and in which they took great pride. Here, on one of the lecture-days, they were visited by Governor Endicott and

Rev. John Wilson, both of whom have left interesting accounts of what they saw and heard, in letters to the Corporation in England. Here they listened to the Word preached by an Indian, and a psalm melodiously sung to an English tune after being read, line by line, by the Indian schoolmaster. No wonder the governor and his companion were deeply affected! They had imagined nothing like this. Endicott affirms that he could hardly refrain from shedding tears of joy. "Truly!" he exclaims, "I account this one of the best journeys I have made these many years." Indeed, Eliot's work at Natick and Endicott's at Block Island stand out in strong contrast.

This noble achievement by him who has been called the "Apostle of the Indians" is an effective and agreeable counterpoise to the hard and selfish policy which had so uniformly distinguished the whites in their dealings with the aborigines. Except in the missionary work of the French Jesuits it has few parallels in the history of the time we are recounting; and even here Eliot's purpose seems broader and nobler than that so efficiently performed by the Society of Jesus in its endeavor not only to disseminate the truths of Christianity, but to bring his savage converts within the influence of its civilization, and to bestow upon them all its advantages. Eliot not only brought them the knowledge of a new spiritual life, he addressed himself to the task of elevating their temporal condition, destroying their superstitions, reforming their barbarous customs and primitive system of government. This was a visible religion of which political ascendancy was the natural fruit. Eliot's Indian converts remained generally faithful to the whites when Philip made his desperate attempt to free his country from the English yoke.

We must now unwillingly turn one of the most revolting, the saddest, pages of our history. Sorcery and witchcraft were, at this time, universally believed in throughout Christendom. All Christian States had laws against these diabolical arts; all recognized them as crimes meriting death; and all could show a fearful record of punishment inflicted upon persons suspected of possessing such fatal power over the lives and property of their fellow-men. Witchcraft in New England is not, therefore, a monstrosity of native birth, but is merely an episode of the universal madness, which excites our horror the more because brought so near, where all its repulsive features stand in the strongest possible light. Those who reproach New England

¹ Nonantum Hill, on the borders of Brighton and Newton, is the supposed scene of this event. Another eminence in Newton and a street commemorate the name of Waban.

have not read the history of France, Germany, Spain, Italy, or even that of enlightened England, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The first instance of punishment for witchcraft in New England occurred in 1648, in Middlesex, when Margaret Jones of Charlestown was indicted, found guilty, and executed. She was charged with having a malignant touch by which she could afflict her victims with deafness, sickness, or cruel pain. The testimony upon which she was convicted is a most extraordinary example of the superstition of the times, and of the horror and fear with which a supposed witch was regarded. Margaret Jones, unhappy and ignorant, was hurried out of the world as an enemy of society, a criminal for whom the ordinary safeguards of the law could not be invoked.

The same year, 1648, is also memorable for the assembling at Cambridge of a new ecclesiastical council, or synod, to consult upon and determine controverted or unsettled questions in which the churches were concerned. The result of its deliberations was the adoption, in September, of certain fundamental articles of faith which are usually styled the Cambridge Platform. They were printed the next year by Samuel Green on the Cambridge press.

On the 11th of May, 1649, the settlement on the northern bank of the Mystic was erected into a town and named Malden. This part of the ancient territory of Charlestown,¹ already greatly diminished by the incorporation of Woburn and Reading, embraced the present towns of Melrose and Everett, which were formerly called North and South Malden.

The six years embraced between 1649 and 1655 were memorable for the death of several of the fathers of the colony. Winthrop died the 28th of March, in the first-named year, Dudley in 1653. Hooker and Rogers were already dead, and Cotton's decease occurred in 1652. These afflicting visitations were followed by another when Edward Winslow, one of the bravest, ablest, and most useful public men of the time, finished his earthly

¹ Edward Johnson describes Charlestown, at or near the period of which we are writing, as having about one hundred and fifty dwelling-houses. A large market-place, from which the two streets of the town diverged, fronted the Charles. In this stood the ancient meeting-house; around it were houses, gardens, and orchards. Josselyn has left a brief and unsatisfactory account of Charlestown in 1638, and again in 1671; but the latter is almost wholly purloined from Johnson, and presents few new or interesting facts.

career in 1655, while in the service of Cromwell. His abilities were not confined by narrow limits, but were often usefully exerted for Massachusetts in time of need.

The death of so many eminent personages identified with the early history of the colony admonishes us that we are passing into a new era, where the old familiar names are succeeded by new. Dudley had been one of the first citizens of Charlestown and of Cambridge, but had removed to Roxbury before the date of his decease. More than any other he is entitled to be considered the founder of Cambridge; for it was through him and by his efforts that the settlement maintained its foothold when others withdrew their support.

Within the period referred to, another assumption of sovereign power by the colony occurred. This was the establishment of a mint which issued silver coins of the value of three, six, and twelve pence each. Other public events were the persecutions of the Anabaptists, and later of the Quakers. During these persecutions, which were conducted with great severity, the death penalty was inflicted at Boston upon several Quakers, many others suffering cruel punishment or imprisonment. It was not until Charles II. issued a peremptory command, that these hideous barbarities ceased. Singularly enough, the royal mandate was put into Endicott's hands by a banished Quaker.

In May, 1655, the tract of land on the Merrimack, hitherto known by the Indian name of Shawshine,¹ was made a town and called Billerica. It had been granted to Cambridge as early as June, 1641, on condition of erecting a village within three years, and again, in 1643-44, the grant was confirmed without any condition of settlement, in order to prevent the intended removal from Cambridge of Shepard and his people. English settlement began at Shawshine about 1653. Rev. Samuel Whiting was the first ordained pastor. The town subsequently parted with portions of its territory to Tewksbury, Bedford, Carlisle, and Lowell.

This year also Chelmsford became a town, having been granted in 1653 to inhabitants of Woburn and Concord. Its Indian name was Pawtucket. Rev. John Fiske, author of a curious tract entitled *Watering of the Plant in Christ's Garden; or, A Short Catechism for the Entrance of Our Chelmsford Children*, was the first minister. Westford and a part of Lowell were included in Old Chelmsford.

¹ Said to mean, in the Indian vocabulary, it is smooth, glossy.



Whipping Quakers at the Quaker's Tail.

Groton was also founded in May of this year, having been granted to Deane Winthrop, son of Governor Winthrop, and others. The tract was called by the Indians *Petapawag*. Its English name is presumed to commemorate the seat of the Winthrops in old England. Parts of Dunstable, Westford, Littleton, Harvard, Shirley, Ayer, and Pepperell are taken from this ancient township, for which eight miles square were granted in order that the settlers might have room enough for a "comfortable plantation." Four years later, four or five families had taken up their abode at Groton. The first minister was the Rev. John Miller; the second, Rev. Samuel Willard, afterwards pastor of the South Church in Boston, a man eminent for piety and learning. Willard stands next to the Mathers in the number of his printed works.

The next year, 1660, still another was added to the number of Middlesex towns by the incorporation of Marlborough. The Indians called the place *Okommakamesit*, from the hill where they planted; it was known to the English by the name of *Whipsufferage*. The Indian village, which was one of those under Eliot's care, was first settled, six thousand acres having been granted, in 1657, and located the next year. A few English had also obtained grants. The plantation, being on the trail to the Connecticut, assumed high military importance in subsequent years.

The restoration of Charles II. occurred in 1660. In July Colonels Edward Whalley and William Goffe, two of the judges of Charles I., arrived at Boston, where they were courteously received by Governor Endicott and welcomed by the principal inhabitants. They fixed their residence at Cambridge until news of the Restoration reached New England, when, considering it no longer expedient to remain where not only their personal safety was in peril but their presence a cause of embarrassment to the authorities, they went to New Haven. Neither Goffe nor Whalley was included in the Act of Indemnity, and only a few days after their departure an order arrived to apprehend them. Their steadfast friend, Captain Daniel Gookin of Cambridge, is believed to have aided their escape.

King Charles gave early attention to the affairs of Massachusetts. The complaints of those toward whom the rulers had exercised such unpardonable tyranny had reached the throne. A summons was forthwith sent to the colony to appear, by its agents, and answer to these complaints. The requisition caused great agitation in the General

Court, and it was with great difficulty persons of sufficient standing could be found willing to undertake so unpromising a commission. Simon Bradstreet and Rev. John Norton were at length sent to England.

The intercession of powerful friends saved the charter; but the king commanded that the colony laws should be reviewed, and that all such as were contrary to the laws of England should be expunged. He also required that the oath of allegiance should be administered, and that the administration of justice should hereafter be in the king's name. What was perhaps more grievous than all else, he commanded that full liberty should be given to all who desired to use the Book of Common Prayer. Though the dose was indeed bitter, there was no alternative but to submit. Long ago, from the very founding of the colony, the rulers had left the name of the king out of judicial processes, had shaped their legislation on their grand idea of sovereignty. Now, the fact that they were subjects thrust itself most inconveniently, most inopportunately, into view. Woburn refused to publish the king's proclamation, and there being little disposition to punish the offending officers, only a faint show of doing so was made.

In order to secure obedience to his commands, Charles, in 1664, sent over commissioners who were empowered to hear and determine all matters of complaint and to see his behests executed. They were thwarted at every step. Compliance with the king's commands was yielded to save appearances, but recognize the commissioners' authority as being superior to their charter privileges the stubborn magistrates would not. They went even farther, and petitioned the king to recall his commissioners, whose authority they at last openly defied.

The death of Governor Endicott took place while the commissioners were in New England. During their sojourn the silenced Anabaptists plucked up courage to attempt the formation of a church at Charlestown, only to be persecuted anew. In 1668 the pious Wilson died, in his seventy-ninth year. The following year witnessed the organization at Charlestown of the Third Church of Boston, now known as the Old South.

During the years 1673 and 1674 the towns of Dunstable and Sherburne, now Sherborn, received legal recognition from the General Court, the former in October of the year first named, the latter in May of the last.

The original grant of Old Dunstable included

within its boundaries Tyngsborough, parts of Dunstable and Pepperell, in Massachusetts, and in New Hampshire the town of Litchfield, parts of Hudson, Londonderry, and Pelham, nearly all of Nashua and Hollis, and parts of Amherst, Merrimack, Brookline, and Milford. Its area was not much less than two hundred square miles, sufficient for a good-sized county. Through this broad domain flowed the beautiful Merrimack, while rivers of less volume coursed along its northern and southern boundary. The incorporation of Dunstable goes farther back than that of any town in New Hampshire west of the Merrimack. Its scattered farms were on the extreme verge of English settlement, which year by year had steadily encroached upon the wilds of the north.

This extensive tract continued to be considered and treated as a part of Middlesex until the disputed boundary between Massachusetts and New Hampshire was in 1740 definitely fixed. Indeed, Massachusetts had incorporated two new towns, Nottingham and Litchfield, within the limits of ancient Dunstable, before the decision swept away all she claimed now lying north of the state line. In its inception, settlement, and character Old Dunstable was the legitimate offspring of Massachusetts and of Middlesex, many of whose citizens were among her original settlers: The town of Tyngsborough derived its name from Jonathan Tyng, one of the early inhabitants of that part of Dunstable which now bears his name.

X.

KING PHILIP'S WAR.

MIDDLESEX had now attained a high degree of prosperity. Nearly half a century had elapsed since the landing at Charlestown. The handful of original settlements were already old; a new generation, native to the soil, was replacing the first comers; in population, resources, and influence the old shire had steadily advanced, and with that progress as constantly maintained her high character as one of the soundest and stanchest constituents of the commonwealth. But at this period the colony was called upon to meet a new danger, and to encounter reverses in which Middlesex bore a heavy share.

What is known as Philip's War may be regarded as a most determined attempt to destroy the English, made by a chieftain able to grasp the idea that either they or his own nation and race must disappear. The haughty Philip had been made to feel that he was a mere vassal of the English. His unconquerable spirit revolted at the yoke. His endeavor to unite the New England nations in one desperate effort to free themselves from this galling subjection was the work of a great mind. The English had themselves furnished the idea of combination. They had confederated against the Indians, why not the Indians against the English? Moreover, the natives were no longer the despicable foes the English had found them forty years before. They had firearms, and knew how to use them.

In celerity of movement, ability to encounter and resist hardship, craftiness in planning surprises, and in general knowledge of the country, they far surpassed the whites, whose tactics compelled them to act in a few large bodies, while the numerous small parties of the enemy spread devastation among the scattered frontier settlements, and by their appearance in some unexpected quarter confounded their assailants and their plans. Fortunately for them, perhaps, Philip was unable to accomplish his grand design of an Indian confederacy against the English to the extent he meditated.

The war broke out in June, 1675. It was at first chiefly confined to Plymouth Colony. In the first encounters the English everywhere met with defeat. They became more and more alive to the danger which menaced them. Extraordinary levies were made. Gookin's Praying Indians were called upon, and furnished a contingent; notwithstanding which, such was the universal distrust of their race, that those Indians were soon forbidden to go from their villages unless accompanied by an Englishman. A treacherous peace was hastily patched up with the Narragansetts. Uncas, the Mohegan chief, sent sixty warriors. By the end of a disastrous summer the two colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts had about six hundred fighting men in the field.

In this alarming conjuncture a flash of intelligence illuminated the councils of the English. The commissioners of the United Colonies, sitting at Boston in November, determined on a winter campaign. A thousand men, in addition to those already under arms, were immediately levied, and as the bad faith of the Narragansetts rendered it no longer doubtful that they must be treated as enemies, a force of which Governor Josiah Winslow¹ of Plymouth was made commander was organized to march against them. On the 10th of December the Massachusetts contingent, five hundred strong, consisting of seven companies of foot and one of horse, marched from Dedham for the appointed rendezvous, under command of that stout soldier, Major Samuel Appleton. By the 18th they had joined the forces of the other colonies. A deep snow impeded the march towards the Narragansett stronghold, which was situated on an island in the midst of a deep morass. Here the Narragansetts had gathered the flower of their nation. Their rude but effective work was built of palisades surrounded by a thick *abatis* of brushwood. From the breastwork to the ground outside a tree had been so felled as to form the only communication, but this way was completely enfiladed by the fire of a block-house. Over this bridge of death the English charged. A murderous fire mowed them down, but they pressed on, gained the parapet, and after a sanguinary struggle possessed themselves of the fort. Seventy of the English were slain and a hundred and fifty wounded. The loss of the Narragansetts is vaguely estimated at a thousand, exclusive of the unknown number who subsequently perished of cold and starvation. The English lost an unusual number of officers. Three Massachusetts and three Connecticut captains were killed while bravely leading on their men to the assault; Captain Bradford of Plymouth was severely wounded, and Captain Gorham of Barnstable died of fever contracted in the expedition. Of the total number of casualties the Massachusetts troops sustained nearly one half.

In Massachusetts Colony not only the first onslaught, but nearly the whole weight of hostilities, fell upon Middlesex County. In 1667 the plantation of Quonshapage was made a town by the name of Mendon, and joined to Middlesex. The same year all the farms about Chelmsford were included in her jurisdiction. Lancaster had been rated in

Middlesex since 1658; as were also Hatfield and Westfield¹ at the beginning of the war. Middlesex thus extended her jurisdiction beyond the Connecticut, and was, as we have said, the scene of Philip's operations in the Bay Colony.

While the war was progressing in Philip's own country, the Nipmucks began to show unmistakable symptoms of rebellion. About the middle of July Mendon was suddenly attacked while the men were at work in the fields. Six or seven are said by Hubbard to have been killed. The other inhabitants, being thus awakened to the danger of living in the heart of the enemy's country, deserted their houses, which were afterwards burned to ashes.

The English continued to hunt the Narragansetts, with their horse, through the winter, the defeated Indians flying before them. The English believed their enemies too badly crippled for aggressive war, and the Indians, the better to conceal their real designs, pretended to listen to overtures of peace. It soon became apparent that the Narragansetts were retiring into that part of the Nipmuck country, so called, lying between the English settlements on the Connecticut and the frontier towns of Middlesex. This manoeuvre enabled them to isolate those settlements; it gave them a secure vantage-ground from which they might strike either; and it gave them the active aid of the tribes inhabiting this wild and romantic region through which only a single road then passed. The Nipmuck Indians immediately made common cause with the Narragansetts.

Our forces pursued the fugitive Narragansetts into the woods lying between Marlborough and Brookfield, when, instead of forming strong cantonments within striking distance of the enemy, they returned to Boston early in February for supplies.

This fatal blunder was immediately followed by a series of crushing disasters. Having no longer a strong, well-equipped, movable force between them and their destined prey, the savages began the work of wiping out the more exposed settlements with terrible earnestness and ferocity. On the 1st of February Netus, a Nipmuck captain, with a few followers, attacked the house of Thomas Eames, in what was called Framingham plantation. Eames's

¹ Hampshire County, as constituted in 1662, included the towns of Springfield, Northampton, and Hadley. Hadley was divided into two towns in 1670, that on the west side of the Connecticut taking the name of Hatfield. Worcester County was not incorporated until April, 1731, when Lancaster and Mendon were comprised within its limits.

¹ Winslow was the first native-born governor of any New England colony.

house was seven miles from Old Sudbury. The Indians made their descent in the night, while Eames was absent; burnt house, barns, and cattle, and killed or carried into captivity his whole family of ten persons: four children subsequently returned.

On the 10th, only five days after our troops marched, the enemy fell upon Lancaster,¹ then a village of fifty or sixty families. Fifty people were killed or taken, and nearly the whole town laid in ashes. On the 12th Abraham and Isaac Shepherd were killed near Nashobah, in Concord, while threshing in a barn. On the 21st Philip burst into Medfield, killing twenty inhabitants and burning half the town. He then, after meeting a repulse in attacking a garrison in Sherburne, resumed his march southward, leaving his Nipmuck allies to continue the war in this quarter, while he should stake the English of the Old Colony, and thus divide the forces that were moving against himself and his confederates.

Groton and Sudbury had been attacked on the 10th of March, at which time several of the English lost their lives. On the same day some barns at Billerica were fired. On the 13th the attack on Groton was renewed and about forty houses consumed.

The catastrophe at Lancaster had caused the inhabitants of Groton to take refuge in five garrisons,² four of which stood near enough to each other for mutual protection. The fifth was nearly a mile distant from the others. The inhabitants had driven their cattle into the fields adjoining the garrisons, and were awaiting, with anxious forebodings, the onslaught which the near approach of the enemy hourly threatened. While the village was enveloped in the darkness of night four hundred warriors stole silently into it, and placed themselves in ambush near the unsuspecting garrisons. In the morning the Indians, by a clever stratagem, obtained possession of one of the four garrisons. With the first volley the torch was applied to the abandoned houses. Soon the entire village was in flames; while the yells of the savages, the bellowing of cattle, the incessant discharges of musketry, combined to render the scene an appalling one to the besieged. The Indians remained in the town until

the following morning, when, finding it impossible to dislodge the heroic defenders, they retired. Groton was a picture of desolation. Forty dwellings were in ashes. The meeting-house had not escaped the conflagration. While it was blazing, the incendiaries shouted their taunts in the hearing of Willard, the beloved pastor, whose house was garrisoned. "What will you do for a house to pray in now?" they howled in demoniacal glee. The town being thus destroyed, the houseless, impoverished inhabitants sadly abandoned its smouldering ruins.

On the 26th of March, 1676,³ the red devils rushed down from their lairs upon Marlborough. It was the Sabbath. The people were gathered together in their meeting-house, when the appalling cry of "Indians!" startled them from their devotions. Fortunately the alarm was seasonable enough to allow the congregation to gain the shelter of their garrisons, from which they beheld the conflagration of the town. The minister's was the first house fired; the meeting-house went next. Everything was destroyed. This plantation was soon after deserted.

A daring deed of arms, performed by the men of Sudbury, is preserved in the old chronicles of Mather and Hubbard. After the destruction of Marlborough the Indians bivouacked for the night within half a mile of the town. While huddled around their camp-fires a gallant little band of forty, led by Lieutenant Richard Jacobs, surprised them. The English poured in volley upon volley with destructive effect, killing and wounding a number nearly equal to their own force, without losing a man. This bold attack probably saved Sudbury for the time. Netus, who had led the attack in February on Eames, was shot dead in this affair.

The exposed situation of Chelmsford rendered it an early object of the enemy's attention. John Monoco, who destroyed Groton, boasted there that he would next burn Chelmsford, Concord, Watertown, Cambridge, Charlestown, Roxbury, and Boston. A small garrison had been kept in Chelmsford since the previous August. In the beginning of April several deserted houses here, belonging to Edward Colburn and Samuel Varnum, were burned, and two sons of the latter killed in the attempt to escape across the river.

¹ Mendon, Hatfield, Westfield, and Lancaster were considered to be in Middlesex. Mendon had been assaulted the previous summer.

² These garrisons were in most cases only ordinary dwelling-houses, selected with regard to their position and capability for defence. They were usually surrounded by a palisade; the walls were loopholed, and in time of war a few soldiers were assigned to them.

³ The reader is reminded that according to the *Old Style* the year ended on the 24th of March. After Philip's War it became the custom to designate the time between January 1st and March 25th by a double date, as 1675-76.

On the 10th of April Woburn was visited by a small war-party of the enemy. They killed Mrs. Hannah Richardson and two children, one of them a babe only a week old. It would be difficult to exaggerate the consternation which this succession of tragedies spread throughout the length and breadth of the county.

The war was by no means confined to the section to which our narration is more particularly directed. It was fiercely raging among the western settlements, in the Old Colony, and in Connecticut, with results generally unfavorable to the English arms. Town after town had been destroyed, hundreds of the best and bravest soldiers had been killed or disabled, numbers of women and children led into captivity, and an amount of property, enormous for the time, swept from the face of the earth. In this exigency it was deemed expedient to employ the Praying Indians, as Eliot's converts were called, who were then under the supervision of General Daniel Gookin of Cambridge. As these Indians are nearly connected with the county, their share in the events of Philip's War becomes a part of its history.

The seven villages of the Praying Indians were Natick, of which we have given a brief account, Magunkaquog, formerly in Hopkinton, Nashobah, formerly in Concord, now in Littleton, Wamesit, now chiefly in Lowell, Okommakamesit, in Marlborough, Hassanamesit, in Grafton, and Punkapog, in Stoughton.¹ These villages had grown up under the fostering care of Eliot and Gookin, and by the aid of the Society for Propagating the Gospel were become prosperous and happy. In a military view they formed a chain of outposts on the exposed line of English settlement towards the Nipmuck country. The villages numbered three or four hundred fighting men, fully equal in martial spirit and prowess to Philip's Wampanoags or Canonchet's Narragansetts.

Had these natural allies been treated with the confidence their loyalty merited, many of the disasters with which the Middlesex frontier was overwhelmed would doubtless have been averted. Properly armed and efficiently supported, their villages would have constituted a barrier through which the enemy would not have forced his way with impunity. Marlborough, Sudbury, and Groton might have been saved. A different policy,

however, prevailed at Boston. The people in general regarded the Christian Indians with evil eyes, and the authorities shared in the prevailing distrust.¹ At first these unoffending and unsuspecting people were ordered, on peril of their lives, to remain in their villages. In August, 1675, a number of the Marlborough village were seized and sent to Boston to answer a groundless charge; and presently, by a strange fatuity, that village was broken up. In October a troop of horse was despatched to Wamesit with order to bring away all of that village, which command was finally modified so as to allow the old men, women, and children, who were already on the road to Boston, to return to their village; but in the following November, in consequence of some depredations by hostile Indians in the neighborhood, a brutal attack was made upon the Wamesit people, by which five women and children were wounded, and a boy slain. The poor distressed objects of this cruel attack immediately fled to the woods. Besides the Wamesit men, those of Natick and of the other villages were hurried to Boston, and then to Deer Island, in the harbor, where they passed the winter. The whole number collected on the island was about five hundred. Here Eliot and Gookin found them suffering, but bearing their trials with the patience and fortitude characteristic of their race.

The importunity of Eliot and Gookin, above all the need of men, in this most alarming crisis of the war, at last induced the governor and council to enroll a company from among the Indians at Deer Island, which was put under command of Captain Samuel Hunting of Charlestown, and at once ordered into active service at Sudbury. This company, recruited to the number of eighty, rendered invaluable services during the remainder of the war. General Gookin claims that this small band captured and slew upwards of four hundred of the enemy. The General Court subsequently gave its permission to the Praying Indians to return to their villages, but they never recovered from the blow inflicted upon them. Their story is one which the historian would gladly pass by in silence, did not truth and justice demand its impartial relation.

To return to the war, the hostile Indians continued their barbarous inroads upon the devoted inland towns of Middlesex. By the middle of

¹ Besides these there were seven villages, newly formed in the Nipmuck country, lying chiefly within what is now Worcester County. They should not be confounded with the old Praying Towns, as they had been tampered with by Philip. The whole number of Praying Indians in the colony was computed at 1,100.

¹ It should be said, in extenuation of this feeling, that Magunkaquog or Maguncook village was disaffected to the English. Probably a few in all the villages sympathized with Philip.

April Philip had concentrated a force variously estimated at from four to fifteen hundred warriors in the vicinity of Marlborough, where a small garrison was maintained by the English to cover the road to Brookfield and the Connecticut. There is no doubt Philip meant to make a clean sweep this time of all the border towns. On the 18th and 19th of April the enemy came into Marlborough and burned such few abandoned houses as the former fire had spared. We do not learn that they attacked the garrison at this time; but, after finishing with Marlborough, the whole force moved off towards Sudbury.

Intelligence having reached Boston that the enemy were threatening Marlborough, the council ordered Captain Samuel Wadsworth to proceed there with his company. Wadsworth, with seventy men, left Sudbury on the evening of the 20th. He found Marlborough in ruins and the Indians gone. Without making any considerable halt to rest or refresh his men, this gallant soldier, fearing that he might be too late to save Sudbury, marched for that place, taking with him Brocklebank, the commander at Marlborough, and a few men of his garrison. Wadsworth's command now numbered about eighty.

On the morning of the 21st the Indians fell with fury upon Sudbury, the inhabited part of which was then chiefly within what is now Wayland. They succeeded in burning most of the houses not garrisoned. The alarm immediately spread to Concord on the north and to Watertown¹ on the east. Twelve "resolute young men" from the former place, hurried to the assistance of their distressed neighbors. When near the garrison of Walter Haynes, they were decoyed into an ambuscade and eleven of them killed. The twelfth escaped.

The Watertown men, who had come to the rescue under Captain Mason, aided by the Sudbury men, drove those Indians that had crossed the river back to the west side,² where the main body was lying in wait for Wadsworth, of whose movements they were evidently apprised.

Wadsworth's devoted little band arrived within a mile and a half of Sudbury, early in the morning, having marched a part of the night, but with caution, the distance between the two towns being only about ten miles. Upon the approach of the

English, the Indians resorted to their old trick of showing a few men who were to lure the soldiers into an ambuscade. The ruse again proved successful. The decoying Indians fled, pursued by Wadsworth's men, until they entered the fatal enclosure, and were checked by a murderous discharge which threw them into confusion. Rallying under the voice and example of their leaders, the soldiers fell back, fighting, to the brow of a neighboring hill, where they kept their savage enemies for several hours at bay with no great loss to themselves.

Mason and his men came gallantly to the rescue, but the enemy met them with overwhelming numbers, and forced them to retire. Wadsworth continued to fight on, hoping, doubtless, to escape under cover of the night. Maddened by this prolonged resistance, the savages now set fire to the dry grass. The flame and smoke were borne by the wind into the faces of the English, and compelled them to retire from their advantageous position. Now, while in disorder, scorched by the fierce heat and blinded by thick smoke, they were charged by ten times their numbers. A desperate hand-to-hand fight took place. The soldiers defended themselves valiantly, but the odds were too great. Wadsworth, Brocklebank, and half their men fell bravely fighting here. Thirteen or fourteen escaped to a mill, where they were rescued the same night by Mason, Prentice, and Cowell. Wadsworth's whole loss could not have been less than fifty or sixty this day. Six of his men were taken alive, to be subsequently tortured to death by their inhuman captors.

With this victory the successes of Philip seem to have culminated. Several bloody engagements took place, in which the English killed and captured numbers of the enemy. Roving bands still continued to harass the frontier settlements, but their power grew weaker day by day. Philip became a wanderer, and at length, with a handful of his warriors, was hunted to his old lair at Mount Hope, where he was killed, and his followers captured or destroyed. This event took place on the 12th of August. With the fall of its great leader the league against the English crumbled in pieces. The bullet, which Increase Mather said the English did not cease crying to the Lord until they had prayed it into Philip's heart, struck down the proud-spirited Wampanoag at last.

The historian Hubbard says that the attack on Sudbury and defeat of Wadsworth took place on

¹ Watertown, or that part now Weston, then adjoined that part of Sudbury now called Wayland.

² The settlement must have been almost wholly in what is now Wayland.



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the 18th of April. Hubbard was a contemporary, but neither an actor in, nor an eyewitness of, the events he describes. Only those who have been perplexed and exasperated by this author's frequent inaccuracies, his incoherence, his disorderly arrangement, can justly appreciate his value when the truth of his statements is called in question, as it has been in regard to the date of Sudbury fight. We do not undervalue Hubbard, but we do him no injustice in saying that, with the means of verification he possessed, his carelessness is inexcusable in a historian. His mistake in giving the date of Sudbury fight multiplied and thus strengthened itself until investigation traced its numerous progeny to their original source. Hubbard's error has been long enough used in support of Hubbard's accuracy.

In 1852 a monument was erected on the battleground at Sudbury to commemorate an historical event. The tablet bears the erroneous inscription of April 18, 1676. A controversy arose as to the true date, which was finally made the subject of investigation by one of our historical societies. An analysis of the evidence then procured, and a careful comparison of those authorities who have the best claim to accurate knowledge of this affair, conclusively establish Friday, the 21st of April, 1676, as the true date of Wadsworth's defeat.

Where a historian is believed to be inexact, the only trustworthy sources of information are official documents or public records, if such exist. The entries made in diaries by individuals, from hearsay or from common rumor, are not substantiated by being printed; they only become more mischievous if erroneous.

Sudbury fight occurred in Middlesex County. In October, 1675, the shire regiment was ordered to be put in condition for active service, and the command given to General Daniel Gookin. It was his province to superintend all military affairs within the county, to furnish quotas for service outside of its limits, to arm, equip, and put them in the field. Gookin was military commandant in his district. His headquarters were at Cambridge, and any military intelligence originating within his command would be transmitted to him as a matter of official duty by his subordinates. Gookin has fortunately left an account of the Sudbury affair in his history of the war.

"April the 21st, about midday," he says intelligence reached Charlestown that the enemy had attacked Sudbury that morning. The messengers

brought no particulars. Gookin also says the news came on Lecture-day, which we know was Friday. He immediately ordered a squadron of Prentice's troop and Hunting's newly raised Indian infantry to the scene of action. Hunting, he says, "got not to Sudbury until a little within night," when they found the enemy had retreated to the west side of Sudbury River, "where also several English inhabited." So far Gookin.

Edward Rawson, secretary of the supreme council, which conducted the war, sat down on the same day to write by its direction this news to Governor Winslow. His letter is preserved in the Massachusetts archives.¹ In this communication, which is dated April 21st, Rawson writes thus: "This day we have intelligence in general that Sudbury was *this morning* assaulted and many houses burned down. Particulars and the more full certainty of things are not yet come." He says, further, that the remaining houses in Marlborough were burned "Tuesday and Wednesday last," or April 18th and 19th. Mather gives the 19th as the date. But Hubbard says (p. 79, London ed.) this occurred on the 17th. Either the secretary of the council, who plainly designates the days of the week, or the author of the *Present State of New England*, was misinformed.

Here the secretary sustains the soldier in several important particulars. The intelligence came to Charlestown and Boston on the 21st, at which time nothing was known of the destruction of Wadsworth's command, and it reached those places on the same day the attack took place. If the assault on Sudbury and death of Wadsworth were on the 18th, a delay of three days seems quite unaccountable when it is shown that messengers came with the first news in a few hours, and that Hunting's men marched from Charlestown to Sudbury between midday and nightfall. The council did learn of Wadsworth's disaster on the 22d.

Fortunately the Plymouth authorities reply, April 26th, to Rawson, and their letter is also on the State files. It refers to the secretary's announcement of the assault of "*Friday*" on Sudbury, which again fixes the date, "since which" — that is, after the receipt of Rawson's letter — they learn that Captain Wadsworth and Brocklebank were lost "on the same day." In other words, from some unknown but independent source they

¹ The relevant portions of the testimony we are citing may be read in Vol. VII., XX., N. E. Historical and Genealogical Register.

learn that Wadsworth was slain on Friday, the 21st. This letter also says Scituate was assailed on the same day with Sudbury.

The Plymouth authorities thus fix the date of Wadsworth's disaster on the 21st. Moreover, Increase Mather, in his *History of the War* (London, 1676), also says the two events, at Sudbury and Scituate, occurred on the same day.

It being clear that news of the attack on Sudbury did not reach Boston until the 21st, we will return to the reinforcements despatched by Gookin. Hunting's Indians, arriving too late for the battle, lay on their arms for the night. Then continues General Gookin, "Early in the morning, *upon April 22d*, our forty Indians having stripped themselves and painted their faces like to the enemy, they passed over the bridge to the west side of the river, without any Englishman in their company, to make discovery of the enemy." They found the enemy gone, but soon came upon the bodies of Wadsworth, Brocklebank, and their men, "*who were slain the day before.*" If Hubbard is right in his date, the dead had then been unburied four days, and four days had elapsed before these reinforcements reached the spot!

An anonymous but truthful writer whose account was published in London the same year of the war (1676), and who states that Wadsworth's action was on the 21st, tells us that the survivors "escaped to a mill, which they defended until night, when they were happily rescued by Captain Prentice, *who coming in the day hastily*, though somewhat too late, to the relief of Captain Wadsworth, having not above six troopers that were able to keep way with him," etc. This account, which was printed before that of Gookin, is in complete accord with him; for Prentice's men, being mounted, reached Sudbury some time before Hunting, and on the same evening of the battle. It thus becomes authority.

Still another authority comes to establish Gookin's entire faithfulness. After narrating the arrival of the tidings from Sudbury, he (Gookin) adds, "Indeed (thro' God's favor) some small assistance was already sent from Watertown by Capt. Hugh Mason, which was the next town to Sudbury. These with some of the inhabitants joined, and with some others that came in to their help, there was a vigorous resistance made, and a check given to the enemy. But these particulars were not known when the tidings came to Charlestown."

On the State files is a petition of three of Ma-

son's men, in which they say that they "drove 200 Indians over the river, pursued them, and being joined with some others went to see if they could relieve Capt. Wadsworth on the hill." Finding the Indians too strong, after a hard fight Mason's men retreated to Goodnow's garrison, and remained there until dusk, when they went "to Mr. Noies mill" to see if any of Wadsworth's men had escaped to that place. They found thirteen or fourteen survivors of the battle and brought them to Sudbury. As soon as it was light the next morning they went out and buried the Concord men killed the day before in the meadow; then, joining Captain Hunting, they passed the river and performed the same rites for Wadsworth and his ill-fated band. Thus is Hunting's presence on the morning after the battle fully corroborated.

Again Rawson writes, this time to Lieutenant Jacobs of Brocklebank's company, whom the latter left in command at Marlborough, to tell him that Wadsworth and his men were "destroyed yesterday." This letter is dated April 22d, and shows that fuller intelligence from the battle-ground reached Boston after the secretary had sealed his letter to Governor Winslow. The secretary now authoritatively says Wadsworth's command was "destroyed" April 21st.

On the same day, April 22d, Jacobs writes the secretary that the Indians were in front of him in great force, and had fired on that part of Marlborough next to Sudbury. Seeing these Indians and hearing their victorious war-whoops, he writes in terms of great anxiety about the fate of his comrades, whom Hubbard supposes to have been killed four days previous.

Hubbard's statement that Marlborough was burned on the 17th is disproved by official authority (Rawson); also by Mather, who says news of the burning of Sudbury and death of Wadsworth was received on the 21st, and is confirmed by Gookin, Rawson, and the Plymouth authorities. Gookin says the two events occurred on the 21st, and is confirmed by Rawson, the Plymouth authorities, and the anonymous author. It would be difficult to have authorities, so entirely independent of each other, more fully harmonizing in their statements. They are all contemporary with the events they relate; they give the only connected, coherent account of Sudbury fight. Leaving the historians, diary-keepers, and almanacs out of the case, the council's letters establish its true date beyond question.

XI.

TRANSITION FROM THE COLONY TO THE PROVINCE. — WITCHCRAFT. — KING WILLIAM'S WAR.

It is considered somewhat remarkable that even in the hour of her greatest need the colony did not apply to England for help to conquer Philip. With grim determination she fought out the battle alone. Yet it was her right to demand and to receive succor. Certainly the king's interest, honor, and dignity equally enjoined him to defend his subjects of New England against their foes. Whether the colonists were, as Lord Anglesey said, "poor and proud," feared to create a pretext for quartering imperial troops among them, or were ashamed to appear as suppliants before a monarch they had so lately defied, we do not undertake to determine; but it is almost certain that their application for men, money, and munitions of war would have been promptly honored. This haughty and independent spirit cost the colony dear. The war closed with a depleted treasury, a frontier heaped with ruins, and mourning in every household in the land.

The last year of this war witnessed new complications in the relations with the throne. This year that remarkable personage, Edward Randolph, came over, bringing with him a letter from the king and copies of the petitions and complaints of Mason and Gorges relative to alleged encroachments of Massachusetts on their patents in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Maine. A long and tedious controversy resulted in Massachusetts being compelled to abandon her jurisdiction over Maine; and also over so much of Mason's grant as included the towns of Dover, Exeter, Portsmouth, and Hampton. The decision of the king in council fixed the northern boundary of Massachusetts along the course of the Merrimack, so far as it extended, including a narrow strip, three miles wide, north of that river.

Randolph was able, unscrupulous, and a sworn enemy to the Puritan idea of government. He never relaxed his efforts to break down the old independent spirit of self-government until the ancient charter was wrested from Massachusetts. For forty years the struggle to maintain it had been going on; now its fate was approaching a

crisis. Randolph repeatedly crossed the ocean, each time carrying a budget of information and complaints, and each time bringing back fresh demands, new exactions, reiterated warning or reproof from the throne. A few years later he was appointed by Charles surveyor and searcher of customs for New England; but the local authorities refused to recognize him, and caused his official advertisement, notifying the public of his appointment, to be torn from the door of the town-house in Boston. Randolph repaid these affronts with usury.

The colony continued to give the enemies of its civil and religious government—and they were both powerful and numerous—fresh cause for complaint. New laws were enacted against the Quakers, new obstructions thrown in the way of the enforcement of the navigation acts, under the pretence that they were an invasion of the rights of the colony.

Upon the decease of Governor Leverett, in 1678, he was succeeded by Bradstreet. Thomas Danforth of Cambridge, a very able man, was elected deputy-governor. Massachusetts had no idea of relinquishing her hold upon Maine, and when the decision adverse to her title was made she quietly purchased Gorges' claim. She now entered upon the exercise of her proprietary rights, under which Danforth was created first president of Maine, and a force despatched to hold possession of that province. This was a further cause of displeasure to the king, who regarded it as an attempt to overreach him.

Events were now rapidly hastening. The old, or extreme, Puritan party, which still held the ascendant in the colony, was forced to meet the issue its subterfuges, its audacious assumptions, and its arbitrary acts had provoked. The long dream of sovereignty was rudely interrupted. The king addressed his incorrigible subjects for the last time. He reminded them of their many acts of disobedience, and what he was pleased to call their crimes,

and misdemeanors; he then pronounced their doom as follows: "We are fully resolved, in Trinity term next ensuing, to direct our attorney-general to bring a Quo-Warranto in our court of King's bench whereby our charter granted unto you, with all the powers thereof, may be legally evicted and made void. And so we bid you farewell." Randolph was the bearer of this letter. For the purpose it declared he was the most fitting messenger; for his personal ends it was a tremendous auxiliary.

When too late, an effort was made to avert the catastrophe. A court was hurriedly assembled. Anxious deliberations, agents despatched to England, partial, but only partial compliance with the king's demands, mark the eagerness of those in power to retrace their steps. But the choice was no longer theirs to make. The bridge to reconciliation had been broken down behind them. Randolph's appearance was rightly construed to be the signal of some new calamity. This time he brought the dreaded Quo-Warranto. He had fully earned his title of "Evil genius of the Colony." Armed with this weapon he boasted that "he would now make the whole faction tremble." Some further proceedings took place to delay the execution of the royal mandate; but the die was cast, and in 1684 the charter of Charles I. was rolled up and put away like any other worthless piece of parchment.

In 1685 Charles died, and was succeeded by James II. To the colony it was only a change of masters; still, Charles's death freed the people from the fear into which they had been thrown by the announcement that the butcher, Percy Kirke, had been appointed their governor. The next year a provisional government was established by James. Joseph Dudley, son of the old Puritan Thomas, but by no means the inheritor of his sire's Puritan principles, received a commission as president of the colony. A council composed of those favorable to the prerogative, or holding conservative views, was named by the king. The house of deputies ceased to exist, but courts of justice and town affairs continued to be managed as under the old order of things.

Dudley's rule was very brief. He was succeeded by Sir Edmund Andros, who, having received the appointment of viceroy, arrived at Boston in December. Sir Edmund appears to have been chosen for the task of crushing out the too forward spirit of liberty in New England, with the same infallible *comp d'ail* that discerned the special aptitude of the infamous Kirke

and the rare endowments of a Jeffreys for the work of extirpating the unfortunate adherents of the Duke of Monmouth. As a soldier, he doubtless obeyed the commands of his royal master in governing New England like a conquered province; in obliterating or attempting to obliterate all traces of its ancient structure of government; and in the endeavor to establish, on its ruins, absolute and unquestioning submission to the will of the monarch. As a statesman, he signally failed to comprehend the spirit of the people, the tenacity with which they held to their ancient privileges, and the impossibility of reconciling them with a system so utterly repugnant to their religious and political education. To say all, Sir Edmund could level, but not rebuild.

His personal character was little calculated to soften the feeling of exasperation with which his administration was regarded. He was haughty, imperious, and choleric. He was an alien in religion and by birth. He had the brusque manners of a soldier who had spent half his life in camps, and who felt a soldier's contempt for civil authority. Otherwise he was a man of moderate ability, unquestioned courage, and sufficient education not to play his part of viceroy ignobly. Perhaps his greatest offence was in surrounding himself with a coterie of hungry adventurers who ground, impoverished, and insulted the people, and constituted a petty court which was the feeble reflection of the effete and tottering throne of the Stuarts. A body of royal troops, the first that had been quartered in the colony, accompanied Sir Edmund to Boston.

The death of Philip had not entirely ended the war. The demon he had raised could not be conjured away until his fatal course was run. While the war smouldered in Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut, its flames burst out among the settlements of New Hampshire and Maine. The same scenes were enacted that marked its progress elsewhere. Massachusetts sent troops and munitions into the district now being ravaged by the tribes inhabiting between the Merrimack and Penobscot. For this purpose additional levies were made and new burdens imposed upon Middlesex, to all of which her people promptly and cheerfully responded.

After the fall of Philip, the greater part of the Connecticut River Indians who had been engaged in hostilities with the English settled in their country, removed to the Hudson. In September,



Andrew Criswell to Boston
BOSTON LIBRARY
COPY

1677, an incursion was made by a war-party of these Indians, or their allies, into their old home. Hatfield was surprised with the loss of about twenty persons killed, or captured, while going about their customary avocations. After this event no further hostilities occurred within the limits of the county.

The immediate results of Sir Edmund Andros' government were the establishment of the Church of England, the substitution of all the forms of the monarchy for those hitherto in use, the imposition of onerous burdens on the people, of which the last and greatest of all consisted in declaring all titles to lands in the colony invalid. This monstrous pretence that the old charter gave no legal title to estates, but that they must be newly confirmed, threw the whole body of landholders, the poor as well as the rich, into consternation. It served for a time to bring in a considerable revenue to Sir Edmund and his creatures, of whom Randolph was the most rapacious, the most insatiable. Thus was the solemn pledge of Charles II., that the people of New England should not be disturbed in their rights of freehold, violated.

Besides the fees which these measures squeezed from the people, and of which a large share flowed into his pocket, Randolph, under the protection of his master, endeavored to steal a portion of Boston Common, all of Nahant, seven hundred acres near Spy Pond, and sundry other tracts of vacant land held in common by the inhabitants of the towns in which they were situated.

This universal spoliation and confiscation provoked remonstrance and petition for relief, which Sir Edmund met and forestalled by the exercise of despotic authority. The people were forbidden to assemble in town-meeting to deliberate upon their grievances. They were imprisoned without trial, denied the right of *habeas corpus*, thwarted in their attempt to reach the throne by direct petition. Rev. Increase Mather,¹ who had been entreated by some of the leading men in the colony to go to England, and to beg from the clemency of King James some relaxation of these abuses, was compelled to make his escape like a culprit, in the night and in disguise. In a word, the tyranny which in 1775 finally severed the political connection of the colony with the crown of England was not half so insupportable as that under which Massachusetts now groaned.

¹ Among other petitions, Mather presented one from Cambridge praying for relief from Randolph.

Relief came in an unlooked-for manner. The king's innovations upon religion and the constitution had finally borne their legitimate fruit in rebellion. Early in the spring of 1689 news was received at Boston of the landing of the Prince of Orange at Torbay. Sir Edmund immediately imprisoned the person who brought it; but this was only applying the match to the train.

On Thursday, the 18th of April, a day forever memorable in the annals of the colony, the people of Boston gave the signal of revolt. The whole population at once rose in arms, and before the sun went down were in full possession of the government. The fort, in which Sir Edmund took refuge on the first alarm, was compelled to yield to a strong body of insurgents led by Captain John Nelson, an Episcopalian patriot. Governor, councillors, forts, and garrisons, besides a frigate of the royal navy, which lay before the town, were all captured without bloodshed. Sir Edmund was detained a prisoner. Randolph and some of the more obnoxious were shut up in Boston jail. Simultaneously with these proceedings a Council of Safety, of which Bradstreet was president and Addington secretary, was provisionally formed. The representatives of fifty-four towns met at Boston on the 22d of May. Forty of the fifty-four favored re-assuming the old charter, but this being opposed by the venerable Bradstreet and many of the old magistrates, it was agreed to resume only the government chosen in 1686, under the charter, until further orders were received from England. On the 26th of May news of the coronation of William and Mary reached Boston, thus allaying the fears which still possessed the minds of those who had been active in precipitating the revolution,—and that too before they had certain intelligence how the event was to be decided in England.

The suddenness of the outbreak gave little opportunity for the inland towns to participate in overthrowing the government except by a display of overwhelming force. Communication with the capital was restricted to a single road over the Neck and to the ferry at Charlestown. The trainbands of the towns contiguous to Boston marched in season to take part in the events of the 18th, but those north of Mystic River were unable to cross the Charles after having assembled to the number of a thousand men at Charlestown. Many, however, came into Boston on the following day. The exasperation against Sir Edmund was such that fears were entertained for his safety. The coun-

try people, finding nothing on which to vent their rage, or their disappointment at seeing the revolution accomplished without their aid, returned home after committing some excesses.

King William subsequently ordered Sir Edmund Andros; Randolph, and others to be sent to England. It was soon evident that his majesty was unfavorable to the old charter; permission was, however, granted to continue the government under it until a new one could be digested and prepared. Through the mismanagement of the colony agents in England Sir Edmund and Randolph escaped being called to account for their misdeeds.

The confusion which followed the events we have related, and particularly the ill-advised withdrawal of garrisons along the eastern seaboard, gave the Indians an advantage which they hastened to improve by a repetition of the burning, butchery, and wholesale destruction which attended their inroads. War had broken out with France, and a new element was now introduced into Indian warfare. French officers and priests accompanied and directed the savages under the authority of the governor-general of Canada. French muskets; hatchets, powder, and bullets furnished the means for extinguishing the border settlements of the English in blood. The massacre at Cocheco and capitulation of Pemaquid soon followed.

Massachusetts acted with her customary vigor. She determined to carry the war into the enemy's country. In April, 1690, an expedition was despatched under Sir William Phips to reduce the French post at Port Royal, in Acadia. This was successfully accomplished. It was then determined to attack the French stronghold, Quebec. A land and naval force was made ready, which sailed from Nantasket on the 9th of August. Early in October, the fleet having anchored below Quebec, Sir William Phips, commander-in-chief of the expedition, summoned Count Frontenac to surrender the city and its defences. Frontenac's answer was a scornful defiance. Sir William then landed a force at Beauport which attempted to reach the city. They were feebly commanded, were not supported by the squadron, and were unsuccessful. The fleet then bombarded the city with little effect, while the fire from the batteries and the château did great damage. Perceiving the uselessness of continuing the siege, Phips re-embarked his troops, and returned to Boston shorn of the laurels he had won at Port Royal. His fleet suffered greatly during the homeward voyage from the effects of a tempest, which

wrecked some of the vessels, drove the rest from their course, and added to the misery and chagrin of the defeated soldiers and sailors.

The dejection which followed the news of this humiliating reverse was extreme. Success and not defeat had been expected. The treasure of opulent Quebec had been counted on to defray the charge of the expedition. But the spoil of her palaces, cathedrals, and convents, the ransom of high civil and ecclesiastical dignitaries, the dismantling of her frowning citadel, were not destined to gild the triumph of Sir William Phips. Many of his men died of camp fever after their arrival at Boston. There was no money in the treasury to pay soldiers or sailors, and they were on the verge of mutiny. In this dilemma the government, for the first time since the settlement of the country, issued paper money, which was to be received for all public and private dues. The notes, however, did not command their par value, but were subject to an immediate depreciation of from thirty to forty per centum. The soldiers obtained only twelve to fourteen shillings in the pound; but the speculators who bought the notes, which were receivable for taxes, reaped a handsome profit by the transaction.

In this way was a system of irredeemable paper currency first adopted by Massachusetts. She continued the experiment in 1711, 1714, and in 1716, by further and increased issues, in order to meet the expenses of the Indian wars. Lands were pledged as security. Hutchinson states that in the same or greater proportion as bills of credit were issued gold and silver were sent out of the country, until they wholly disappeared from circulation. The inevitable result was the steady depreciation of the paper money, notwithstanding it was receivable for public and private debts. Gold and silver continued to be the only true measures of value. In 1749 a five-shilling bill, issued in 1690, was worth eight pence in lawful money. By this time, too, an ounce of silver was worth fifty shillings of paper currency. Having carried the experiment to its logical and legitimate end, having reaped a plentiful harvest of confusion and distress, Massachusetts in 1749 abolished her bills of credit.

While Sir William Phips was making his attempt on Quebec the Eastern tribes remained quiet, but with intelligence of his disaster they became troublesome again. In the spring they violated their promises of peace, made in the previous au-

turn, and, instigated by the French, whom they now believed were able to drive the English into the sea, dug up the hatchet and renewed the war with tenfold greater rage than ever before. Wells, Berwick, Exeter, and Cape Neddock were all assaulted. Bowley and Haverhill suffered some loss; but the greatest blow fell at York, Maine, where about fifty of the inhabitants were killed on the spot, and a hundred carried away captive. The venerable and beloved pastor was shot dead at his own door, in the act of escaping. After perpetrating these atrocities the savages set fire to the town.

In England the agents of Massachusetts and Plymouth, at the head of whom was the elder Mather, failed to obtain under the name of a new charter the privileges of the old. The new instrument reserved the appointment of governor and lieutenant-governor to the crown. To his objections Mather received the curt answer that the agents of New England were not plenipotentiaries of a sovereign state; and if they were not satisfied, his majesty could and would settle the government there without them. Finding such to be the temper of the king, there was no choice but to submit. The new charter included Plymouth, Massachusetts, Maine, and Nova Scotia¹ under one government. The exertions of Mather procured for Sir William Phips the appointment of royal governor, and he arrived in Boston May 14, 1692, bringing with him the charter. With his arrival the assumptions, the usurpations, which had followed the transfer of the old charter to New England, were remanded to the history of the past. Massachusetts was now a province of the crown. Her long conflict with the sovereign was at an end, nor did the elevation of William change the character of the struggle, since he, who was so much more of a king than the Stuarts, had fully determined to reign; not only in Old England, but in New; to abate no jot or tittle of the prerogative of the crown, but to repel the pretension, so vitally antagonistic to the kingly idea, that a colony might govern itself.

The governor, under the new charter, had the sole appointment of all military officers, and, with the consent of the council, of the judicial. He could also annul the election of such civil officers as were elective. No money could be paid out of the treasury except upon his warrant, duly approved by his council.² He had also authority to assemble,

adjourn, or prorogue the General Court, and no act of government was valid without his consent. In fact, his power was vastly superior to that of the old charter governors.

The assistants under the old charter were replaced by twenty-eight councillors, to be annually chosen by the General Court. The representatives, who were formerly chosen by the freemen only, were now to be elected by all freeholders who had forty shillings a year, and all other inhabitants who were worth forty pounds sterling. The house elected its speaker, subject to the governor's approval. If he did not approve, a new choice was necessary. The new charter granted liberty of conscience to all except Papists.

Massachusetts was now to meet another trial. Her immense seacoast, stretching from Buzzard's Bay to the St. Lawrence, was infested with French privateers. Her eastern and western frontiers were continually harassed by French and Indians. Her treasury was empty, and she had reason to fear that Frontenac would take signal vengeance for the insult offered him at Quebec. A large party, too, were dissatisfied with the new order of things. Indeed, the outlook was far from promising, when a deplorable calamity came to overwhelm an already afflicted people with unspeakable horror and dismay.

The history of the witchcraft illusion of 1692 more properly belongs to the annals of the neighboring County of Essex, in which it originated, and in which its fatal course was run. There had been cases in the colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut, from time to time, and the death penalty had been inflicted upon several suspected persons, chiefly women, since the execution of Margaret Jones. But these cases occurred at long intervals, and did not cause the general wide-spread panic which the outbreak at Salem carried to every hearth-stone in the land.

Between the 1st of June and 1st of October, 1692, nineteen persons had been hanged and one pressed to death. The prisons were crowded with accused persons, some of whom died while waiting trial; the deepest gloom and distrust pervaded the entire community. After these executions a few courageous spirits attacked the frightful infatuation with success. Thomas Brattle of Cambridge wrote against it. By January a marked change for the better took place in public opinion. Magistrates and people seemed to have, in some degree, recovered their presence of mind. Of twenty-six

¹ The Elizabeth, Nantucket, and Martha's Vineyard islands were also included.

indictments tried by the Supreme Court at Salem, only three were followed by a verdict of guilty. Spectre evidence was excluded; reflection took the place of precipitation; reason and common-sense began to reassert their sway. Yielding to the dictates of humanity, Governor Phips reprieved the three condemned persons and ordered the discharge of all others held for trial. Such a jail delivery had never been seen in New England before.

In Middlesex several persons had been accused and imprisoned. When the bloody assize transferred its sittings from Salem to Charlestown, all these poor prisoners were acquitted. Here, too, the judges learned that the executive clemency had rescued those who were awaiting the death sentence at their hands. It is painful to record, in this connection, that Stoughton, the chief justice, left the bench in anger when the action of the governor was made known in court. Others of the judges were dissatisfied; but no juries could now be empanelled to condemn for witchcraft; the people were appalled at the thought of so much innocent blood already shed, and judges and ministers, who had given their high sanction to the delirium, one by one abandoned the wretched superstition which had cast its spell over their judgment and their humanity. Of all the tragedies enacted in New England this was the heaviest. It is the most difficult to explain. Even at this distance of time we approach the subject with feelings of horror and amazement, heightened, if possible, by the reflection that we can neither comprehend the origin nor development of this monstrous psychological phenomenon, nor appreciate at its true value the death-like terror it inspired in all ranks of society.

The Abenakis and their allies were still troublesome, but having met with reverses sued for peace in 1693. A strong fortress had been built, at Pemaquid, in the heart of the enemy's country, by Sir William Phips, designed to keep these Indians in subjection. The truce lasted, however, only a twelvemonth, at the end of which Madockawando led a band of warriors to the Piscataqua, who fell upon Durham, then called Oyster River. After committing great slaughter here a detachment, under the Abenaki chief, Taxous, crossed the Merrimack, and on the 27th of July, 1694, swooped down upon the unsuspecting inhabitants of Groton in broad day. In this foray the Indians killed twenty-two and captured thirteen persons. Although the surprise was complete, a gallant defence

was made at Lakin's garrison. Two nephews of Taxous were shot down at his side, and his own garments riddled with bullets. The governor immediately issued a proclamation, which was circulated among the Eastern Indians, demanding the speedy return of all English captives. His threatening language was defiantly retorted by those Indians, and he was told, "That which thou sayest to us, the same will we say to thee."

In consequence of charges of maladministration, Phips had been recalled. He died in England February, 1694-95, when Stoughton, the deputy, became acting governor, filling the office until the arrival of the Earl of Bellomont in May, 1699. During his administration Middlesex was twice invaded. The comparative quiet of the early months of 1695 was broken again in August by a sudden descent upon Billerica, in which fifteen persons were killed or taken prisoners. At this time, too, rumors of a powerful armament, preparing in France for an attack on Boston, spread consternation throughout the colony.

Lancaster had suffered in 1692, and again in 1695. In September, 1697, the savage foemen again entered the devoted town. Believing the garrison had been warned, they did not venture to attack it; but succeeded in killing twenty-one, wounding two, and capturing six of the inhabitants. Rev. John Whiting, the pastor, fell bravely fighting against overwhelming odds.

The Peace of Ryswick was proclaimed at Boston December 10, 1697. War, however, continued with the Indians a short time longer. In July a war-party took three or four prisoners at Hatfield, but the French no longer daring to afford open assistance to their old allies, peace was again concluded with them, and the colony was allowed a little breathing-time in which to prepare for future conflicts. The year of peace is also memorable for the death of Governor Bradstreet, whose early association with Middlesex has been duly noticed.

In 1685 a London bookseller named John Dunton visited New England. His account of what he saw, or rather what he did, has been published in his *Life and Errors*. Dunton was a milk-sop whose weak head was turned by every pretty woman he met. Much of his letters from New England is occupied by the subject uppermost in his mind, and the little he records in connection with his rambles to Charlestown, Medford, Cambridge, etc., is not worth transcribing. The relation of a visit

to Natick, on a lecture-day, in order to gratify his curiosity respecting Eliot's converted Indians, is entertaining, but too lengthy for our purpose. He tells us that Medford was a small village, Cambridge opulent, handsome, outdoing Boston itself; and

that Harvard had then "turned out" one hundred and twenty-two ministers of the Gospel, one third of whom had sought employment and a home in England.

XII.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF QUEEN ANNE'S WAR TO THE FALL OF LOUISBURG.

NOTWITHSTANDING its frequent mutilation at the hands of the savages, Middlesex continued to increase in wealth and in population. The towns devastated in Philip's War were, one by one, rebuilt and reoccupied by their inhabitants. New ones were being formed. In 1683 Stow was incorporated. In 1673 Cambridge Village was constituted a precinct empowered to elect a constable and three selectmen to order its prudential affairs; but it still remained, in other respects, part of Cambridge. Dissatisfied with this settlement of a long controversy, the village, in 1678, petitioned for incorporation as a town. Its prayer was not granted until January, 1687, when an order of Andros' council consummated the separation. In 1691 Cambridge Village received the name of Newtown, thus reassuming and perpetuating its ancient designation.

The Earl of Bellomont left Boston in May, 1700, for New York, the government of which was also included in his commission. He soon after died there. His fourteen months' service in Massachusetts was generally acceptable. He was the first nobleman who had occupied the chair of governor, and he was able to maintain the distinction derived from exalted rank, by his affable manners, his conciliatory disposition, and his generally conservative views. He managed the susceptibilities of the old-charter irreconcilables with great tact, and he exhibited becoming respect for the religious traditions and observances of the people he was sent to govern. Under his administration the bands of corsairs so long infesting our coasts were broken up. Kidd, the most notorious and audacious among them, was taken in the streets of Boston, sent to England, and executed.

The earl was succeeded by Joseph Dudley, formerly president during the interim occasioned by vacating the old charter, who had been imprisoned at Boston when the revolution of 1689 broke out. Before Dudley's arrival from England Governor Stoughton died. Intelligence of the breaking out of the war of the Spanish Succession also reached New England while the new governor was on his way. King James had died in exile, and now his successor to the crown of England, at the command of a more dread sovereign, laid down the sceptre he had wrested from his father-in-law's feeble hands. Anne of Denmark ascended the throne. War with France meant war with the Indians. The note of preparation and alarm which heralded what was popularly known as Queen Anne's War was hurriedly sounded. This, like King William's War, lasted just ten years.

The tribes of the Saco, Androscoggin, Kennebeck, and Penobscot, armed, equipped, and led by Canadian officers, began desolating the few remaining settlements in Maine, in August, 1703. The western frontier of the province was also assailed. In February, 1703-04, Deerfield was attacked by a strong body of French and Indians, commanded by De Rouville. The town was destroyed, with the loss of forty of its inhabitants killed and a hundred taken captive.

The year 1704 was prolific of events. This year Church, the Plymouth captain, made his expedition to Acadia in the hope of dealing a crushing blow to the enemy in that quarter, and thus to divert them from attacking our own frontier. The expedition promised much but accomplished little, not from any want of courage or disposition on the part of the commander, but it found no consid-

erable forces of the enemy to engage. Church returned home with little addition to the renown gained in Philip's War. In April the first newspaper in America made its appearance, at Boston. This year, too, William Hubbard, the historian, died. He died poor, and even the place of his burial is unknown.

Returning to our narrative of the war, a vigorous attack was made upon Lancaster, on the last day of July, which was stubbornly resisted. Captain John Tyng of Dunstable, reinforced by Captain How of Marlborough, fought with great gallantry; but the superior numbers of the enemy compelled our soldiers to take refuge in the garrisons, thus leaving the town, in a measure, unprotected. The meeting-house and six dwellings were fired and destroyed, after which the enemy retreated. Several of the inhabitants of the frontier towns of Middlesex were killed during this incursion.

The year 1705 has fewer occurrences to chronicle; but in the spring of 1706 Colonel Peter Schuyler of Albany warned the Massachusetts authorities that a formidable force of the enemy had marched from Canada for New England. They appeared at Dunstable on the 3d of July. The soldiers of Weld's garrison having neglected their guard, the savages gained an entrance unopposed, but were finally driven out, after a furious *mêlée* in which half the soldiers of the garrison fell. The Indians then proceeded to Galusha's garrison, which they captured and burnt. Chelmsford, Groton, and Sudbury were all alarmed. During this foray a small party of the enemy came to Reading, where they killed a woman and three children. At Groton two soldiers were killed and one taken prisoner while on their way to meeting. Groton and Marlborough were also harassed the next year by prowling bands who killed one inhabitant in each place.

The war continued to draw heavily upon the resources of Massachusetts; with few successes to compensate for the perpetual alarm in which her remote settlements were kept. Early in October, 1710, our forces under General Nicholson recovered Port Royal. In July a predatory party of warriors shot the post-rider while on his way from Marlborough to Hadley. They then assailed Chelmsford. While prowling in the neighborhood the savages mortally wounded the brave Major Tyng, who had been one of the first to receive the bounty offered by the province, in this war, for scalps.

The crowning disaster of this disastrous war

occurred in 1711. In June a large land and naval force designed for the reduction of Quebec arrived at Boston from England. The army was commanded by Brigadier-General Hill; the fleet, by Sir Hovenden Walker. The troops were Marlborough's veterans, and numbered five thousand men. The regiments were Kirke's (2d), Queen's Own (4th), Hill's (11th), Desney's (36th), Windreas's (37th), Clayton's and Kane's (disbanded in 1713), and Churchill's marines. In addition to these were Walton's and Vetch's provincial regiments, which increased the whole number to about seven thousand. These troops were landed, and encamped on Noddle's Island, now East Boston, which was covered by their tents and enlivened by the stirring strains of martial music. It was by far the most splendid military pageant New England had seen.

In the basin which formed the usual anchorage rode fifteen men-of-war and forty transports. On the 20th of July the troops were embarked, and on the 30th the whole fleet put to sea. A land force, marching from Albany upon Montreal under Colonel Nicholson, was to co-operate with the attack on Quebec. In appearance everything promised a prosperous issue to the undertaking; but when the fleet entered the St. Lawrence it encountered violent gales which drove nine transports on the rocks, with the loss of a thousand soldiers. The expedition was then abandoned, and this magnificent armament, which the queen had meant should inflict signal chastisement on French power in America, precipitately quitted the St. Lawrence without having fired a shot. Quebec was again saved.

The Peace of Utrecht, in 1713, brought with it a cessation of Indian hostilities. At this time it was estimated that six thousand young men, the very flower of the colony, had been killed in battle, or died by disease contracted in the service, since 1675. The short and terrible struggle with Philip, the abortive winter campaign of Sir Edmund Andros, the ten years' conflict ending with the Peace of Ryswick, the decade of bloodshed concluded at Utrecht, constituted nearly a quarter of a century of warfare the most destructive, the most deadly. Moreover, the province finances were in a really deplorable condition; but by the continued issue of paper money the extraordinary expenses of war had been met and the inevitable crash, for a time, postponed. In considering the heavy drain upon the resources of Massachusetts,

her blood, and treasure, the wonder is that, in the face of such difficulties, alone, and almost single-handed, she maintained her lofty and undaunted mien, and exhibited such remarkable capacity for resistance. We trace the course of desolation with a shudder, and we acknowledge that the times were indeed such as tried men's souls.

On the expiration of his term of office, in 1715, Dudley was succeeded in the government by Colonel Samuel Shute, who had served under Marlborough, in Flanders. He arrived at Boston in October, 1716. His administration was embittered by continued warfare with the house of representatives upon questions of privilege, in which the governor usually had the support of the council. Of these differences a fixed compensation for the royal governor, to be paid by the province, became one of the most vexatious, and soon developed into a chronic grievance, to be inherited by succeeding administrations. By voting only such sums as they pleased, the house held a power over the governor which they were determined to exercise, and did exercise, whenever the chief magistrate's construction of their charter prerogatives clashed with their own. These antagonisms finally drove Shute from the province.

In 1721 the General Court sat in Cambridge, on account of the prevalence of small-pox at the capital. It was at this time that inoculation was first tried with success, against a popular clamor in which most of the physicians of the day joined. Such was the power of prejudice that the house of representatives passed a bill prohibiting inoculation. The council, however, did not concur.

In 1722 war again broke out with the Eastern Indians, who had been in a condition of feverish agitation ever since they knew the English meant to reoccupy their old settlements in Maine under the provisions of the late treaty. Their dissatisfaction was privately stimulated by Vaudreuil, governor-general of Canada, and by the Jesuits resident among them. The Penobscot and Cape Sable Indians promised to help those living on the Saco and Kennebeck in the endeavor to drive the English from their hunting-grounds. It was not long before the work of slaughter, with its attendant horrors of pillage, burning, and captivity, began anew.

One of the Abenaki villages, situated at Norridgewock, on the Kennebeck, was a perpetual thorn in the side of the English. They determined

to destroy it. In August, 1724, an expedition ascended the Kennebeck as far as the falls, in the present town of Winslow, where they left their boats under a strong guard and began their march for the Abenaki village. They found it unguarded, and had surrounded it before being discovered. The warriors ran to their arms, but were swept away by the close, deadly volleys which the English poured into them. Men, women, and children fell beneath this withering fire. Rale, the Jesuit father, whose fatal ascendancy over the tribe had brought this storm upon it, fell pierced with balls. The tribe was cut to pieces, its dreaded chieftains Mogg and Bomazeen slain, and the village burned to ashes.

Groton, Oxford, and Rutland had been disturbed by small bands of the enemy who were still at their old work of picking off the unwary English from some deadly ambush. In September two citizens of Dunstable were suddenly made captives. The savages were pursued by soldiers, of whom eight were killed from an ambuscade. One grave in the ancient burial-ground of Dunstable contains their remains.

In the following April, John Lovewell, a hardy and experienced ranger of Dunstable, whose scalp-ing exploits had already noised his fame abroad, marched with forty-six men for the Indian village at Pigwacket, now Fryeburg, Maine. At Ossipee he built a small fort designed as a retreat in case of disaster. This precaution undoubtedly saved the lives of some of his men. He was now within two short marches of the enemy's village. The scouts having found Indian tracks in the neighborhood, Lovewell resumed his route, leaving one of his men who had fallen sick, his surgeon, and eight men to guard the fort. His command was now reduced to thirty-four, officers and men.

It was soon evident that the Indians had discovered and were watching their movements. On the morning of the 8th of May the leader called his men about him and told them they must quickly decide whether to fight or retreat. The answer was prompt and decisive: "We came to see the enemy." Lovewell then prepared for action. The rangers threw off their knapsacks and blankets, looked to the primings of their guns, loosened their axes and knives, and cautiously moved on, with their scouts in front.

On the border of the beautiful pond in Fryeburg the scouts discovered a solitary Indian, who was fired upon. He immediately returned the fire, severely

wounding Lovewell and one other. This Indian was then shot dead.

Meanwhile the enemy, who were stealthily dogging the march of the English, found and possessed themselves of their packs. Paugus, their chief, silently placed his warriors in ambuscade. When Lovewell's men returned to the spot where they had left their packs, the enemy rose, and poured in a destructive volley in front and rear. The English quickly returned the fire, and then charged the enemy in their front with determined bravery; until, seeing themselves surrounded on every side, the order was given to fall back to the pond, where they took refuge behind trees, and fought on.

Lovewell was killed and two of his lieutenants wounded at the first onset. Nearly or quite one third of the rangers had fallen, yet they undauntedly continued the battle until nightfall, when the enemy drew off, leaving them in possession of the bloody field. Only defeat or want of ammunition could have made the savages relinquish their prey. The survivors, under command of Ensign Wyman of Woburn, who bore himself intrepidly on this day, made their way back to the fort. Instead of help for the wounded and the aid of eight trusty rifles, they found it deserted, the guard having fled on the report of a runaway from the field that their comrades were all cut to pieces. This was the crowning misfortune of the expedition. The rangers now became a band of panic-stricken fugitives. After incredible hardships less than twenty starving, emaciated, and footsore men, half of them badly wounded, straggled into the nearest English settlements.

Many instances of individual heroism are related of this battle, and it has been made the theme of many familiar ballads and nursery tales. Indeed, of all the encounters between the white and red men in New England, this is perhaps the most celebrated, the best known. Of the thirty-four rangers who went into battle seven each were from Groton, Concord, and Dunstable, five belonged in Woburn, two in Billerica, and one was from Weston. All the officers were from Middlesex. When the survivors came silently together in the darkness that succeeded the conflict, only nine were unhurt. Eleven were badly wounded, but were resolved to march with their comrades though they died by the way. Three more were alive, but had received their death-wounds. One of these was Lieutenant Robbins of Chelmsford. Knowing that he must be left behind, he begged his comrades to

load his gun, in order that he might have one last shot when the savages returned to wreak their vengeance on the wounded.

The loss of the Indians could only be guessed, but the battle led to the immediate abandonment of their village, from which so many war-parties had formerly harassed the English. Paugus, the renowned chief, fell, slain, it is said, by John Chamberlain of Groton. The foemen met on the shore of the pond to which both repaired to cleanse their foul guns. Both coolly washed and loaded their weapons while exchanging mutual defiance and taunts. Whoever first loaded held his enemy at his mercy. Chamberlain's superior dexterity gave him this advantage. "Chief, I said I should kill you," exclaimed the fearless ranger, sending his bullet through the heart of Paugus. Though the story has obtained large credence, its authenticity is doubtful.

With this fight the war closed. It is not entitled to a place in history beside the heroic defence of Wadsworth, in Philip's War, or many other fierce encounters since that time. Lovewell's was not an expedition undertaken solely to secure the common safety by severely chastising an insolent and dreaded foe, but a hunt for Indian scalps, for which the province had increased the premium to one hundred pounds. His men were all volunteers drawn together by their captain's previous reputation and good fortune in obtaining this hideous bounty. Therefore, while we extol a valor never surpassed on any field, we may not award to Lovewell's band the praise due to men who fought for a higher and a nobler motive. We forbear to express our sense of the cruel policy which legalized the introduction of such warfare, and, in effect, put Christians and savages on the same level in their way of conducting it.

Governor Burnet, son of the friend and counsellor of King William, was appointed to succeed Shute, who, contrary to the general expectation, did not return, but who left as a legacy to the new incumbent his quarrel with the house of representatives. Burnet was of sterner mould than his predecessor. Moreover, the king administered harsh reproof and warning to the provincial legislature for the intractable spirit which marked its proceedings upon the question of compensation. While the court was sitting at Cambridge, to which place it had been adjourned, Burnet was taken sick, and died in September, 1729. He was succeeded by Jonathan Belcher, a native of New England.

The principal event of Belcher's administration was the rectification of the northern boundary of the province, by which Massachusetts lost all she claimed. By her extravagant and forced construction of the charter, the chance of obtaining what a wiser and more moderate policy would have secured was thrown away. Even if her claim to New Hampshire and Maine had been an equitable one, which we cannot believe, the determined hostility of the people of those provinces in general to be swallowed up by Massachusetts constituted a serious objection to the union, especially when their cause found favor and support with the Church party in England, at the head of which the Bishop of London exercised great influence over the affairs of the colonies. By this decision Middlesex lost a large fraction of her territory lying in old Dunstable and in Dracut.

Another principal occurrence of Governor Belcher's gubernatorial incumbency was the inauguration of the Land Bank Scheme,¹ which was designed to supply £150,000 in bills of credit, based upon mortgage of real property by subscribers to the bank. The operations of this association were productive of great mischief in still further unsettling values in the province; its opponents procured the passage of an act of Parliament dissolving it. Governor Belcher was removed from office in 1740.

William Shirley's administration began in 1741. He had first to deal with the difficult question of the province finances, which for twenty years had been growing more and more complicated. The crown had instructed its governors not to consent to any reissue of bills of credit after they had matured, which policy, if carried out, would have compelled the redemption of all outstanding paper money in 1741. Governor Shirley departed from his instructions, which looked to a thorough reformation of the finances, by consenting to a new issue of bills of credit, in order to tide over the difficulties of the case. Perhaps, also, he wished to conciliate the Land Bank party which had actively interested itself in Belcher's removal and was still strong throughout the province. Although it pretended to restore the long-forgotten relation between the precious metals and paper money, the scheme which gained Governor Shirley's approval did not by any means do this; nor

could legislation prevent the natural and legitimate depreciation of what had never any other fixed value than the act declaring it money gave to it.

But the administration of Shirley was destined to be crowned with an achievement the most brilliant that illuminates the annals of the province. War again broke out between the crowns of England and France. Next to Quebec the strongest fortress in Canada was Louisburg, on the island of Cape Breton. The fortifications were the work of skilful engineers, and were very extensive; but were now reported out of repair and weakly garrisoned. Shirley conceived the audacious idea of getting possession of the place. His plan was heard and considered in secret session by the General Court. The members were confounded at the hardihood of the proposal. It was first rejected, a second time brought forward, and finally agreed to by a majority of one. An embargo was immediately laid on all the ports of the province. Prompt measures were taken to raise men and material for the expedition. Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island promised each a contingent.

Shirley went to work organizing an army and navy; for Louisburg could not be reduced without the co-operation of a naval force sufficient to keep French cruisers from breaking the blockade when it should once be established. The governor's industry was marvellous; his energy triumphed over every obstacle. Ships were bought or hired, cannon borrowed, sailors impressed. Provisions, clothing, and warlike stores were taken, with or without their owners' consent. The effect of this activity was seen in the departure of the province flotilla on the 24th of March, 1745, with three thousand two hundred Massachusetts, and three hundred New Hampshire troops on board. All this had been accomplished in two months.

William Pepperell of Kittery was general-in-chief. His personal popularity and extensive acquaintance secured for him the appointment. Samuel Waldo of Boston was first, Joseph Dwight second, brigadier. Edward Tyng of Boston commanded the province fleet. Roger Wolcot, deputy-governor of Connecticut and second in command, arrived at Boston with five hundred men on the day after the fleet sailed. His transports fortunately escaped from a French cruiser on the coast, and joined the remainder of the army at Canso. Here, too, the combined forces were joined late in April by Admiral Warren, with the British West India squadron. Within a week from the arrival

¹ For an account of this project see Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*, II., 352, 353. We have not room to present it intelligently to the reader.

of these ships the land forces disembarked before Louisburg. The place was formally invested.

Louisburg surrendered after a siege of forty-nine days; but not before our raw and inexperienced soldiers had suffered much from sickness and want

of proper shelter. The good news reached Boston on the 3d of July. It was received with salvos of artillery, and pealed from steeple to steeple, throughout the length and breadth of the province.

XIII.

TO THE DEATH OF GEORGE II.

A CONSIDERABLE accession of towns marked the period embraced in the preceding chapter. Framingham and Dracut, Lexington and Weston, Hopkinton and Littleton, Holliston and Sherburne, Bedford and Westford, Wilmington, Townsend, Tewksbury, and Waltham were incorporated in the order named. The succeeding thirty years, which brings our history to the stirring scenes of active hostilities with the mother country, witnessed the addition only of Pepperell and Shirley, of Lincoln, Natick, and Ashby. By the formation of Worcester County, in 1731, out of the old Nipmuck region, any further expansion of Middlesex on the west was prevented. She was now restricted within boundaries little altered during the succeeding century.

The French and Indian War, of which the siege and capture of Louisburg was the great deed of arms, concluded with the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748. During this war the incursions of the Indians were more frequent than in previous times, but Middlesex was no longer to be the scene of midnight conflagration and slaughter. Her frontier was now no longer, as in times past, the extreme limit of reclaimed territory, but settlement had extended itself more and more into the wilderness with the steady advance of a hardy and adventurous people. At this time the garrisoned towns upon the Connecticut River were further protected by a line of forts erected along the river as far as Charlestown, New Hampshire, where, directly in the path of an enemy invading from the direction of Montreal and Lake Champlain, was the important post Number Four. Another line of block-houses stretched along the northern boundary of the province, from the Connecticut to Fort Massachusetts, in the beautiful valley of the Hoosac,

where is now the town of Adams. The latter fort confronted an enemy's advance from the same direction by the east bank of the Hudson, the valley of the Hoosac, and over the great mountain ridge into the valley of the Deerfield. Although parties of the enemy occasionally penetrated it, their principal efforts were directed against this line of defence, which equally opposed their advance or menaced their retreat. Garrisons were, however, posted in the frontier towns of Middlesex to repel any small predatory parties from north of the Merrimack; but except at Groton, where a solitary incident commemorates it, the county escaped the ravages of this war.

While opposing an active and implacable foe on this side, Massachusetts was suddenly summoned to meet the gravest danger war had yet menaced her with. France was preparing to obliterate, at one blow, the detested focus of the Louisburg disaster, of the armaments against Quebec, — the heart and brain of New England. Boston being destroyed, the work of blotting out the seacoast towns might go on at leisure. France was in deadly earnest this time. She was getting ready a formidable fleet and army. Fourteen heavy ships of war, twenty to thirty smaller ones, fire-ships, bomb-vessels, tenders, transports for eight thousand regular troops, were collecting at Brest and Rochelle. England was not more alarmed at the arrival of the Armada on her coasts, in 1588, than was the New England capital upon report of this French fleet being in American waters.

The Duke d'Anville sailed with this fleet in June, 1746. For nearly two months he was so battered and buffeted by tempests, that he arrived at Chebucto (Halifax) on the 12th of September with only his own ship and a few transports.

The rest had been scattered far and wide. Only three more transports had forlornly reached the rendezvous, when, on the 16th, D'Anville, possessor of one of the proudest names of France, died,—of apoplexy say the French, of poison say the English. Briefly, a shattered remnant of this noble armament succeeded in attaining the rendezvous, but all thought of prosecuting the original purpose was now abandoned. Sickness was thinning out the soldiers and sailors by scores and hundreds. There were hot disputes among the chiefs. Some were for returning to France; others for striking a blow for reputation's sake; D'Estournelles, vice-admiral, ran himself through the body in a fit of delirium. The fleet dispersed, to encounter fresh disasters while crowding sail to escape from a pursuing English squadron. This was the end of the gallant array of nearly a hundred sail, which only a few weeks before caused New England to tremble as she had never trembled before.¹

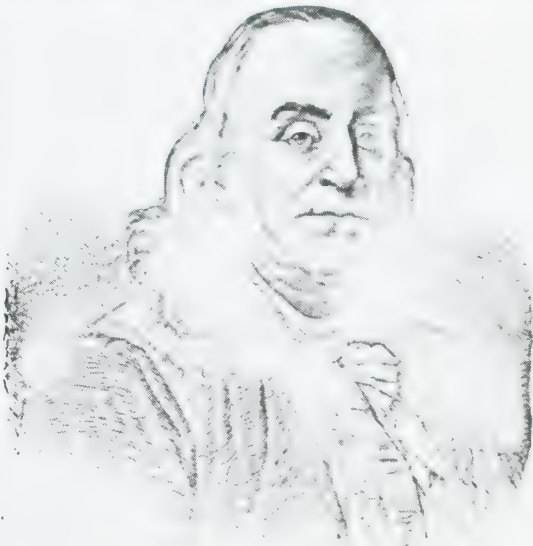
Governor Shirley bravely prepared to meet the emergency. Six thousand men were encamped on Boston Common to defend the capital against D'Anville. Middlesex furnished her full share of these levies, while also contributing to the forces garrisoning the border. Unexampled activity and ardor prevailed from seacoast to far frontier. The drums that beat in Queen Anne's war were heard in every village and hamlet of the province. With the news of D'Anville's disaster these martial preparations ceased. Shirley relaxed his efforts; the province troops were allowed to return home; the great dread which rested on men's minds was lifted away.

The next period of war embraces the term from 1754 to 1760, when England seriously undertook the subjugation of Canada. In this campaign the great military operations were carried on within the enemy's country; but two thousand Massachusetts soldiers fought in the ranks of the imperial army, from Lake George to Cape Diamond, under the leadership of Amherst and Wolfe. All

Canada fell into English possession. The imperial ensign floated over every stronghold from Louisbourg to Crown Point; and when its great rival was at last lowered from the battlements of Montreal, it announced to New England the termination of thirty-five years of war since the accession of William and Mary to the throne of England. Fifteen years later, while the memory of Louisbourg, Lake George, Quebec, and Havana were still fresh in the minds of the living, the martial spirit and prowess of New England were to be seriously questioned by the reigning sovereign in Old England. Well might it be said of the House of Hanover, as it subsequently was of the Bourbons, *Ils n'ont rien appris, rien oublié.*

In the year 1752 the Gregorian Calendar was, by act of parliament, adopted in the British dominions. The new year now began on the 1st of January, instead of, as formerly, on the 25th of March. The old and new methods of computation took, respectively, the designation of Old and New Style.

Franklin was now making those discoveries in the management of natural electric currents by



Benjamin Franklin.

means of his ever-famous kite: Shirley, in order to provide the sinews of war, procured a stamp act from the provincial legislature, laying a duty upon vellum, parchment, and paper for two years. The same year, 1755, the Boston Gazette newspaper first appeared. Its later influence and position, as the official vehicle of revolutionary

¹ A fleet with flags arrayed
Sailed from the port of Brest,
And the Admiral's ship displayed
The signal, "Steer southwest."

For this Admiral d'Anville
Had sworn by cross and crown
To ravage with fire and steel
Our helpless Boston town.
LONGFELLOW.

measures, make its birth a matter of public importance. The expulsion of the French Neutrals from Nova Scotia also took place this year, two hundred families being assigned to Massachusetts. No episode of New England history is better known. Upon plea of military necessity the Acadians were seized by the British troops, forcibly conveyed on board transports, and, without regard to the separation of families, parcelled out among the different colonies.¹ Just at the beginning of winter about a thousand of these exiles arrived at Boston, when the Assembly apportioned them among the several towns of the province, to be cared for as indigent poor. Being Roman Catholics, they were debarred from exercising their religion in any public way, because the old raw-head

and bloody-bones colony law, making it a capital offence for Romanists to enter the jurisdiction, remained unrepealed on the statute-book. Truly, "the justice of tyranny is hard to understand."

Shirley, who was one of the ablest as well as one of the most ambitious governors Massachusetts ever had, was succeeded by Thomas Pownall. Thomas Hutchinson was named lieutenant-governor, and Andrew Oliver secretary. Pownall's brief administration was satisfactory to the people of the province. He was succeeded in 1760 by Francis Bernard. In October, George II. died suddenly at his palace of Kensington, and his grandson was proclaimed King of England, as George III.

XIV.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

THE government in England, and in the province, as now constituted, was destined to inaugurate an era of history unsurpassed in its influence upon mankind by any similar period. A series of aggressions upon the political rights of the people of America, begun in the administration of the king's favorite, the Earl of Bute, continued through that of George Grenville, was temporarily checked in that of the Marquis of Rockingham, to be renewed and to culminate in that of Lord North. Writs of Assistance were the entering wedge which first divided the people into parties for or against the government. The names Whig and Tory began now to be heard; and the opponents of Bute, in England, were hailed as in some sort champions of the same cause which had raised up an opposition in America. New taxes levied on the trade of the colonies marked the line of separation still more strongly. "No taxation without representation" became the party slogan of the opposition, which James Otis contributed his great talents to

consolidate into a political force by printing a powerful argument, showing the contrary to be an innovation upon the inherent as well as chartered rights of British subjects. In 1765 the Stamp Act passed. In June, Massachusetts invited her sister colonies to send delegates to a congress to meet at New York in October, thus originating the Continental Congress. The Stamp Act riots in Boston effectually defeated further attempts to give effect to the obnoxious law in the province of Massachusetts Bay; but for a time courts of law were suspended and no clearances granted to ships, because officers of the courts and of the customs dared not use the stamped papers for fear of the popular rage, or issue a decree or a clearance without them for fear of the king's displeasure. The repeal of the act, in 1766, put an end to this state of things, though it by no means allayed the agitation it had caused.

The repeal, however, caused great joy. Its announcement was celebrated in Charlestown, Cambridge, and other towns of Middlesex, as well as in the provincial capital. Middlesex, indeed, had early signified her detestation of the Stamp Act. Even before the Massachusetts house of representatives had entered its solemn protest against this

¹ There disorder prevailed, and the tumult and stir of embarking. Busily plied the freighted boats; and in the confusion Wives were torn from their husbands, and mothers, too late, saw their children Left on the land, extending their arms with wildest entreaties.

LORD KILGORE'S *Emigration*.

attack on the liberties of the subject, Cambridge voted in town-meeting that the act was an infringement upon the "natural, inherent, constitutional rights of Englishmen."

Our brief summary of events next pauses at the memorable year 1768, when the antagonism between Bernard and the house reached a crisis. The enforcement of the obnoxious revenue laws produced brawls and affrays in the streets, and still further strengthened an already formidable opposition. Now comes a new element of strife. The governor prorogues the General Assembly, and refuses to call another; the people retaliate by calling a convention, which is in effect an assumption of sovereignty. The ominous cry of "Treason!" begins to be heard abroad, and the still more ominous cry of "Arm!" goes from town to town. At this juncture a fleet of war-ships sail

into Boston harbor and land two regiments of red-coats on Long Wharf. One of them takes possession of Faneuil Hall, which the convention of the people had just vacated.

In 1769 the General Court was removed from Boston to Cambridge, because the representatives refused to transact business while cannon were pointed at the hall in which they were assembled. During the summer Bernard was recalled, and sailed for England. Hutchinson, the lieutenant-governor, became acting governor until his own appointment to the vacancy took place. The situation was now daily aggravated by brawls and affrays between the populace and the soldiery. These culminated in the tragedy of the 5th of March, 1770, usually known as the "Boston Massacre," which led to the removal of the troops from the town of Boston to Castle William.



Destruction of the Tea.

Although government had now taken off all the obnoxious duties except that upon tea, the people, in their turn, began to question the king's right to tax them at all, or to quarter troops among them. In 1772 the celebrated Committee of Correspondence was formed, on the motion of Samuel Adams, with the object of communicating and securing an interchange of views among all the towns of the province upon the grave questions now agitating the public mind. This committee may be considered to have given form to the Revolution. In December, 1773, the people of Boston tossed into their harbor several cargoes of tea, sent over by the East India Company, — an act which had the

warm sympathy of their brethren of Middlesex. This bold proceeding exasperated the king and aroused the ministry to action. The timid, vacillating, crafty Hutchinson was superseded by General Gage, who, at the head of an army, was commanded to enforce obedience to the newly enacted measures of parliament, one of which shut up Boston as a port of commerce; while another abrogated so much of the province charter as provided for the election of councillors by the representatives, — giving that power to the crown; and a third provided that persons charged with capital offences might, in the discretion of the governor, or, if he believed the prisoner could not be fairly

tried in the province, be sent to England for trial. When the General Court met, as usual, in May, General Gage adjourned it to Salem, but when it reassembled there, hearing that business likely to be unpalatable at Kensington was in progress, he hastily sent to dissolve it. His secretary found the door of the assembly chamber locked, was denied admittance, and so read the proclamation upon the stairs. In the mean time the house appointed Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, Robert Treat Paine, James Bowdoin, and John Adams delegates to the Congress at Philadelphia. Having fairly out-generalled the governor, the court adjourned.

The Boston Committee of Correspondence, with which the committees of Dorchester, Roxbury, Newton, Cambridge, and Charlestown usually joined on occasions of importance, now drew up and transmitted to the local committees of the province, and to the other colonies, a pledge on the part of those who signed, not to buy or use any goods of British manufacture until the so-called Boston Port Bill should be repealed. This agreement was called a "Solemn League and Covenant." It was circulated and numerously signed, both within and without the province. General Gage by proclamation denounced it as an unlawful, hostile, and traitorous combination.

But what gave the aspect of affairs a far graver complexion than agreements or proclamations, was the widespread conviction that the differences with the mother country must be settled by an appeal to arms. And this conviction was finding daily expression in preparations to meet the dread issue, — in the purchase of muskets, equipments, ammunition; in martial exercise upon the village green; in the determination everywhere seen to repel force with force. Old firelocks were taken down and put in order; old accoutrements furbished up; bullets run, not infrequently from the leaden memorial escutcheons of some Tory's tombstone. There were more sword-blades and pike-points than ploughshares and pruning-hooks beaten out on village anvils. In the pulpit, in the wayside tavern, in the harvest-field, all the talk was resistance to the uttermost, to the bitter end. The word "king" began to have a significant counterpoise in the word "congress," which betokened that there was another power — the might of a people united against tyranny — come to know itself.

Governor Gage doubtless early realized that the task of coercing Massachusetts into submission was

a difficult if not an impossible one; but, however distasteful the knowledge might be, he could not feign ignorance of what was going on around him. Regiment after regiment had been ordered to Boston by the ministry, until that town presented the appearance of a camp. The old fortifications at the Neck were repaired, and a guard stationed there. Tents whitened the green slopes of the Common, cannon gaped from every eminence, and sentinels tramped up and down the silent streets. The music of Sabbath bells came across the water mingled with the rattle of drums and peal of trumpets, while the act of prayer was suspended until the crash of military music at the church door died away in the distance. Boston was indeed effectually shut up.

There was now an almost total suspension of civil government in the province. Courts of justice could not be carried on because the people refused to act as jurors under the new laws. In some places attempts to hold courts were openly obstructed. Every impediment that could be thrown in the way of procuring supplies for the king's troops was employed by the patriots, who thus embittered and exasperated the soldiery until mutual hatred and defiance filled the breasts of both.

The civil and military organization of the county at this time was as follows: —

Justices of the Inferior Court.

Samuel Danforth.	John Tyng.
Joseph Lee.	James Russell.

Clerk.

Theodore Mason.

High Sheriff.

David Phips.

Deputy Sheriffs.

William Howe, Cambridge.	William Pierce, Chelmsford.
Peter Ball, Waltham.	Samuel Tuttle, Littleton.
James Kettle, Malden.	Joseph Shiple, Groton.
John Farrar, Framingham.	Elisha Bacon, Natick.
William Greene, Reading.	Munnings Sawin, Marlborough.
Joseph Butler, Concord.	Joseph Reed, Westford.

Coroners.

Abraham Watson, Jr., Cambridge.	Josiah Smith, Weston.
D. Haven.	

Judge of Probate.

Samuel Danforth.

Register of Probate.

William Kneeland.

Register of Deeds.

John Foxcroft.

*Field-officers of the several Regiments of Militia.**First Regiment.*

William Brattle, *Colonel.*
 Thomas Oliver, *Lieutenant-Colonel.*
 Abraham Fuller, *First Major.*
 Thomas Brattle, *Second Major.*

Third Regiment.

Elisha Jones, *Colonel.*
 Charles Prescott, *Lieutenant-Colonel.*
 Joseph Curtis, *Major.*

Third Regiment, South Part.

John Noyes, *Colonel.*
 John Jones, *Lieutenant-Colonel.*
 John Farrar, *Major.*

Sixth Regiment.

James Prescott, *Colonel.*
 Jonathan Wood, *Lieutenant-Colonel.*
 Oliver Prescott, *Major.*

Suffolk had acted promptly. Boston was her own as well as the province capital. On the 16th of August a meeting of delegates from every town and district in the county, except Weymouth, Cohasset, Needham, and Chelsea, was held at Colonel Doty's in Stoughton, "to consult upon what measures were proper to be taken by the people of the county at this most important and alarming crisis." After adopting a spirited resolution, in which they announced a firm determination to abide by the combination against the oppressive acts of Britain, but without further action, they called a county convention to meet at Woodward's inn, in Dedham, on the 6th of September.

Middlesex assembled her delegate convention at Concord on the 30th of August. One hundred and fifty delegates responded to the call. Hon. James Prescott of Groton was chosen chairman, and Ebenezer Bridge of Billerica secretary. A committee, consisting of Jonathan Williams Austin of Chelmsford, Captain Thomas Gardner of Cambridge, Doctor Isaac Foster of Charlestown, Captain Josiah Stone of Framingham, Richard Devens of Charlestown, Doctor Oliver Prescott of Groton, Henry Gardner of Stow, William Brown of Framingham, and Ebenezer Bridge, Jr., of Billerica, was then appointed to consider the late act of parliament entitled an act "for the better regulating the government of the Massachusetts Bay in New England," and to report thereon to the convention. This committee drew up and presented the following preamble and resolutions, which boldly take the most advanced ground occupied by the patriot party:—

"It is evident to every attentive mind, that this province is in a very dangerous and alarming situation. We are obliged to say, however painful it may be to us, that the question now is, whether, by a submission to some late acts of the parliament of Great Britain, we are contented to be the most abject slaves, and entail that slavery on posterity after us, or by a manly, joint, and virtuous opposition, assert and support our freedom. There is a mode of conduct, which in our very critical circumstances we would wish to adopt; a conduct, on the one hand, never tamely submissive to tyranny and oppression, on the other, never degenerating into rage, passion, and confusion. This is a spirit which we revere, as we find it exhibited in former ages, and will command applause to the latest posterity.

"The late acts of parliament pervade the whole system of jurisprudence, by which means, we think, the fountains of justice are fatally corrupted. Our defence must, therefore, be immediate in proportion to the suddenness of the attack, and vigorous in proportion to the danger.

"We must now exert ourselves, or all those efforts which, for ten years past, have brightened the annals of this country will be totally frustrated. Life and death, or, what is more, freedom and slavery, are in a peculiar sense now before us, and the choice and success, under God, depend greatly upon ourselves. We are therefore bound, as struggling not only for ourselves, but future generations, to express our sentiments in the following resolves; sentiments which, we think, are founded in truth and justice, and therefore sentiments we are determined to abide by.

"*Resolved*, That as true and loyal subjects of our gracious sovereign, George the Third, King of Great Britain, we by no means intend to withdraw our allegiance from him; but, while permitted the free exercise of our natural and charter rights, are resolved to expend life and treasure in his service.

"*Resolved*, That when our ancestors emigrated from Great Britain, charters and solemn stipulations expressed the conditions, and what particular rights they yielded; what each party had to do and perform; and which each of the contracting parties were equally bound by.

"*Resolved*, That we know of no instance, in which this province has transgressed the rules on their part, or any ways forfeited their natural and charter rights to any power on earth.

"*Resolved*, That the parliament of Great Britain have exercised a power contrary to the above-mentioned charter, by passing acts, which hold up their absolute supremacy over the colonists; by another act blocking up the port of Boston; and by two late acts, the one entitled an act for better regulating the government of the province of Massachusetts Bay, the other entitled an act for the more impartial administration of justice in said province; and by enforcing all these iniquitous acts with a large armed force, to dragoon and enslave us.

"*Resolved*, That the late act of parliament, entitled an act for the better regulating the government of the province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, expressly acknowledges the authority of the charter, granted by their majesties King William and Queen Mary, to said province; and that the only reasons suggested in the preamble to said act, which is intended to deprive us of the privileges con-

firmed to us by said charter, are, the inexpediency of continuing those privileges, and the charge of their having been forfeited, to which charge the province has had no opportunity of answering.

"Resolved, That a debtor may as justly refuse to pay his debts, because it is inexpedient for him, as the parliament of Great Britain deprive us of our charter privileges, because it is inexpedient to a corrupt administration for us to enjoy them.

"Resolved, That in all free states there must be an equilibrium in the legislative body, without which constitutional check they cannot be said to be a free people.

"Resolved, That the late act, which ordains a council to be appointed by his majesty, his heirs and successors, from time to time, by warrant under his or their signet or sign manual, and which ordains that said councillors shall hold their offices respectively for and during the pleasure of his majesty, his heirs and successors, effectually alters the constitutional equilibrium, renders the councillors absolute tools and creatures, and entirely destroys the importance of the representative body.

"Resolved, That no state can long exist free and happy, where the course of justice is obstructed, and that, when trials by juries, which are the grand bulwarks of life and property, are destroyed or weakened, a people falls immediately under arbitrary power.

"Resolved, That the late act, which gives the governor of this province a power of appointing judges of the superior and inferior courts, commissioners of oyer and terminer, the attorney general, provosts, marshals, and justices of the peace, and to remove all of them, the judges of the superior court excepted, without consent of council, entirely subverts a free administration of justice; as the fatal experience of mankind, in all ages, has testified, that there is no greater species of corruption, than when judicial and executive officers depend, for their existence and support, on a power independent of the people.

"Resolved, That by ordaining jurors to be summoned by the sheriff only, which sheriff is to be appointed by the governor, without consent of council, that security which results from a trial by our peers is rendered altogether precarious, and there is not only an evident infraction upon our charter, but a subversion of our common rights as Englishmen.

"Resolved, That every people have an absolute right of meeting together to consult upon common grievances, and to petition, remonstrate, and use every legal method for their removal.

"Resolved, That the act which prohibits these constitutional meetings, cuts away the scaffolding of English freedom, and reduces us to a most abject state of vassalage and slavery.

"Resolved, That it is our opinion these late acts, if quietly submitted to, will annihilate the last vestiges of liberty in this province, and therefore we must be justified by God and the world in never submitting to them.

"Resolved, That it is the opinion of this body that the present act, respecting the government of the province of Massachusetts Bay, is an artful, deep-laid plan of oppression and despotism, that requires great skill and wisdom to counteract. This wisdom we have endeavored to collect from the united sentiments of the country. And

although we are grieved that we are obliged to mention anything that may be attended with such very important consequences as may now ensue, yet a sense of our duty as men, as freemen, as christian freemen, united in the firmest bonds, obliges us to Resolve, that every civil officer now in commission in this province, and acting in conformity to the late act of parliament, is not an officer agreeably to our charter, therefore unconstitutional, and ought to be opposed in the manner hereafter recommended.

"Resolved, That we will obey all those civil officers now in commission, whose commissions were issued before the first day of July, 1774, and support them in the execution of their offices according to the manner usual before the late attempt to alter the constitution of this province; nay, even although the governor should attempt to revoke their commissions. But, that, if any of said officers shall accept a commission under the present plan of arbitrary government, or in any way or manner whatever assist the governor or administration in the assault now making on our rights and liberties, we will consider them as having forfeited their commissions, and yield them no obedience.

"Resolved, That whereas the Hon. Samuel Danforth and Joseph Lee, Esq's., two of the judges of the inferior court of common pleas for the county, have accepted commissions under the new act, by being sworn members of his majesty's council, appointed by said act, we therefore look upon them as utterly incapable of holding any office whatever. And whereas, venires on the late act of parliament have issued from the court of sessions, signed by the clerk, we think they come under a preceding resolve, of acting in conformity to the new act of parliament. We therefore Resolve, that a submission to courts thus acting, and under these disqualifications, is a submission to the act itself, and of consequence, as we are resolved never to submit one iota to the act, we will not submit to courts thus constituted, and thus acting in conformity to said act.

"Resolved, That as, in consequence of the former resolve, all business at the inferior court of common pleas and court of general sessions of the peace, next to be holden at Concord, must cease; to prevent the many inconveniences that may arise therefrom, we Resolve, that all actions, writs, suits, etc., brought to said court, ought to remain in the same condition as at present, unless settled by consent of parties, till we know the result of a provincial and continental congress. And we Resolve, that no plaintiff in any cause, action, or writ, aforesaid, ought to enter said action in said court, thus declared to be unconstitutional. And we Resolve, if the court shall sit, in defiance to the voice of the county, and default actions and issue executions accordingly, no officer ought to serve such process. And we are also determined to support all constables, jurors, and other officers, who from these constitutional principles shall refuse obedience to courts which we have resolved are founded on the destruction of our charter.

"Resolved, That it is the opinion of this body of delegates that a Provincial Congress is absolutely necessary in our present unhappy situation.

"These are sentiments which we are obliged to express, as these acts are intended immediately to take place. We must, now, either oppose them, or tamely give up all we have been struggling for. It is this that has forced us on soon on these very important resolves. However, we do it

with humble deference to the provincial and continental congress, by whose resolutions we are determined to abide; to whom and the world we cheerfully appeal for the uprightness of our conduct.

"On the whole, these are 'great and profound questions.' We are grieved to find ourselves reduced to the necessity of entering into the discussion of them. But we deprecate a state of slavery. Our fathers left a fair inheritance to us, purchased by a waste of blood and treasure. This we are resolved to transmit equally fair to our children after us. No danger shall affright, no difficulties intimidate us; and if, in support of our rights, we are called to encounter even death, we are yet undaunted, sensible that he can never die too soon, who lays down his life in support of the laws and liberties of his country."

These resolves were adopted by a vote of one hundred and forty-six yeas to four nays. The convention recommended the assembling of a provincial congress at Concord, on the second Tuesday in October, and directed copies of its resolutions to be sent to the Continental Congress and to the several towns. Worcester held her convention on the same day as Middlesex. Essex assembled hers at Ipswich on the 6th and 7th of September; Hampshire at Northampton on the 22d and 23d; Plymouth at Plympton on the 26th, and by adjournment to Plymouth on the 27th; Bristol at Taunton on the 28th and 29th; Cumberland on the 21st. Berkshire had, as early as the 6th of July, acted in harmony with the spirit of these resolves.

An affair of some moment in itself, but far greater in its results, precipitated the action of Middlesex. Upon information of William Brattle of Cambridge, major-general of the province militia, General Gage, on the morning of September 1, 1774, sent an armed force to seize the province powder, stored in an ancient windmill, now standing in the city of Somerville. At the same time a detachment went to Cambridge and brought away two field-pieces belonging to the Middlesex regiment, with which they safely returned to Boston. The news spread like wildfire. All Middlesex was in commotion. The next evening the freemen of the county towns marched for Cambridge with arms, provisions, and ammunition. Friday morning some thousands of them, having first left their guns outside the limits, entered the town. The committees of Charlestown and Boston, being notified, immediately repaired to Cambridge. The assembled freemen first proceeded to the court-house, where they demanded and received the resignation of the venerable Samuel Danforth as a member of Gage's council. The resigna-

tion of Joseph Lee was next obtained. Then the High-Sheriff of the county, Colonel David Phips, was required to sign a pledge not to execute any precept that might be sent to him under the new acts of parliament, and to recall all the *venires* sent out by him under the new order of things. Later in the day the resignation of Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Oliver, also a resident of Cambridge, as president of the obnoxious council, was exacted. He was permitted to say in it that the act was not a voluntary one.

No act of violence was committed by the four or five thousand men whom his honor, the lieutenant-governor, described as not a mad mob, but the freeholders of the county. After securing the compulsory resignations of the crown officers, the sturdy yeomanry were provided with food, and returned to their homes well satisfied with their day's work. The tory party in Middlesex was overawed; the patriots correspondingly elated.

The Middlesex resolves had been transmitted to the Continental Congress, and were highly applauded by the delegates. Upon the reassembling of the convention of Suffolk a series of resolves was adopted, on the third day of the session, re-affirming in the most decided terms the language of the patriots of Middlesex. These resolutions were also forwarded to Philadelphia, and having been duly considered by the congress, that dignified body unanimously declared its approval of the acts of the suffering people of Massachusetts, in opposition to the wicked measures of the ministry, and earnestly recommended perseverance in the same wise and temperate conduct expressed in the resolutions of the delegates for the County of Suffolk. Intelligence of this high indorsement was received in Massachusetts with unbounded satisfaction. It testified that the other colonies regarded the struggle now going on in that devoted province as their own.

General Gage issued writs for holding a general court at Salem on the 5th of October. Upon further consideration he subsequently recalled the writs by proclamation, notwithstanding which ninety members met at the time and place appointed, and, after vainly waiting recognition from the governor, on the third day resolved themselves into a provincial congress to take into consideration the "dangerous and alarming" condition of public affairs. On the same day they adjourned, to meet at Concord; and upon resuming their session there, October 11, chose John Hancock of Boston president, and Benjamin Lincoln secretary. Middlesex

was represented by seventy-nine delegates in a body of two hundred and eighty-eight. The congress first assembled in the court-house, but that building being too small for its accommodation, the sessions were subsequently held in the meeting-house;—the pastor, Rev. William Emerson, officiating as chaplain. After preparing a remonstrance to General Gage, in which he was urged to discontinue the fortification of Boston Neck, as calculated to excite alarm in the province, the congress adjourned to Cambridge.

On Monday, October 17, the Provincial Congress met in the court-house at Cambridge, but immediately adjourned to the more spacious meeting-house. The first business was the reading of a communication from General Gage in answer to the remonstrance. The royal governor told them that what they were pleased to call a fortress, erecting on Boston Neck, would annoy nobody unless annoyed; that their assembly was illegal, and in defiance of the charter; and he solemnly warned them to desist from their unconstitutional proceedings. Upon which the congress proceeded to discuss from day to day, with closed doors, what was necessary to be done for the defence and safety of the province.

Nine persons were appointed a Committee of Safety, with power to call into active service the whole militia of the province whenever they should deem it necessary. Five others were constituted a Committee of Supplies, with authority to purchase cannon, mortars, muskets, and ordnance stores, and to provide for the subsistence of such troops as the Committee of Safety might call into the field.¹ Three general officers were next appointed. They were Jedediah Preble of Falmouth, Maine, Artemas Ward, a delegate from Shrewsbury, and Seth Pomeroy, a delegate from Northampton. All of them had seen service in the French and Indian wars. John Thomas, a delegate from Marshfield, and William Heath, a delegate from Roxbury, were subsequently added to the number of generals. Thomas had served under Amherst; Heath had seen no service. The congress also directed a more

efficient organization of the provincial militia, and, for meeting such an emergency as the creation of the Committee of Safety contemplated, ordered the field officers of regiments to enlist from their commands companies of fifty men each, to be held in readiness to march at the "shortest notice" from the committee. The organization of these light troops into battalions of nine companies each was also provided for, and they at once took the popular name of "Minute Men." The ranks of these companies were quickly filled by the enthusiastic youth of the province, for whom the most dangerous service is ever the most attractive. When the drum beat to arms, every minute-man was expected to obey the call on the instant.

Having provided an army, an executive junta with dictatorial powers, a commissariat, the congress appointed Henry Gardner of Stow receiver-general of public moneys in the room of Harrison Gray, tory treasurer of the province, whose tenure of the office was thus ignored. It sent a defiant, even threatening reply to General Gage's communication, drew up a non-consumption resolve, appointed Heath, Warren, and Church to take care of the precious war stores, and then adjourned, after a session of eleven days fraught with more momentous consequences than it was possible for the most advanced patriot to forecast.

While General Gage was driven to his wit's end to provide winter-quarters for his troops in Boston, the patriot committees were busy collecting arms, munitions, camp and garrison equipage, intrenching tools, rice, flour, pork, pease,—everything, in short, needful for an army about to undertake an active campaign or the slower operations of a siege. As fast as collected, the stores were deposited for safe-keeping in the houses of trusted friends at Worcester and Concord. These towns soon became known to the British general as rebel magazines. He issued a proclamation declaring all such proceedings to be nearly verging on treason, and prohibiting compliance with the resolves or requisitions of the unlawful congress. Notwithstanding which, the accumulation of war material went on with unremitting activity. The women scraped lint and made cartridges and haversacks, the men ran bullets and fitted powder-horns and flints during those long winter evenings. Armorers, gunsmiths, founders, joiners, worked with a will. Cannon and cannon-balls were spirited away out of Boston under loads of barnyard manure; powder and musket-balls in the hampers of the country-people. Now

¹ Hancock, Warren, Church, Devens, White, Palmer, Quincy, Watson, and Orne were the Committee of Safety; Cheever, Lee, Greenleaf, Gill, and Lincoln, the Committee of Supplies. John Pigeon of Newtown and William Heath of Roxbury were subsequently added to the Committee of Safety, and Benjamin Hall chosen on the Committee of Supplies in the room of Greenleaf. Jabez Fisher, appointed on the Committee of Safety *vice* Quincy, was superseded by Colonel Thomas Gardner; and Elbridge Gerry took the place of Hall on the Committee of Supplies. The committees were directed to sit at Cambridge.

and then the guard on Boston Neck made prize of some intended contribution to the province magazines; but such occasional losses could not deter renewed attempts to smuggle out of the British lines whatever was needful to the provincials.

The situation was now briefly this. The royal governor held possession of Boston with an army. Beyond the town's limits his authority was hardly more respected than that of the meanest subaltern acting under his orders. All the rest of the province was in a state of *quasi* revolt, obeying only the recommendations of the Provincial Congress or its committees, but having neither legislators, magistrates, nor executive officers. This condition of anarchy could not continue. Habitual alle-

giance to the throne restrained the patriots from crossing the boundary which separated them from open rebellion, even after hope of peaceful redress had been abandoned. In all the public acts of the patriots their fealty to the sovereign is constantly reiterated up to the very moment of commencing hostilities; but the expectation of holding to that allegiance, while openly defying the mandates of the sovereign, was a fallacy that could not long seriously occupy a place in even the most sanguine minds. There being really nothing left of the monarchy but the shadow, one of those events which changes the destinies of empires forever sealed the political fate of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

XV.

THE PRELUDE TO HOSTILITIES.

GENERAL GAGE's military measures, though limited to depriving the provincials of the means of resistance, were sure to provoke a collision at no distant day. He had, as already related, seized the province powder and cannon. Another expedition, despatched for a like purpose to Salem, only failed through the firmness of the people of Essex. Anxiety to avoid bloodshed characterized the movements of both parties, even after both were convinced that it must come to that issue at last. The British commander had, however, determined either to obtain possession of or destroy the magazines at Concord and Worcester; indeed, no other course was consistent with his honor or his safety. He was well informed of the places of deposit, having sent officers to reconnoitre the roads, and to gather such information as they could from inhabitants friendly to the royal cause. Moreover, one of the earliest and most trusted members of the patriot junto had, at this early period, traitorously divulged its secrets to the general before the discovery of his infamy was made. The British troops constantly practised in firing with ball, to enable them to cope with the skilful American marksmen. The regiments not on duty were frequently exercised by marching a few miles into the country, which in the present disturbed condition of the public mind caused con-

siderable alarm. On the 30th of March a brigade of regulars marched out over the neck, apparently with no other object than to overawe the people by a display of force, but the movement of so large a body created great excitement at Cambridge. Other movements tended to excite suspicion and uneasiness, so that under the appearance of calm the people were possessed by a feverish agitation, a sense of coming danger.

On their side, the patriots were well served by their friends in Boston. Every movement of the soldiery was instantly reported to the provincial committees. The vital question of when hostilities should begin was solved by the deliberate determination, that whenever the British troops marched into the country with baggage and artillery they should be opposed by force.

A second Provincial Congress met at Cambridge on the first day of February, 1775. It reaffirmed the powers previously granted to the Committees of Safety and Supply, confirmed the appointment of Hancock, Cushing, the two Adamses, and Robert Treat Paine as delegates to the Philadelphia Congress, declared all persons contributing labor or materials to the British troops enemies to America, recommended the manufacture of saltpetre by the inhabitants, chose John Pigeon commissary of the provincial army, chose John Whitcomb of Lan-

caster an additional general officer, and after transacting much important business adjourned, to meet at Concord on the 22d of March. In an emergency arising during the intermission, members from Charlestown, Cambridge, Roxbury, Brookline, and Dorchester were authorized to call the congress together.

The congress, upon reassembling, prepared a code of regulations for the Massachusetts army, and continued its measures for putting the province in a posture of defence. While sitting, intelligence was received of the address of parliament, declaring Massachusetts to be in rebellion, and of the votes in both houses to compel submission by strongly reinforcing the army in Boston, and by cutting off the foreign trade and fishery of the province.

Edward Gibbon, then in parliament, writes to his friend Holroyd: "We voted an address (three hundred and four to one hundred and five) of lives and fortunes declaring Massachusetts Bay in a state of rebellion. More troops, but I fear not enough, go to America, to make an army of ten thousand men at Boston; three generals, Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton. In a few days we stop the ports of New England. I cannot write volumes; but I am more and more convinced, that with firmness all may go well; yet I sometimes doubt." Doubt, in this case, was better than conviction; it was prophetic.

It was now no time for half-measures. Resolutions were immediately passed to raise an army. Committees were sent to New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut to secure the co-operation of those colonies. County committees were formed to receive reports from town committees of their proceedings in furtherance of the recommendations of the Continental and Provincial Congresses. James Prescott of Groton, Eleazer Brooks of Lincoln, Richard Devens of Charlestown, Simeon Spaulding of Chelmsford, and Jonathan Brown of Watertown were the committee for Middlesex. After providing for raising six companies of field artillery, and authorizing the Committee of Safety to procure the services of suitable field-officers for the proposed standing army, the congress, on the 15th of April, adjourned, to meet again at Concord on the 10th of May.

The Committees of Safety and Supplies, sitting at Concord on the 17th of April, were busy perfecting the mounting and organizing of the artillery. Adams and Hancock were at the house of

Rev. Jonas Clark at Lexington. Vague rumors of an intended movement by the troops began to circulate in Boston, and were communicated to Adams by "a daughter of liberty unequally yoked in point of politics."¹

These reports were further strengthened by the information that the grenadier and light companies of all the royal regiments were on Saturday, the 15th, relieved from guard duty, — which meant that there was, or soon would be, other work for them. A number of boats were also collected. Warren, in Boston, took care to notify Hancock and Adams of these signs of preparation, on the very next day. He knew it to be one of Gage's pet ideas that the seizure of some of its chiefs would paralyze the rebellion itself. When, therefore, the committee assembled on Monday it was doubtless informed of what was in agitation, for orders were immediately given to remove the most valuable ordnance from Concord to Sudbury and Groton. On the 18th the committee was in session at the Black Horse Tavern, at Menotomy, now Arlington, and actively giving orders for distributing the ordnance, ammunition, and provisions among nine different towns, one of which was Concord. The committee sat at Menotomy in order, it would seem, to be within easy communication with Boston. The blow was expected, though it was not known where it would fall. To this extent the patriots were, therefore, not unprepared.

Joseph Warren, the most active, zealous, and influential member of the Committee of Safety, did not sit with it after the adjournment of congress, but returned to Boston in order, it is presumed, to observe the movements of the British troops. It was equally the post of honor and of danger, for the soldiery knew and hated him. At

¹ This is the statement made by Gordon. It may have referred to the wife of General Gage himself, who is accused of confiding his secrets, both political and military, to her; which she, an American by birth, sympathizing with their cause, revealed to the patriots. In relating Lord Perry's interview with General Gage, Stedman, the British historian, who was at this time one of the army commissaries, reports the general as declaring himself betrayed, and as saying that he had communicated the secret to only one other person; and this person we know, from the same authority, was neither Lord Perry, who had just learned it, nor Colonel Smith, the commander of the expedition, who merely received orders to get ready without knowing his destination. As General Gage sent for Perry in order to arrange for getting his brigade under arms early in the morning, so that if necessary he might support Smith, the general's decision, not to trust those officers on whom the conduct of the expedition depended, is hardly reconcilable with the hypothesis that he would divulge his secret to others. See p. 116, *Pontbriquet's Burgoyne*.

no time was his presence with the committee more important than at the present moment. It is therefore evident that his being at the province capital was considered still more urgent. Warren was the idol of the revolutionary clubs. His noble, chivalric nature, his earnestness, his lofty courage, had especially marked him as the champion of these ardent Sons of Liberty. One of the leading spirits of the clubs was Paul Revere. In him Warren seems to have reposed full and entire trust, which Revere as fully justified. On Sunday, the 16th, Warren despatched Revere to Hancock and Adams at Lexington, with a message, undoubtedly of warning; for upon his return Revere concerted with friends in Charlestown to show two signal lanterns in the steeple of the North Church of Boston if the British went out by water, and one if by land. This establishes that a movement was expected to take place at any hour.

On Tuesday, the 18th, a number of officers, well mounted, were sent by General Gage to clear the road by which his intended expedition was to move. The officers dined quietly at Cambridge, and then pursued their way towards Lexington as if on a party of pleasure; but their being on the road so late in the afternoon was calculated, in the present state of affairs, to arouse suspicion. Intelligence of their coming was sent to the committee at Menotomy. Gerry immediately hurried off a courier to acquaint Hancock and Adams. In the mean time a sharp-eyed countryman, who had been passed on the road by the cavalcade, ran through by-ways to Sergeant Munroe of the Lexington minute-men, with the information that the troop of king's officers were coming, — armed to the teeth, too, as he had seen when their garments were blown aside by the wind. Thinking Hancock and Adams were in danger, Munroe immediately got together a few men and with them took post at Clark's house. Three more, who were despatched to watch the suspected troop, were captured by the officers, who, having reached their destination, on the border of Lincoln, dismounted and posted themselves squarely in the road. General Gage's design was now clear. The officers were to prevent intelligence from reaching Concord that the blow was to fall there. Gage also sent out a second patrol, which established itself

on the great road from Charlestown to Cambridge, near Charlestown Neck. Supposing a rebel courier succeeded in evading this picket, which was difficult, — for a marsh stretched on one side of the road and a high bluff rose on the other, — he would be quietly picked up three miles below Concord by the second. As to information getting out of Boston by land, there was the strongly guarded post on the neck. The officers there had their orders to question, search, and if needful detain, all suspicious persons attempting to pass beyond the gates. To prevent egress by water, Gage had stationed a guard over the boats at Charlestown Ferry, on the Boston side; while his majesty's frigate, *Somerset*, lay at anchor in the ferry-way, in order to hail and bring to stray boats attempting to cross the river after dark. To get a messenger out by land through Roxbury, or by water through Charlestown, was as difficult as Revere apprehended it would be, when arranging his plan of the signals with Colonel Conant at Charlestown.

For some time past the Bostonians had been unusually vigilant. The troops were a constant menace to them and their cause. Bitterness and hatred were growing with every hour. Encounters between citizens and soldiery were of daily and nightly occurrence. The redcoats dealt freely in taunts, epithets, and boastings of what they were presently going to do, all of which made the inhabitants more and more nervous, resentful, and apprehensive. That incorruptible Thirty, of which Revere was one of the chiefs, had banded themselves together for the purpose of watching the soldiers. They were the hard-handed, patriotic mechanics of Boston, who had sworn to stand by each other to the uttermost; and who, now that so many circumstances made it certain that a crisis was imminent, redoubled their vigilance and their activity. All the landing-places of the town were narrowly observed; watchful eyes kept on the barracks and on the province-house. At the same time night-watches were being regularly set in Roxbury, Cambridge, and Charlestown. These received fresh warning to be on the alert. So far as obtaining swift intelligence of them might counteract the British general's plans, the patriots were certainly leaving no avenue unguarded, no stone unturned.

XVI.

THE NIGHT ALARM IN MIDDLESEX.

On the 18th of April Boston was quiet, but feverish. Rumors were in the air, but nothing was positively known of the British general's intentions. His secret had been well kept; for it is needless to observe that, had the patriots possessed earlier positive knowledge of it, their own measures would not have been delayed. About ten o'clock at night the grenadiers and light infantry silently left their quarters and marched to the beach, at the foot of the Common, where boats were ready to receive them. Gage had been careful not to assemble the troops earlier, for by this hour the greater part of the townspeople were usually abed. The force numbered about six hundred bayonets. The men were the flower of the army, commanded by experienced officers, and full of martial spirit. Gage had chosen Colonel Francis Smith, of the tenth foot, to lead the expedition, and Major John Pitcairn, of the marines, to be second in command.

Between ten and eleven the troops, being embarked, were rowed across the river to Phips' farm,¹ in Cambridge, where they landed on the salt meadows. Floundering through these marshes in water up to the knee, the battalion, upon gaining the firm ground, was kept drawn up in a dirty by-road until two o'clock in the morning, waiting for their provisions to be brought from the boats and distributed among the men. This delay, when minutes counted for hours, was fatal. Many of the soldiers, having already something in their haversacks, threw away their rations after receiving them. The three hours thus idled away decided the fate of the ill-starred expedition.

Leaving the troops muttering their discontent at Lechmere's Point, we will return to Boston. With the mustering of the soldiers the secret was of course out. It was almost immediately known in Charlestown, where watchers were now on the lookout for Revere's signals. The inhabitants of Boston knew, or guessed, the destination of the regulars. Earl Percy, while on his way to his quarters from a conference with the general, over-

heard a citizen exclaim, "The British troops have marched, but will miss their aim." "What aim?" demanded the earl. "The cannon at Concord," was the prompt reply. Percy hastened back to the province-house to relate the interview to Gage, who listened with astonishment, and declared himself betrayed.



The Signal.

Warren also learns that the troops are embarking, and sends in great haste for Paul Revere and William Dawes. He tells them he fears Gage means to seize the persons of Hancock and Adams, and begs them to start for Lexington without a moment's delay. Everything depends upon their speed. They depart. In order to render the chance of success greater, Dawes is to go out over the neck while Revere tries the ferry. Dawes

¹ Also called Lechmere's Point; now East Cambridge.



The Midnight Call to Arms
BOSTON LIBRARY
COPY

passes the guard just in the nick of time to avoid being stopped by an order from the province-house to shut the gates. Once clear of the sentinels, he bends over his horse's neck, digs the spurs into his flanks, and gallops off through the darkness. He has the farthest to ride, but no enemies are in his route. Revere now recollects his signals. If he is fated not to succeed, they, at least, will flash out the alarm. On leaving Warren he hurries to a friend and asks him to show the lights.¹ He then goes home, puts on his riding-boots and surlout, and, without saying a word of his intentions to his wife, immediately quits the house. Two other friends are hastily summoned, when the three get into Revere's boat, and row with muffled oars swiftly across the river just as the moon is rising.

Revere's friend, be he whom he may, is tried and true. He knows the risk, but does not hesitate. Ten o'clock has struck from the belfries. Soon, high above the twinkling lights of the town, from the steeple of Christ Church the signals shine out strong and clear.² The watchers at Charlestown see them. Revere leaps on shore, tells the news,

and is quickly in the saddle. He, too, spurs away for Lexington as fast as his beast can carry him.

The riders are on their way, the troops on theirs: the race for Lexington begins. Revere has scarcely gone two miles when a horseman starts out of the



Christ Church, Boston.

¹ Who was this friend? The honor is claimed for Robert Newman, sexton of the North Church, and for Captain John Pulling, a staunch patriot. Both claims rest upon tradition, but that of Captain Pulling seems the better supported by probability. The display of these signals, being one of the minor incidents of the Revolution, did not then have the celebrity it has since acquired, chiefly through the spirited poem of Mr. Longfellow; nor did the person showing the signals risk more than imprisonment, since the British general was by no means prepared to inflict a severer penalty in the existing state of affairs. A tradition also exists in the Revere family, that while Paul and his two comrades were on their way to the boat it was suddenly remembered that they had nothing with which to muffle the sound of their oars. One of the two stopped before a certain house at the North End of the town, and made a peculiar signal. An upper window was softly raised, and a hurried colloquy took place in whispers, at the end of which something white fell noiselessly to the ground. It proved to be a woollen under-garment, still warm from contact with the person of the little rebel.

² It having been recently questioned whether the signals were really shown from Christ Church or from the Old North, then standing in North Square, the subject has been thoroughly discussed, with the result, we think, of confirming the long-established belief which connects this exploit with the English Church, now commonly called Christ Church, but then familiarly known as the North Church. The object being to display the signals not only where they would be seen at Charlestown, but also be invisible in the vicinity of the church itself, would have been defeated by hanging them in the belfry of the Old North, at a height probably not greater than sixty feet from the ground, and in the immediate vicinity of soldiers' barracks. Moreover, while two claimants appear for the honor of making the signals from Christ Church, not one has, so far as known, ever been named in connection with any other.

darkness and bars his passage. Another approaches. They close in upon him. He reins in his steed, turns quickly about, and dashes off down the road with the pursuers at his heels. One of them plunges into a pit: the other gives over the chase, while Revere, gaining the Medford road, rides on like the wind. He knows every foot of the way, and the moon is now up to light him on.

Revere thinks he will do a stroke of business in Medford. He rouses the captain of the minute-men, and sets the alarm-bells going. Then away over the bridge, with his horse's belly to the ground. Deacon Larkin's nag must prove his mettle this night. Whip and spur! He is ahead of Dawes, though he does not know it; ahead of Smith and Pitcairn, and will keep ahead too, if wind and muscle hold out. Shouting at every house he reaches, startling the affrighted inmates from their slumbers with his wild halloo, this strange herald of danger thunders on through the deserted street of Menotomy, clatters up the bare ledges at its limits, and scuds along the level way into Lexington. At the village green he turns sharply to the right, gets over a quarter of a mile more, and suddenly checks his horse before the old parsonage-

house, where the two patriots are quietly in bed, and the guard dozing at the door. Revere dismounts. It is only midnight, and the grenadiers are still shivering where they disembarked. Deacon Larkin's beast has done his twelve miles in an hour.

Revere's arrival puts the guard on the alert. Sergeant Munroe tells him not to make so much noise, he will disturb the household. "Noise!" echoes Revere; "you'll have noise enough before long; the regulars are out!" Hancock puts his head out of a window and bids Revere come in. He is then admitted, and delivers his tidings to those they concern. Dawes has not yet come, but in the course of half an hour he too rides up to the door. The two messengers hastily swallow a few mouthfuls, and, as time presses, again take to the road. Adams does not believe Gage would send an army merely to take two men prisoners, and so Revere and Dawes are hurried away to Concord, to secure the stores there.

Before Revere left Charlestown, Richard Devens, of the Committee of Safety, told him of the British officers who had been seen going towards Lexington on the previous evening. Revere is on the lookout for them. The two messengers are soon joined by young Dr. Samuel Prescott of Concord, who rides on with them, while messengers are rousing the Lexington minute-men, and scouting the road below in order to give timely notice of the approach of the king's troops. The meeting-house bell strikes heavily in as the horsemen ride away out of town.

When Revere, Dawes, and Prescott are near the Brooks Tavern, half-way to Concord, they ride plump into the picket of officers. Revere tries to escape across the fields, but is stopped. Prescott leaps his horse over a stone-wall, gets clear, and gallops for Concord. Revere is interrogated with

a pistol at his head, accompanied by the threat to scatter his brains in the road if he does not give true answers. He boldly avows his errand, and adds that the country is up in arms. Another prisoner tells his captors they are as good as dead men.

It is the officers who are now uneasy. One of the rebel couriers has escaped. Concord will be alarmed: so their general's object is defeated. They hear the meeting-house bell in Lexington. Where are the troops? Looking now to their own safety, they ride back towards Lexington, and when near the village order Revere to dismount, cut the saddle girths of the prisoners' horses, and gallop off towards Menotomy. Revere runs through the old burying-ground, across pastures, back to Clark's. By this time it is two o'clock in the morning.

At or near two in the morning one hundred minute-men were assembled in arms on Lexington Green. Captain John Parker ordered them to load with ball, and after keeping them some time under arms, as the scouts who had gone out came back without any news of the troops, and the morning was chilly, he dismissed them with the caution to be ready at the tap of the drum. Some went to the tavern at the angle of the Boston and Bedford roads,—just over the way,—some into neighboring houses; and some to their homes. There may have been perplexity in accounting for the non-appearance of the regulars, but Revere's story—and he was in the tavern to tell it—was conclusive as to the intended route of the British march. No one could know that at that late hour it had only begun. When it did begin, the alarm had been given in Concord, and a force collected on Lexington Green to oppose it.

¹ The three Lexington men taken the previous evening. They had been searched, questioned, and "greatly abused," as they say.

XVII.

THE BATTLES OF LEXINGTON AND CONCORD.

At two in the morning the troops, whom we left at Lechmere's Point, received the welcome order to move forward. They had first to wade across the overflowed marshes, up to the middle, before reaching the firm ground on the Charlestown side. They then pushed rapidly on, through what are now Milk and Beech Streets, to North Avenue and the Concord road. From village-steeple to village-steeple the signal of alarm was flying through Middlesex. Bonfires blazed, gunshots resounded on the air, fired apparently with no other purpose than to add to the general uproar. The country was up. The regulars marched without drum, trumpet, or ensign, but every stride was accompanied by the clang of distant bells or booming of warning guns; while in the east a dull, ill-omened streak of red ushered in the day.

Smith had advanced only a few miles when he was met by the troop of officers retreating down the road. Sending an express back to Boston to notify the general of the situation, he detached Pitcairn with six light companies, and ordered him to push on and seize the bridges at Concord, while he followed with the grenadiers. Three or four countrymen stealing off to give intelligence were picked up by the vanguard. At the Black Horse an officer with a file of men was detached to search the house for members of the rebel congress. Gerry, Orne, and Lee had passed the night here, and now narrowly escaped capture by making a hurried flight to the fields.

When Pitcairn had gained some distance on Smith, he knew that a body of provincials was collecting in his front, but did not know exactly where. His orders were imperative not to fire unless fired upon. He galloped to the head of the column, repeating this order to the men.

Between four and five the drum is again beaten in front of the village tavern. No mistake this time. A breathless messenger has just come up the road; has seen the troops, and they must now be close at hand. About seventy of Parker's men answer the signal, form in double ranks, and

march to the green, back of the meeting-house. Some forty unarmed spectators, more curious than wise, are collected in the vicinity to see the sport. Parker turns to his men and gives this command: "Don't fire unless you are fired upon; but if they want war let it begin here." The moment contemplated by the Provincial Congress has come: there has been time enough to assemble a thousand armed men on this very spot; yet here are only seventy armed rustics to oppose six hundred trained soldiers. Something is wanting to give effect to orders and resolves,—something



Roads in Lexington, 1775.

that will turn hesitation into action, and make the timid fearless.

The simple topography of the scene of encounter at Lexington requires only a word of explanation. The troops marching up the Boston road would first come to a little hamlet situated near the

junction of the Woburn road, half a mile from Lexington Green. In the angle formed by these roads was a low eminence, since levelled. On the left of the Boston road was William Munroe's tavern. At the village the single road divided into two,—one to Concord on the left, one to Bedford on the right,—enclosing a triangular plot of grass-ground between. Near the apex of the triangle, which pointed towards Boston, stood the village meeting-house. Nearly opposite was Buckman's tavern, where Parker's men had just obeyed the signal to fall in. On the north or farther side of the green were two dwellings and a smith's shop.¹

The British light-infantry is near enough to hear distinctly the drum; is halted and ordered to load; then to advance. When within seventy yards the leading platoons plainly see the Americans facing them. A few laggards are straggling towards the company on the green, a few poltroons straggling away from it. The sun is just rising clear and brilliant,—the sun of the Revolution. Pitcairn and two other mounted officers push their horses towards the Americans, when the whole column of redcoats, breaking into a run, rushes forward upon the devoted little band, huzzahing like madmen. Pitcairn, brandishing his sabre aloft, vociferates, "Disperse, rebels! Down with your arms, villains! Disperse!"

The sight of this host bearing down upon them might well cause the hearts of the minute-men to beat faster. There was a moment's wavering, but they did not obey the haughty command. Parker sees that resistance is madness, and gives the order to disperse without firing. His men sullenly obey; but while in the act one of the royal officers—Heaven knows whom!—fires his pistol.² In-

¹ This first and most interesting of American battle-fields fortunately retains its ancient features with so little change that the visitor sees not only the village green, but the same houses with the bullet-holes made on the 19th of April, 1775. Munroe's tavern, Buckman's, the parsonage, with one of the houses, and the smithy on the north of the common, were all standing when the writer visited the spot.

² The writer is of opinion that this officer was not Major Pitcairn, but one of the other mounted officers. Several of the minute-men stated on oath that Colonel Smith fired the pistol, but as Smith was not on the ground during the firing their testimony shows them to be ignorant of the persons of the royal officers. Smith was a very fat man, and much of this day's disaster is attributed to his unwieldiness. Pitcairn was not a brutal, blood-thirsty wretch, as some sensational writers delight to represent him, but the reverse. The testimony to this fact, from Americans as well as Englishmen, is convincing. Bevere heard and saw the shot, but was probably unable to tell who

stantly two or three shots are heard, then the fatal command, "Fire!" followed by a rattling volley from the British vanguard, stretched three of the minute-men dead upon the green. The remainder ran for shelter to the stone-walls behind them, from which they returned the fire. A soldier of the 10th was wounded; Pitcairn's horse struck. Excited by this resistance, the regular troops pursued and drove those brave fellows from their hiding-places, with the loss of five more, making the whole number of slain eight. Having thus effectually dispersed the provincials, the light-infantry were re-formed on the green and celebrated their victory with repeated cheers. The soldiers were so wild that their officers could hardly make them hear any orders, causing a long delay, during which Colonel Smith came up with the grenadiers.

Edward Gibbon, member of parliament during the American War, said, "A single drop of blood

fired it, though he knew Major Pitcairn perfectly well. In the excitement and confusion which followed the rush of the British infantry, it is not strange that there were few accurate observers. The English authorities concur in saying that the Americans fired first. The Americans, on the contrary, as positively assert that it was the regular troops. With such flat contradiction before him, it is difficult for a fair-minded historian to decide the question. The different accounts, English and American, have become so firmly rooted in the historical literature of both countries, that the writers of either nation will probably continue to affirm what they find such good authority for maintaining. It is puerile to brand the British accounts as unworthy of belief, though we may prefer to believe our own. Pitcairn reports to Smith, Smith to Gage, Gage to the ministry, that the Americans fired first. Here, it is true, is but one authority. Pitcairn; but all subordinate officers who were with the light-infantry say the same thing. On the other hand, thirty-four members of Parker's company unite in swearing, "No a gun was fired by any person in our company on the regulars, to our knowledge, before they fired on us." Fourteen others say, "The regulars fired on the company before a gun was fired by any of our company on them." Timothy Smith, a spectator, "saw the regular troops fire on the Lexington company before the latter fired a gun." William Draper swears the regulars "fired before any of Captain Parker's company fired." The object of all these depositions was to show who fired first, not whether the Americans fired at all,—that fact was indisputable. It is quite probable that the pistol-shot, which so many concur in saying was the first, was fired in the air to intimidate the Americans, or by accident, and was taken by the royal troops to be a signal to commence firing. It is incredible that the small band of provincials should have the hardihood to fire upon four times their own number when expressly ordered not to do so. The whole affair on the green occupied but a few moments,—moments of great excitement and disorder. Pitcairn's intention was probably to disarm and disperse the provincials without bloodshed; but such a purpose, however humane, demanded a coolness in himself, an absolute control over his own soldiers, which he certainly did not possess. It is undeniable that Pitcairn tried to stop the firing after it began, and that both he and Smith deeply regretted it. Trifling circumstances on this day, were stronger than men.

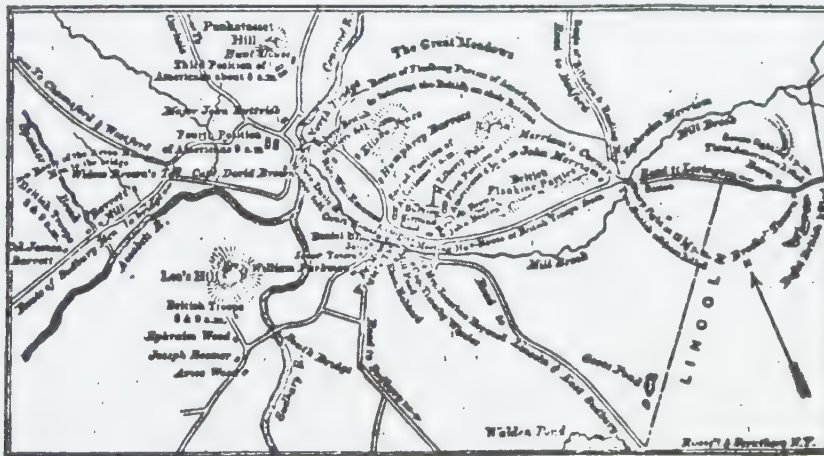
may be considered as the signal of civil war." Civil war in America began on the green at Lexington. America's cause was at last sealed in the blood of her citizens. Now the tyranny under which Massachusetts had so long groaned was as nothing compared with the desire for vengeance. The wavering purpose of the colonies was fixed by this day's work. Hence Samuel Adams's memorable exclamation on hearing the British volley, "Oh, what a glorious morning is this!" Hence Jefferson's declaration, "My creed was formed on unsheathing the sword at Lexington."

The regular troops, now united in one body, marched briskly off for Concord. The Lexington people took up their dead and wounded; messengers were hurried off in every direction with news of the slaughter; Parker's company rallied for action, with the bitter determination to avenge their comrades; Hancock and Adams had taken refuge before the firing in a neighboring wood, where they remained until the troops passed on. Revere, after witnessing the firing on the green, made off for the parsonage, rejoined the fugitive patriots, and went with them to Woburn.

Being a shire-town, Concord was a place of considerable importance in 1775. Besides being a seat of justice, it was the headquarters of the militia for this section of the county. Colonel James

Barrett, custodian of the province stores, commanded the regiment formed from Concord and the contiguous towns of Bedford, Acton, Lincoln, Sudbury, etc. Besides this, a regiment of minute-men was in process of organization, of which Abijah Pierce of Lincoln was colonel, Thomas Nixon of Framingham lieutenant-colonel, and John Buttrick of Concord major. The organization was, however, far from complete; nor is it probable the companies had ever paraded together under arms. Except such as had seen service in the French wars, they were soldiers only in name and in martial spirit.

When the royal troops were within two miles of Concord meeting-house they saw a gathering of country-people on a hill commanding the road by which they were marching. Ensign Berniere, one of the officers who had formerly reconnoitred the town and roads, was with Colonel Smith. He doubtless indicated to his superior the importance of this hill; for Smith, on approaching nearer, deployed on his right the six light companies, and ordered them to drive the provincials from their position. The light troops immediately formed in line, and advanced toward the heights, Smith moving straight on with the grenadiers for the village. It was now about seven. The royal troops had marched at a rapid pace some fifteen miles altogether, the last six being over a rough, hilly road.



Map showing Roads and Historic Localities of Concord.

The hill just mentioned was the remarkable topographical feature of Concord. It rose on the right of the road, to an elevation of from thirty to fifty feet above it, and extended for nearly a mile, to the farther end of the village. Along its summit was a tolerably level plateau. On the crest

and slopes, opposite the centre of the village, was the ancient burial-place. Here, also, the patriotic men of the village had erected a liberty-pole, and had flung their ensign to the breeze. The Boston or Lexington road wound round the base of the hill, having the greater part of the village on its

left,—not in a compact body, but in groups of houses, and in little neighborhoods. On entering the village, the traveller first came to the meeting-house, then to the public-house, which was



Wright's Tavern.

the alarm-post of the minute-men, then to Dr. Minot's residence, and then to the county court-house. He was now in the public square of the town, from which two roads diverged, one to Carlisle, the other to Acton and Sudbury. Both roads passed Concord River at the distance of about half a mile from the court-house,—that to Carlisle over the North, and that to Acton over the South Bridge. Possession of these bridges was of course indispensable to quiet possession of the town. Colonel Smith knew they were the two principal avenues leading into Concord, and had thought of it when hurrying off Pitcairn, below Lexington. We should add that the principal depot of provincial stores was supposed to be at Colonel Barrett's, two miles from the meeting-house, on the Sudbury road.

What transpired in Concord up to the time the royal troops entered it may now be related. Having escaped from the picket, Dr. Prescott rode post-haste for home. Somewhere between one and two—some say later—the meeting-house bell awoke the startled inhabitants from their peaceful slumbers. The militia began forthwith mustering at Wright's Tavern. Word was sent to Colonel Barrett, who instantly set about hurrying off such of the stores as he was able, or secreting what he could not. He had not far from five hours in which to effect this object, and they were no doubt improved to the utmost. Messengers were despatched to the neighboring towns, guards posted at the bridges and on the Lexington road. In

the midst of this bustle one of the scouts sent towards Lexington returned at full speed with news of the firing; but he had not stayed to learn the tragic ending. By six o'clock—it could hardly have been later—all Concord knew that a collision had taken place at Lexington between the troops and inhabitants. By seven all Concord must have learned the truth about the slaughter on the village green.

A hundred or more of the Concord and Lincoln militia had assembled by seven o'clock. The Concord minute-men took post on the hill, near the liberty-pole; the remainder marched a short distance down the Lexington road. From these positions both detachments saw the English soldiers coming steadily and swiftly up the highway. Apart from the terror it naturally inspired, the sight was a novel and splendid one to these yeomen. Various were the counsels. Some were for opposing the advance of the troops now and here. "Let us stand our ground! if we die, let us die here!" exclaimed Rev. William Emerson, the village pastor. He, at least, was thoroughly imbued with the spirit of resistance. More prudent counsels, however, prevailed, and when the flank manœuvre of the enemy—for such we must now call the royal troops—was made, the provincials fell back on the village to another eminence, where they were joined by Colonel Barrett, who assumed command, and upon the nearer approach of the troops ordered a further retreat over the river by the North Bridge, thus abandoning the town.

Smith marched on into the village unopposed. After clearing the hill of the minute-men, the light-infantry rejoined the grenadier battalion. The British commander was well informed where the stores were to be found. He immediately ordered Captain Parsons, of the 10th, to take the six light companies, and, after posting a sufficient guard at the North Bridge, to proceed to Colonel Barrett's with the remainder. Parsons marched his command across the bridge, leaving one company in charge, posting another on the hill beyond, and another about a fourth of a mile distant,—the three being thus within supporting distance of each other. The provincials had at this time taken post on Punkatasset Hill, about a mile from the village, where they were witnesses of Parsons's dispositions.

Smith next ordered Captain Pole of the 10th to the South Bridge. He then set about destroying the stores secreted in the village. Detachments

were sent hither and thither to search the houses of suspected persons. Pitcairn, with a party of grenadiers, went down the road towards the South Bridge until he came to Ephraim Jones's tavern. Jones was an old Louisburg soldier, who, besides being innkeeper, was also jailer, — the prison being contiguous to the tavern. Pitcairn found the tavern door locked, and upon Jones's refusal to open, ordered his grenadiers to break it down, which they immediately did, and rushed into the house. Pitcairn was the first to enter, receiving as he did so a blow from the enraged innkeeper, who, however, was immediately knocked down and secured. Pitcairn now commanded Jones to show him where the cannon were concealed on his premises. Jones obstinately refused to speak until the major put a pistol to his ear, when he gave in and led the way to the prison yard, where three iron twenty-four-pounders were found, ready mounted for service. The soldiers destroyed the carriages and implements, knocked off the trunnions of the guns, and liberated a tory prisoner whom they found confined in the jail. Pitcairn then ordered breakfast, and Jones reassumed his rôle of innkeeper. The tap-room was soon thronged with soldiers demanding spirits, for which Jones made them pay like ordinary customers.

While this was enacting at Jones's, other parties destroyed a quantity of flour and harness, and threw about five hundred pounds of musket-bullets into the mill-pond. The soldiers also set fire to the court-house, but afterwards aided in extinguishing the flames. The liberty-flag left flying on the hill excited their wrath, and the pole was cut down and burned. So far Colonel Smith had no great reason to boast of his success. The sum of damage inflicted was inconsiderable. Much had been removed or concealed, and much preserved by stratagem. Captain Timothy Wheeler, a quick-witted miller, had the address to save a quantity of flour in his custody. It is true that the passage of the soldiery from house to house spread consternation through the town, but in general the inhabitants conducted themselves admirably, and, on their part, the soldiers did not seem anxious to provoke a collision. But while these scenes were transpiring in the village, gunshots were heard in the direction of the North Bridge.

Captain Parsons reached Barrett's without encountering any opposition, but found little there to reward his trouble. The house was, however,

ransacked. Mrs. Barrett provided refreshments, on the demand of the soldiers, and they threw money in her lap in payment. Just as they had prepared a bonfire of some gun-carriages, the shots at the North Bridge caused them to beat a hasty retreat.

Meanwhile the provincials on Punkatasset were being constantly reinforced by the militia of Westford, Littleton, Acton, Sudbury, and other neighboring towns, until the whole body numbered about four hundred and fifty men, who betrayed feverish impatience at playing the part of idle lookers-on while the town was being ransacked; but when flames were seen rising in different directions they could no longer be restrained. A hurried consultation took place, at the end of which it was determined to march into the town at all hazards, and, if resisted, to treat their assailants as enemies.

Colonel Barrett immediately gave the order to advance. The Americans descended the heights by a road which conducted obliquely towards the river, but which at sixty paces from it turned to the left, taking the direction of the bridge. Until they reached the point of turning, their flank was covered by a low stone-wall. Before this movement, which threatened to cut him off from the bridge, began, Captain Laurie called his advanced companies in, formed them in the road on the farther side of the bridge, and sent an urgent request to Colonel Smith for reinforcements. As soon as the Americans had approached within musket-shot, seeing no help coming, Laurie retreated, rather precipitately, across the bridge, from which his men began to take up the planks. The militia were now so close upon him that he had only time to form his companies in column.

When the Americans arrived near the bridge, they halted. The opposing forces were now, as at Lexington, face to face, only this time the disparity of numbers was on the British side. Here, however, the Americans were the aggressors; their movement could mean nothing but an intention to force the bridge. Still, they did not open fire, but were hastening their march, when Laurie's front company levelled their muskets and commenced an irregular fire, which killed Captain Davis and Abner Hosmer, and wounded Luther Blanchard, of the Acton company. Upon this Major Buttrick, of the provincials, excitedly gave the order to return the fire, which was obeyed with fatal effect. Four of eight officers and a sergeant

were wounded, and three men killed or mortally wounded by the American volley. Owing to Laurie's faulty formation, the light-infantry were thrown into disorder, and after the exchange of a few more shots hurriedly retreated up the road in the direction of the village, until they met some grenadiers marching to their assistance, when they rallied. Having thus opened a way, the Americans passed the bridge and again ascended the heights on the east of the main road, from which they had retired earlier in the day.

Laurie's request for a reinforcement had been complied with, as we have seen, too late to prevent the fatal collision at the bridge. He had stayed too long beyond the river, and had posted his soldiers badly after falling back to the side nearest the town. Luckily for him his opponents' movements were regulated by his own. Instead of hurrying forward the help demanded, Smith put himself at the head of the supporting detachment, which, it is alleged, prevented its timely arrival. But this was a day of fatalities for the expedition. The discomfited light-infantry, however, were at length again in march for the bridge, which the Americans, who had crossed the river, no sooner perceived than the greater number repassed it,

taking their old position before attacking. The troops then returned to town. The result of this skirmish was that the road into Concord over the North Bridge remained open; but the Americans did not choose to pursue their first intention of marching into town, and the English troops did not choose to make another attempt to hold the bridge, although the situation of Parsons's detachment, which was still beyond the river, was now extremely critical.

On hearing the firing, Parsons marched at once back to town, passing by those provincials who were collected on the farther bank of the river, and over the bridge, unmolested. The provincials had now wholly abandoned their first attempt at military formation, and seemed stunned and disconcerted by the action at the bridge. The want of a leader was never more manifest than at this moment.

The skirmish had taken place at ten. It was now eleven o'clock. Smith quietly remained an hour longer in Concord, during which time not a hostile shot was fired. In his view, the Americans here had been severely chastised for their temerity in confronting British soldiers. The return of Parsons, which offered so tempting an opportunity



Merrill's Corner.

to them for successful attack, invited the belief that the Americans had no more stomach for fighting. To the British commander, therefore, Concord was the pendant of Lexington. The provincials of both had attempted to interrupt his operations, and had in each instance been dispersed, with the loss of some of their comrades,—a severe but necessary lesson. To this belief Smith was guided by fatuity. He neglected to take into account that the despised yeomanry of Middlesex had at last dared to meet his own soldiers face to

face, and had actually put them to flight. He had completely forgotten the alarm-bells, signal-guns, and post-riders, it would seem.

Having remained five hours in Concord, and accomplished, as far as was possible, the objects of the expedition, Smith set out, at noon; on his return to Boston, observing nearly the same order while leaving as when entering the village. A portion of the light-infantry marched by the hill, the grenadiers by the road. A few scattering shots were fired by the provincials as the rear-guard left the town.

Only a mile from the village the road from Bedford enters that from Lexington. The point of junction is called Merriam's Corner. Taking advantage of the circuit described by the highway, the provincials ran across the fields, behind the high hill, arriving at Merriam's Corner before the troops. Here they were joined by the Reading minute-men under Major Brooks, the Billerica men under Colonel Thompson, and smaller parties from other towns. At this point the light-infantry must descend from the hill and join their comrades on the road, which was here carried for some distance across a wet meadow to the high ground beyond by a causeway. Seeing the Americans collected about Merriam's farm-house and out-buildings, the regulars saluted them with a volley, which drew upon them a destructive fire while crowded upon the narrow embankment. Now and here began that long and terrible combat, unexampled in the Revolution for its ferocity and duration, which for fifteen miles tracked the march of the regular troops with their blood.

All Middlesex was now in arms, and the appalling news of the morning was fast spreading beyond her borders. Without order, intent only upon exacting signal vengeance, guided by incessant explosions of musketry, old and young rushed for the scene of action. By the time Colonel Smith quitted Concord the fields, by-paths, highways, were swarming with enemies. Every stone-wall, thicket, copse, or wood was an ambuscade; every house, barn, orchard, or grove, a fortress which became the scene of furious assault and sanguinary encounter.

The morning was a beautiful one. Spring was unusually early, mild, and verdant. Fruit-trees were already in bloom, grain already waved in the fields. Nature, in her most kindly mood, seemed to forbid the strife begun in her peaceful domain.

The six miles back to Lexington was a fiery gantlet for the troops. An incessant blaze of musketry surrounded, or rather engulfed them, so that those provincials at a distance were guided by the smoke which slowly drifted along, concealing the combatants from view. Near Hardy's Hill, Cudworth, with the Sudbury men, met and attacked the retreating regulars. Smith ordered out his flank guards to clear the stone-walls and roadside coverts in his front. They became the especial mark of the provincials, and were thrust back upon the main body wherever a clump, a wall, or a forest enfiladed the road. The British officers soon saw

that it was getting serious. The men must halt to load and fire, which delayed their progress. One by one they were dropping. Back at the North Bridge their officers told them the Yankees were firing blank cartridges; and one soldier, feeling himself struck by a rebel bullet, asked his captain how he would like some of that powder. Still, the troops closed up the frequent gaps in their ranks, kept a good countenance, and forced their way steadily on, for they had been told help was coming.

But in proportion as the troops advanced the American fire grew hotter and hotter. As soon as the enemy had passed one ambuscade, the yeomen leaped walls and fences and ran swiftly across the fields until they once more gained the head of the British column, repeating the manœuvre again and again. Every moment gave them increased confidence. The soldiers could only now and then bring down a man, but where one fell a hundred arose to take his place. Plenty of veterans were there, to direct and animate the unskilled but ardent young minute-men,—veterans to whom the roar of musketry was like the spur to the mettled courser, and in whom the sight of blood aroused all the rage of battle. Panic was beginning to work in the British column.

Just below the Brooks Tavern, where the woody defile afforded excellent cover to the Americans, the British sustained a murderous fire, by which they lost eight men. Again their flank guards attempted to dislodge the provincials from these woods, and again were they forced to give over the attempt. Now Baldwin, with the men of Woburn, fell upon the enemy's flank, and, as they entered Lincoln, Parker, with the Lexington company, undismayed, and eager to avenge their fallen comrades, returned with deadly effect the volley they received in the early morning. This time it is the British who run. No troops on earth could endure that withering fire which was slowly but surely consuming them. From this moment the retreat became a rout. The Americans continued to shoot them down like mad dogs, and the Britons to fight their way on with the energy of despair. The royal officers were hurried along by the headlong rush of their soldiers; the soldiers were become alike deaf to orders, threats, or entreaties.

At length, near the old Viles Tavern, on the boundary of Lexington, Smith succeeded in collecting a detachment in a good position, on the north side of the road, with which he hoped to hold the

Americans in check until an effort to rally the fugitives could be made. The Americans swept this rear-guard before them with ease, and again closed in upon the main body on Fiske Hill, where Smith and Pitcairn, beside themselves with rage and mortification, were endeavoring to restore order. The officers got in front and threatened their men with instant death if they stirred without orders. The effort was heroic, but vain. Again a storm of bullets renewed the confusion, revived the panic. Smith was wounded, Pitcairn unhorsed here. Down the hill, into Lexington, the fugitives streamed. On they fled past the village green, where they so lately stood, haughty, defiant, and celebrating their inglorious triumph with roars of derisive laughter at seeing the Yankees run.

In this sorry plight, their ranks thinned by death, wounds, and fatigue, their ammunition spent, the leading fugitives perceived the head of a British column coming up the road. This proved to be the first brigade, commanded by Lord Percy, whom General Gage had despatched to Smith's assistance. The same fatality which attended all the events of this day had delayed the march of the reinforcement from four until nine o'clock. It then took the long route by Roxbury, Brookline, and Cambridge, where the provincials further delayed it by taking up the planks of the bridge over Charles River. Fortunately for Smith the Americans did not know how to take advantage of their opportunity to check Percy here. Moreover, the greater part of the militia of Cambridge, of Watertown, and of Newton were gone up the road towards Lexington. Lord Percy therefore marched on unmolested until he met the fugitives of Smith's command half a mile below Lexington Common.

Percy's brigade consisted of the 4th, 23d, and 47th, a battalion of marines, and a section of royal artillery, with two six-pounders. The guns were quickly put in position on both sides of the road, unlimbered, and opened fire on the pursuing provincials, who, baffled for the moment, sullenly withdrew out of range. Smith's men, overcome with fatigue, threw themselves panting upon the ground, with their tongues protruding from their mouths, like hounds after a chase. The conflict now ceased for half an hour, during which Smith's men were rested and formed again.

While the troops at Lexington were quietly awaiting the order to march, a convoy of provisions and ammunition which had followed them was attacked in Menotomy, the guard overpowered, and

the wagons captured. Several of the escort were killed, wounded, or made prisoners.

At two, Earl Percy gave the order to march. Captain Harris, of his own regiment, was given command of the rear-guard. For two miles the combined force met with little or no opposition, but one was preparing before which the previous conflicts seemed trifling indeed.

During the intermission of battle the Americans were joined by General Heath and Dr. Warren, who had met on the road from Watertown to Lexington. The former had ordered a company he found at Watertown to Cambridge, for the purpose of again dismantling the bridge over which Percy had passed, and by which he was expected to return. The militia were to barricade the bridge-head and make a stand there. General Whitcomb was also present with the provincials, whose numbers every moment increased.

When Percy's column descended from the high ground to the plain of Menotomy, the provincials assaulted them with new vigor and impetuosity. On both sides the firing was the heaviest of the day. Warren's intrepidity was conspicuous. A bullet grazed his head. He and Heath led the force which doggedly hung on the British rear. Half Harris's company were killed or wounded while fighting their way through the village. From some of the houses on the road the troops were fired upon, after which every one was broken into, the inmates brutally maltreated, and in many instances the dwellings fired. While thus engaged, the militia of Roxbury, Dorchester, Brookline, and Danvers vigorously attacked the enemy's right flank. Percy was compelled again to have recourse to his cannon, but after firing a few shots the pieces were limbered up for want of ammunition.

Fifteen hundred British soldiers were now desperately fighting against an equal or greater number of militia through the long village street. Exasperated by the resistance which met them at every step, harassed in front, flank, and rear, the soldiers behaved like fiends. Old men were bayoneted without pity, women and children driven screaming into the fields, while their dwellings were being pillaged and the torch applied. A number of Americans from Danvers, who had barricaded themselves in an enclosure on the road, were surrounded and cut to pieces. The sight of these wanton butcheries, the flames, the fleeing women, maddened the assailants, who, forgetting fear, boldly closed with the British rear. Hand-to-hand

encounters took place. Bernard, colonel of the Royal Welsh, was struck by a bullet, Percy's uniform torn by another.

Instead of continuing his retreat through Cambridge, Percy, fortunately for his worn-out soldiers, took the road to Charlestown by Milk Row and Prospect Hill. The preparations of the Americans to receive him at the bridge were, therefore, frustrated; but the pursuers continued to follow and to ply the troops with musketry until they passed Charlestown Neck. Here the Americans halted and the pursuit ceased. A few moments later, and seven or eight hundred of the Essex yeomanry would have fallen on Percy's flank. An officer rode up and reported them close at hand just as the last of the royal troops filed across the neck.

It was now dusk, and for some time the route of the troops had been lighted by the flashes of musketry. Percy led his worn, foot-sore, and dispirited men to the brow of Bunker Hill, and still showed a defiant front. Notified by the musketry of his arrival, Gage at once sent two hundred men of the 84th to his assistance, who began an intrenchment on the hill, and during the night Percy's command was ferried over the river. Smith's men had been more than twenty-four hours under arms, marching and fighting the greater part of the time.

General Heath halted his men on Charlestown Common. After a council of officers held at the foot of Prospect Hill, a strong picket-guard was posted here, sentinels stationed along the road towards the enemy, and patrols sent out with orders to be vigilant. The main body then fell back to Cambridge, where, after securely guarding the approaches to the town, the army of the people slept on their arms in this the first bivouac of the Revolution. During the night an armed schooner came up the river and alarmed the camp, but, getting aground, did no injury, while the want of a single field-piece prevented the Americans from making her their prize.

The British loss on the 19th of April was seventy-three killed, one hundred and seventy-four wounded, and twenty-six missing. Two lieutenant-

colonels and sixteen other commissioned officers were put *hors du combat*. The Americans lost forty-nine killed, thirty-nine wounded, and five missing. As Middlesex had borne the brunt of the fighting, so her loss was greatest. Of the total casualties she sustained more than half. The following tabular statement will show how honorable was her record upon this immortal day:—

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.
Lexington	10	9	
Concord		8	
Acton	3	1	
Cambridge	6	1	3
Sudbury	2	1	
Bedford	1	1	
Woburn	2	3	
Medford	2		
Charlestown	2		
Watertown	1		
Frammingham		1	
Stow		1	
Billerica		2	
Chelmsford		2	
Newton		1	
	<hr/> 39	<hr/> 28	<hr/> 3

Nearly half the Americans who were killed fell in the struggle at Menotomy. The Danvers company had seven killed and several wounded here. Captain Gideon Foster, with this gallant band, one hundred strong, marched sixteen miles in four hours. Lynn, Beverly, Salem, Roxbury, Brookline, and Needham contributed to the list of fallen or disabled heroes. Captain John Ford of Chelmsford, a soldier of the French Wars, killed with his own hand five of the enemy. The following day the Americans gathered their own and the enemy's dead; and on the Sunday next ensuing those who had participated in the battle stood up in the churches while thanks were publicly given for their safe return.

Already had the strife begun;
 Already blood on Concord's plain
 Along the springing grass had run,
 And blood had flowed at Lexington
 Like brooks of April rain.

BRYANT.

XVIII.

THE SITUATION BEFORE BUNKER HILL.

Civil war was now fully inaugurated, and Middlesex was become the scene of the first warlike operations of the Revolution.

The delegates who were authorized to call the Provincial Congress together in an emergency like the present had done so on the 18th, when the unmistakable preparations in Boston impressed them with a full sense of impending danger. Before the delegates could assemble, the battle of Lexington was fought. Three days after, on Saturday, April 22, congress met at Concord; but adjourned on the afternoon of the same day to Watertown, which subsequently became the seat of the provincial insurrectionary government. On the 23d Joseph Warren was elected president *pro tempore* in room of Hancock, who had been named a delegate to Philadelphia.

The executive committees were to have continued their sessions at Menotomy on the 19th, had not the battle deranged their plans. They, however, met on the 20th at Cambridge, which was now become the headquarters of the Massachusetts forces. Every nerve was being strained to assemble an army. The labors of the committees were incessant. Each moment was considered precious. Accounts of the engagement of the 19th, with appeals for help, were sent to Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island. Appeals, the most urgent, were also made to the towns to send forward men to take the places of those who had flocked to arms on the 19th of April, and who, upon the entreaty of their officers, had remained in camp at Cambridge or Roxbury ever since. These forces had, indeed, blocked up the approaches to Boston; but it was every hour feared that General Gage would seek to retrieve the disaster of the 19th before preparation for successful resistance could be made.

Congress resolved to raise 13,000 men immediately. General Preble having declined the commission tendered him, General Ward became commander-in-chief, with headquarters at Cambridge. General Thomas took command of the

forces at Roxbury, with the rank of lieutenant-general. General Heath continued in command at Cambridge until the arrival of General Ward, on the afternoon of the 20th. A distribution of the available troops was made, camps formed, alarm-posts designated, and the formal investment of Boston fairly begun.

But what were the neighboring colonies doing in this crisis? Even while the fighting was going on, up and down the historic highway, couriers were despatched over the great routes to Connecticut and New Hampshire with the news that war had actually begun. Every town, every obscure hamlet reached, was in turn electrified. The entire population sprang to arms; nor were those whose kindred had been slaughtered at Lexington more eager, more determined to avenge the blood poured out there than were their sympathizing brethren of New England. But while soldiers were hastily mustering for the long march to Cambridge, the impetuous ardor of some heroic men overbore all delay. The martial instinct of the veterans warned them of the value of moments in such an emergency. Hardly had the cry, "To arms!" reached the borders of Connecticut, when one of the most gallant spirits that ever unsheathed a sword in the cause of liberty, on the very spot where the news overtook him, sprang into the saddle, and spurred for the scene of action.

On the 21st Israel Putnam rode into Concord on the same horse he had mounted, the afternoon before, at Pomfret, on hearing of the fighting at Lexington and Concord. The gallant veteran had not stopped to change his clothing, or to unyoke the oxen with which he was ploughing. After conferring with the provincial delegates, he on the same day wrote back to hasten the despatch of Connecticut troops to Cambridge. The next day he was in Cambridge, ready for any call that might be made upon him. His presence was a tower of strength to the provincials; in him the provincial soldiers recognized the leader.

When the tidings that Americans were fighting

with British soldiers reached the village of Derryfield, since Manchester, in New Hampshire, John Stark was in ten minutes on horseback, and on his rapid way to Lexington. His name, like Putnam's, was known in every household of New England. Outstripping the New Hampshire soldiers, who were already on the march, he reached headquarters in season to be assigned to duty on the 22d. Paul Dudley Sargent of New Hampshire was also early on the ground. Medford became the rendezvous of the soldiers from this colony.

Congress appointed committees to prepare an account of the events of the 19th of April, and to take depositions showing that the British troops had provoked hostilities by first firing upon the American militia. These documents, with an address to the people of Great Britain, were despatched to Benjamin Franklin, at London, by a swift vessel. Captain Derby was enjoined to keep his destination a profound secret.

The headquarters of the patriot army were fixed in the house of Jonathan Hastings,¹ the college steward, where the Committee of Safety also held its sessions. In fact, this committee constituted the supreme executive head from which General Ward derived his orders, and which cut out all the work relative to the army for the action of the Provincial Congress. Here, on the 29th of April, Captain Benedict Arnold reported with a company from Connecticut. The confusion incident to the entrance of troops into the usually quiet town decided the authorities of Harvard College to dismiss the students for the present.² The buildings were immediately occupied by provincial troops. President Langdon was appointed chaplain to the army. A hospital was organized. William Burbeck of Boston and Richard Gridley of Stoughton were engaged as engineers, the latter to rank as chief.³

The want of proper field and siege artillery was keenly felt at headquarters. Only a few light brass pieces were in the possession of the besiegers. A few iron cannon and two or three mortars constituted the entire siege train. At this juncture Captain Arnold presented himself before the Committee of Safety, with the information that there were at Ticonderoga eighty heavy cannon, twenty being of brass, and ten or twelve mortars. He boldly pro-

posed to undertake the capture of this post. His offer was considered and approved by a council of war, and at the end of three days Arnold received a commission from the committee empowering him to raise four hundred men for the proposed secret expedition. Before he could carry his plan into effect, he was forestalled by Ethan Allen and others who had conceived the same idea. Arnold therefore joined Allen at Castleton. The confederates arrived before Ticonderoga on the evening of the 9th with one hundred and forty men, and at daybreak Allen made his audacious and successful demand for the surrender of the fortress. In the event of his success, Arnold was to have at once transported the most serviceable artillery to Cambridge; but the fortress being taken by the joint efforts of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut, its disposition was referred to the Continental Congress, and its dismantling for the present prevented.

No systematic effort to secure their position, other than by some light intrenchments carried from the college green towards the river, and a redoubt on the Cambridge shore opposite Boston Common, seems to have been made by the Americans before the 12th of May. The main body of the army was at Cambridge, with its pickets well out towards Charlestown, and the New Hampshire troops, under Stark, encamped about the Royall farm at Medford. General Thomas occupied Roxbury, thus closing the only avenue into Boston by land. The British general, were he disposed to attempt a sortie in force, might either march out over the neck and attack Thomas in front, or by landing his troops at Dorchester Neck, and making a considerable détour, turn that general's position. There was nothing to prevent the execution of the latter plan at this early stage of the siege.

While Thomas held Roxbury firmly, Cambridge could only be attacked by a force marching from Charlestown, or from Lechmere's Point, or from some point on Charles River above the great basin. In either case the attacking column must move to the place of disembarkation in boats, which was a serious disadvantage. To meet the first of these contingencies the Americans had only to fortify the heights commanding Charlestown Neck. Prospect Hill was the key to this line of defence, with the two inferior summits, then called Cobble Hill,¹ and Ploughed Hill,² well advanced on its right and

¹ Still standing, and known to the present generation as the birthplace of Oliver Wendell Holmes.

² The college was temporarily removed to Concord, where the term was resumed in October.

³ The agreement with Gridley provided for a life-annuity to be paid him after the colony forces should be disbanded.

¹ Mr. Lenn Aylmer site.

² Mt. Benedict, on the Mystic side, now partly levelled.

left, and admirably situated, not only for enfilading the neck, but also for controlling the approach by water. These hills were all within the American line of outposts.

A force landing at Lechmere's Point would be exposed to all the difficulties which had rendered the expedition to Lexington abortive. But the greatest objection to an attempt from this direction was the absolute impossibility of moving artillery over the marshes, which must be crossed before reaching firm ground. It was hardly to be supposed that after the lesson of the 19th of April the British general would attack the insurgent army without cannon; yet there was a strong prepossession in General Ward's mind that an attack was to be expected in this quarter, apparently founded upon the circumstance that the Lexington expedition had effected a landing here. A landing higher up Charles River, nearer to the American encampment, must be effected under fire, and as the river was too shallow to allow heavy ships to come up in order to cover a disembarkation, and the Americans now had cannon mounted, little apprehension was felt that an attempt would be made on this side.

On the 12th of May a joint committee of the Committee of Safety and Council of War, after an examination of the ground, reported in favor of throwing up earthworks on both sides of the road to Charlestown, near the head of Willis's Creek;¹ and of erecting strong redoubts on Prospect Hill and Bunker Hill. This recommendation, there is now no room to doubt, was communicated to General Gage by Benjamin Church, chairman of the sub-committee of the Committee of Safety.

The reference to Bunker Hill here is interesting and significant as showing when a purpose to occupy this important position was first seriously entertained; but the eyes of both the British and American commanders were at the present moment fixed in a different direction. Gage feared an attack from Dorchester Heights. He was less apprehensive that his enemy would occupy those of Charlestown, because the approach to that peninsula was fully commanded by the batteries of several ships of war. He had evacuated it after the battles of the 19th of April, evidently considering it securely guarded by the guns of the fleet. But with Dorchester Heights the case was different. Here was a position which not only commanded the town of Boston, and enfiladed his laboriously prepared works on the neck, but where artillery would sweep

the inner roadstead clean of shipping. Moreover, it could be reinforced from Roxbury without exposing the relieving troops to the destructive fire which could be concentrated on Charlestown Neck. This reasoning was so conclusive, that we can only wonder at the fatuity which prevented the prompt seizure of Dorchester Heights by General Gage; so unanswerable, that the amazing apathy of General Howe in leaving these heights unoccupied through the ensuing summer and winter led inevitably to the evacuation of Boston at the moment when his more enterprising antagonist opened his batteries there.

By the 4th of May General Gage had almost completed a battery for ten twenty-four-pounders, bearing upon Dorchester peninsula, which he hoped would effectually prevent the erection of rebel works there. On this day the Committee of Safety addressed pressing appeals to the colonies of Rhode Island and Connecticut for additional troops, in order, as they write, "to enable us to secure a pass of the greatest importance to our common interest, and which the enemy will certainly possess themselves of as soon as their reinforcements arrive; and if they once get possession, it will cost us much blood and treasure to dislodge them; but it may now be secured by us, if we had a force sufficient, without any danger." On the 9th the war council decided to call in enough of the neighboring militia to enable the army to take possession of and defend Dorchester Heights without weakening the camp at Roxbury. The next day an order was sent to all the colonels absent on recruiting service to repair forthwith to Cambridge. Two thousand Suffolk and Middlesex militia were directed to concentrate at Roxbury, enlisted men were ordered to their regiments, and no furloughs were to be granted until further orders.

For some unexplained reason the intention to assume the offensive on the south of Boston at this time was abandoned; but on the 12th the far more audacious and far more dangerous idea of seizing the heights of Charlestown on the north was developed by the revolutionary council. The declared purpose of fortifying Bunker Hill was to annoy an enemy coming out of Charlestown by land or going by water to Medford. It is possible that the Americans entertained the fear that, having full control of all water approaches, the enemy might make a descent at Medford, through which a way might be found to the left flank and rear of the army at Cambridge. Colonel Stark, it

¹ Miller's River, now nearly obliterated.

will be remembered, held this village. Bunker Hill also commanded the usual ferry-way over Mystic River to Malden. Not only its importance in a military view, but the language of the committee when advocating the measure, declare the seizure of Bunker Hill an aggressive act, — one not at all essential to successful defence of the American position, but a direct defiance to the British commander in Boston.

Briefly to recapitulate, the American army occupied Cambridge, with its right on the Charles and its left on the Mystic. Willis's Creek divided this position nearly in the centre. Thomas's corps was cantoned in Roxbury. Stark was in Melford, and a few militia garrisoned Malden and Chelsea, in order to protect those towns from the enemy's foraging parties. Ward's extreme right was covered by earthworks reaching from the college to the river. His front was protected by an intrenchment carried over the summit of Dana, then Butler's Hill. Behind this hill, and within half a mile of headquarters, the road from Charlestown to Cambridge crossed the head of Willis's Creek by a bridge. Breastworks were thrown up here on each side of the road. The way from headquarters to Lechmere's Point passed by Inman's farm,¹ and crossed to the west side of Willis's Creek, which it descended to where a low causeway and bridge, nearly corresponding with Gore Street, crossed the creek to the Point. During the early days of the siege General Putnam took post with the Connecticut troops at Inman's; and where the bridge and causeway connected Lechmere's Point with the Charlestown shore, earthworks were thrown up on each side of the road. Somewhere on the Cambridge shore the Americans had built a square redoubt which was guarded by two or three hundred men. These works were all defensive, being designed to cover those possible points of attack that have already been mentioned.

General Gage was not idle, but, not feeling himself strong enough to act on the offensive, his exertions were directed to putting Boston in as good a condition of defence as possible before the attack which he daily expected should take place. He had advice that reinforcements were on the way to him, and believing that the Americans also knew it, he expected they would make an assault before the garrison was further strengthened. Fearing also that in the event of an attack upon him from without the inhabitants would rise and begin a

massacre of the soldiers, he entered into a treaty with the selectmen by which the inhabitants were allowed to leave the town upon surrendering their arms. In consequence of this agreement the arms were given up and deposited in the place designated. For a time the engagement was carried out in good faith. Hundreds availed themselves of the permission to escape from the beleaguered capital; but thousands who were too indignant to remove still remained. To facilitate their departure the Provincial Congress provided for the distribution of these poor people among the towns of the province, where they were to be cared for until further action could be taken for their relief.¹ But before the work of removal could be finished the agreement was violated by General Gage, over whose sense of honor the importunity of the tory population prevailed. It was alleged by them that the presence of those who sympathized with the rebels was the safeguard of the town; so that all at once the vacillating general became as anxious to keep as he had before been to be rid of them. Passes were refused. Suffering and privation became the lot of those who were thus cruelly detained.

The people of Charlestown, fully sensible that they were exposed to the danger of seeing their town become a battle-ground of the contending forces, began to leave it soon after the 19th of April. Moreover, the utter ruin of their business prosperity had followed the shutting up of the port of Boston. According to the historian of the town, only one or two hundred, of a population numbering from two to three thousand souls, were still remaining in the town on the 17th of June.

So long as the people were permitted freely to pass out of Boston, the patriot chiefs were, of course, well informed as to what was going on there. On the other hand, the Provincial Congress had accorded to the loyalists, throughout the province, the privilege of removing with their effects into Boston; so that General Gage had also his opportunities of obtaining intelligence. Many Middlesex families availed themselves of the permission to seek an asylum under the protection of the British flag. The heads of these tory families were men who had held office under the crown; in general they believed the rebellion would be quickly crushed; but the rigid surveillance they were under, the indignity to which some had been

¹ Ralph Inman's house stood on what is now Inman Street.

¹ Congress allotted to Middlesex 1,016 of an estimated total of 5,000 persons.

subjected, or the apprehension felt for their personal safety, decided them to abandon the homes to which very few were destined ever to return. Cambridge probably had a greater proportion of these families than any other town in the province. To leave their stately mansions, with all the ease and luxury to which they had been accustomed, for the squalor of a garrisoned town was a bitter alternative; to be rudely torn from a society to which they had so long given tone, and of which they were the pillars, was indeed hard to bear: but their situation had become intolerable, and there was no help for it. Their elegant residences were no sooner abandoned than they were seized by the provincial authorities. Many of them still remain to show what was the prevailing idea of architectural magnificence introduced by this wealthy and long-privileged class of colonial magnates; and one is still the most justly celebrated private mansion in America.

General Gage's engineers were kept busily at work while the reinforcements from England and Ireland were arriving. Some of these had reached him by the 25th of May, when the *Cerberus* came into port with Generals Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne on board. The British commander now had under his orders five or six thousand of the best troops in the empire. Several of the regiments bore a distinguished and ancient record. Some had served in Canada, in Germany, or in the West Indies. Besides infantry, there was a battalion of royal artillery; and by the middle of June a regiment of dragoons arrived, constituting a corps highly effective in all arms, and burning to retrieve the disgrace of Lexington and Concord.

The generals and most of the colonels¹ had seen service. Howe, second in command, and Clinton had fought in Germany, Burgoyne in Portugal. Howe, it was said, was averse to the service in America; but opportunities for distinction were too few to permit an ambitious officer to indulge in sentimental regrets, and he accepted it. His personal bravery was known to the whole army. Burgoyne was both capable and brave; but his estimate of himself was not justified by his subsequent career. Howe was brilliant and dashing; Clinton cool and sagacious; Burgoyne pompous, overconfident, and inclined to bombast.

Besides his advanced lines on Boston Neck,

¹ Junius accuses Lord Perry of having been given a regiment at the expense of some braver and more deserving officer. He was, however, a general favorite with the army.

formed of two strong bastions joined by a curtain, the battery already mentioned as bearing on Dorchester Heights, and the old fortification at the narrowest part of the narrow isthmus, repaired and strengthened, General Gage's engineers had thrown up a small field-work on Copp's Hill, at the extreme north part of the town, bearing upon Charlestown Heights, and another on Beacon Hill, designed to command the town itself. The largest body of troops were encamped on the Common; the remainder, with the exception of a battalion at Barton's Point, occupied empty warehouses on the wharves and in different parts of the town. Every night the lines on the neck were strongly reinforced, patrols traversed the streets, and guard-boats from the ships of war glided about the harbor and the rivers.

Captain Harris, of the 5th Regiment, thus describes the superb view from his encampment on the 5th of May: "I have now before me one of the finest prospects your warm imagination can picture. My tent door about twenty yards from a piece of water nearly a mile broad, with the country beyond most beautifully tumbled about in hills and valleys, rocks and woods, interspersed with straggling villages, with here and there a spire peeping over the trees, and the country of the most charming green that delighted eye ever gazed on. Pity these infatuated people cannot be content to enjoy such a country in peace! But alas! this moment their advanced sentinels are in sight, and tell me they have struck the fatal blow."

The situation of affairs in the town is feelingly depicted by a letter-writer of this time. Under date of the 6th of May he says: "You can have no conception, Bill, of the distresses the people in general are involved in. You'll see parents that are lucky enough to procure papers (*passes*), with bundles in one hand and a string of children in the other, wandering out of the town (with only a sufferance of one day's permission) not knowing whither they'll go. . . . You must know that no person who leaves the town is allowed to return again, and this morning an order from the governor has put a stop to any more papers at any rate, not even to admit those to go who have procured 'em already."

In regard to the difficulty of procuring fresh provisions after the investment of the town, the same writer says: "We have now and then a carcass offered for sale in the market, which for-

merly we would not have picked up in the street; but, bad as it is, it readily sells for eight pence lawful money per lb., and a quarter of lamb, when it makes its appearance, which is rarely once a week, sells for a dollar. . . . To such shifts has the necessity of the times drove us: wood not scarcely to be got at twenty-two shillings a cord. Was it not for a trifle of salt provisions that we have 't would be impossible for us to live. Pork and beans one day and beans and pork another, and fish when we can catch it."

The same officer we have previously quoted jocosely alludes to the army commissariat in his letter as follows: "However we block up their port the rebels certainly block up our town, and have cut off our good beef and mutton, much to the discomfiture of our mess. But while I get sufficient to sustain life, though of the coarsest food, with two nights out of three in bed, I shall not repine, but rejoice that fortune has given me a constitution to endure fatigue, and prove that it is accident, not inclination, that has made me hitherto eat the bread of idleness." Such sentiments entitle the writer to the respect even of an enemy, and show in the young captain of grenadiers qualities which subsequently advanced him to the rank of lieutenant-general.¹

The Provincial Congress resolved, on the 3d of May, to borrow one hundred thousand pounds, at six per centum, payable in two years, and to issue certificates of indebtedness for the same. On the 5th a resolve passed declaring that by his acts, both before and on the 19th of April, General Gage had "utterly disqualified himself" to serve the colony as governor or in any other capacity; "and that no obedience ought in future to be paid by the several towns and districts in this colony to his writs for calling an assembly, or to his proclamations, or any other of his acts or doings; but that, on the other hand, he ought to be considered and guarded against as an unnatural and inveterate enemy of his country."

On the afternoon of the 13th, the day after the recommendation to fortify Bunker Hill, the Americans made a threatening demonstration. At the head of from two to three thousand men, drawn from the camps at Cambridge, General Putnam marched into Charlestown, over Bunker Hill and Breed's Hill, and through the town, to the public square. After parading some time, and shouting their defiance to the frigate *Somerset*, which lay

anchored in the ferry-way, the Americans returned to their camps without committing any hostile act or receiving the least molestation from the enemy.

The impunity with which this reconnoissance was made doubtless strengthened the belief that very little opposition would be offered to a permanent occupation of the peninsula and heights of Charlestown. The enemy's frigates might easily have inflicted great loss on the Americans while crossing and recrossing the neck, but they had remained silent; and this hesitation, which really proceeded from contempt, might unjustly be attributed to fear. Still it would seem that such a demonstration should have opened the British general's eyes to the importance of Bunker Hill, however foolhardy an attempt to possess it by the Americans must appear to the most unskilled soldier in his army. He, however, clung to the delusion that he was, through the fleet, in-virtual possession of Charlestown.

Very little change in the situation occurred during the last weeks of May and the first fortnight in June. Several affairs of no great consequence, except as they might raise the spirits and increase the confidence of the besiegers, took place. On the night of the 18th of May a serious conflagration broke out in Boston, destroying the barracks of the 65th and 47th regiments. The 65th lost their arms, clothing, and regimental property; the 47th, their clothing. Detachments from the different corps were sent to extinguish the flames, which they at length succeeded in doing.

Several attempts by the garrison or fleet to remove the live stock or hay from the harbor islands met with determined resistance from the Americans. The Committee of Safety directed the removal of live stock to prevent its falling into the enemy's hands. An affair took place at Grape Island, near Weymouth, on the 21st of May. On the 27th an American detachment went to Noddle's Island (East Boston) and began to drive off the stock. The British admiral immediately landed some marines on the island, and sent an armed schooner around it to intercept the retreat of the Americans to Hog Island and the mainland. The Americans killed or drove to Hog Island all the stock on Noddle's Island, and burnt a barn and farm-house before retreating under a heavy fire from the marines, several armed boats, and the schooner. During the evening the Amer-

¹ George Lord Harris, the conqueror of Seringapatam.

icans were reinforced, and under the command of General Putnam kept up a brisk fire upon the schooner and Noddle's Island, throughout the night. Towards morning the schooner grounded, and was abandoned by her crew. The Americans then boarded her, took out her armament, and burnt her to the water's edge. In this affair the Americans had two light field-pieces, and were encouraged by the presence and example of Warren. The loss on both sides was trifling, but the Americans were greatly elated by the destruction of the enemy's vessel.

On the 30th the Americans again went to Noddle's Island, and burnt the Williams mansion, under the fire of the shipping. The next day five hundred sheep and thirty cattle were removed from Pettick's Island by a party of provincials under Colonel Robinson; and on the night of June 2d Major Greeton carried off eight hundred sheep and lambs, with a number of cattle, from Deer Island.

Some few changes in the disposition of the troops in Boston were made by the general. The grenadiers and light-infantry were again consolidated in a separate corps, and encamped on Beacon Hill. Part of the 43d was moved from Copp's Hill to Barton's Point, where the rest of the regiment was posted. The 5th, 38th, and 52d went into camp near the Common.

On the 6th of June an exchange of those prisoners captured on the 19th of April was effected at Charlestown. The Americans were represented by General Putnam and Dr. Warren. The British prisoners were guarded to the place of exchange by Captain Chester's company of Connecticut militia, one of the few in the army which was uniformed. Major Moncrief was deputed by General Gage to receive the officers and men belonging to his army, and to deliver up the American prisoners, nine in number. After the usual formalities were concluded the British officers were hospitably entertained at Dr. Foster's residence, after which they went on board their vessel and the Americans returned to Cambridge.

General Gage, on the 12th of June, issued an extraordinary proclamation declaring martial law established throughout the province. Full and entire pardon was offered to all such as would lay down their arms and return to their allegiance, except Samuel Adams and John Hancock. All who refused to avail themselves of the proffered amnesty would be considered rebels and traitors. The Pro-

vincial Congress immediately published a counter-proclamation, in which free pardon was offered to those inhabitants who had fled to Boston for refuge; and to all other public offenders against the rights and liberties of the province, except General Gage, Admiral Graves, and such Mandamus Councillors as had not tendered their resignations.

While circumstances thus contributed to aggravate the military exigency, the pressing need of some settled form of civil government was keenly felt. General obedience was yielded to the resolutions and orders of the Provincial Congress and of its committees, but these were almost wholly directed to the emergency which had called this extraordinary body into being. It had no proper legislative functions, although it had assumed to direct the affairs of the province, and had exercised the highest prerogatives of government in levying troops and in issuing money. In her distress Massachusetts looked for support to her sister colonies, whose cause she was now bravely upholding. Those of New England had nobly come to her aid with their patriotic soldiers; but she felt the inadequacy of half-measures in the contest begun on her soil, and anxiously looked to the Continental Congress for the bold and energetic action the crisis demanded.

Finding themselves, as regards government, in a state of nature, the people of Massachusetts, through their congress, made a formal application to the Continental Congress for advice in assuming and exercising the powers of civil government, the want of which was every day causing such embarrassment. They also suggested the propriety of that congress taking the control of the army they had brought into the field.

The idea of a new nation was slowly germinating. On the 7th of June a resolve of the congress, directed to the people of the Twelve United Colonies, announced that it was struggling into the light. On the 9th that august body, sitting at Philadelphia, replied to the application of Massachusetts. She was advised to elect a new representative assembly which should, when convened, choose a council; the two bodies jointly to conduct the government "until a governor of his majesty's appointment will consent to govern the colony according to its charter." Ten companies of expert riflemen were ordered to be raised in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, to join the army at Boston. On the 15th of June George Washington was chosen commander-in-chief of the continental forces. On the 17th,

Artemas Ward, Charles Lee, Philip Schuyler, and Israel Putnam were chosen major-generals, and Horatio Gates adjutant-general. This action relieved Massachusetts from the heavy load of respon-

sibility she had so bravely borne since the battle of Lexington. But before it could be known in New England her soldiers had again met the enemy in battle.

XIX.

PREPARATIONS FOR BATTLE.

GENERAL ARTEMAS WARD received, on the 20th of May, a new commission as commander-in-chief of the Massachusetts forces.¹ As such, his orders were obeyed and respected throughout the whole army. The generals of the troops of other colonies had been sent, not to command, but to reinforce, the army of Massachusetts; and in concert with the generals of that army laid out the work to be done by the united forces. Of course the obedience thus yielded was voluntary; but so long as it was loyally yielded, as it now indisputably was, it is futile to discuss the question whether General Ward lawfully commanded Generals Spencer, Putnam, and Greene, or Colonels Stark and Reed; or whether the penalties of disobedience might or might not have followed their refusal to co-operate with the Massachusetts forces. No such refusal had occurred. On the contrary, the troops and officers of the other colonies had taken positions on the lines designated by the commanding general, who had now been given a suitable rank for properly exercising the chief command.

The Provincial Congress had, on the 13th of June, chosen John Whitcomb of Lancaster, and on the 14th, Joseph Warren of Boston, major-generals. Neither had received his commission. The former had served with distinction in the old wars, but advanced age forbade the idea of active service in the field. It was his wish to retire as soon as the army should be thoroughly organized, and this desire he communicated to congress on the 16th. Warren, it is believed, aspired to a command in the army he had more than any other helped not only to create, but to endow with martial spirit and unify with a purpose. Without experience in the profession of arms, he was, never-

theless, an apt pupil in a school where men learn rapidly,—that of actual warfare. Only thirty-four years old when chosen major-general, he had already filled the more important stations of president of congress and chairman of the Committee of Safety with signal ability and intelligence, with unshaken courage and resolution. What the Revolution owed to him, and what it was felt it might still owe, were fully recognized in thus constituting him its head; but Nature had meant him to be a leader of men, and now, since the sword must decide, he burned to distinguish himself in the field of battle. Henceforth this was for him the post of honor.

But the young citizen-general was too modest to assume command of veteran officers who had grown old and gray in war, until he had vindicated his title to do so by deeds. True, he had shown rare intrepidity at Lexington, and he had fought as a volunteer under the gallant Putnam in the affair of Noddle's Island; still it is evident that he entertained a well-founded distrust of his ability to conduct a battle, and this determination to win his spurs before wearing them does him the greater honor.

Congress determined, on the 15th, to complete the organization of the army by appointing four brigadiers, two adjutant-generals, and two quartermaster-generals; but action had not been taken on the 17th.

Notwithstanding the herculean efforts she was making, Massachusetts had not yet succeeded in raising the 13,000 men her congress had voted. The contingents of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut might swell the whole number to fourteen or fifteen thousand officers and men; but the want of proper returns renders it impracticable to fix the total force under arms with precision.

¹ The commissions issued at this period are in the name of the "Colony of the Massachusetts Bay," and not of the province.

It is, however, known that the twenty-four regiments commissioned by Massachusetts, up to the 16th of June, with two others (Heath's and Robinson's) reported nearly full, but not then commissioned, did not have the requisite 13,000 on their muster-rolls. The troops of the other colonies numbered about five thousand men.¹ But want of men was not the greatest obstacle in the way of organizing this army. Indeed, a committee of congress reported against increasing the number beyond the 13,000 originally called for. It was impossible to arm those regiments already in commission. Probably one third of the Massachusetts troops were without muskets on the 16th of June; and it was impossible to obtain them in the province. Hence some battalions were fully, some only partially, provided. Those without arms were, of course, not available for battle. There was also great want of tents to shelter the recruits constantly arriving in camp, many of whom, finding no provision made to cover them, went home. Rev. Mr. Gordon, historian of the Revolution, and at this time chaplain of the Provincial Congress, prints a return of the army present at Cambridge on the 10th of June, giving a total of 7,644 officers and men; but he hastens to warn us of the untrustworthy character of any and all returns made at this time. Some officers who desired commands borrowed men from regiments already mustered; others made false returns of the number enlisted; nor could the vigilance of the mustering-officers prevent these disreputable practices.

This badly armed, poorly officered, undisciplined soldiery, distributed along a line nine miles in extent, but mainly concentrated in two partially intrenched camps, was, as we have said, in daily expectation of being attacked by the well-armed, well-disciplined, well-officered army in Boston. When the actual fighting condition of the provincials is fairly considered, their superiority of numbers does not outweigh the inferiority in every other important constituent of an army, except courage. Moreover, the traditions of the royal army had educated it to believe that one British soldier ought not to hesitate to attack two of any other nation on earth.

The following regiments constituted the Massa-

chusetts army at this date; namely, Whitcomb's, Ward's (General), Glover's, Frye's, Learned's, Nixon's, Fellows's, Bridge's, Thomas's (General), Bayley's, Cotton's, Walker's, Prescott's, Scammon's, Danielson's, Patterson's, Gardner's, Mansfield's, Gerrish's, Heath's (General), Robinson's, David Brewer's, Woodbridge's, Jonathan Brewer's, Little's, Gerrish's, Doolittle's. Glover and the two Brewers were commissioned on the 16th of June. Woodbridge did not receive a commission until after the Battle of Bunker Hill. Glover's regiment was at Marblehead; four companies each of Thomas's and Cotton's were at Plymouth, the rest at Roxbury; part of Jonathan Brewer's at Brookline; David Brewer's at Roxbury, Dorchester, and Watertown; Learned, Fellows, Walker, Danielson, Robinson, and Heath were at Roxbury; Patterson was at the works near Lechmere's Point; the others were in Cambridge. Besides infantry, the provincials had an incomplete regiment of artillery commanded by Colonel Richard Gridley, chief-engineer of the army.

By this time the reinforcements for the royal army in Boston were nearly all arrived. The whole force is estimated to number, at this period, ten thousand men, but it probably did not much exceed eight thousand effective soldiers. The army was displeased with its commanding general, but had the fullest confidence in the recently arrived major-generals. General Gage resolved to act. In concert with the other generals, he decided first to seize and occupy Dorchester Heights. This, it was believed, might be effected with but little loss. The attempt was fixed for the night of the 18th. Howe was to land a force at one point on the shore, Clinton at another, while Burgoyne aided the movement by a vigorous cannonade of Thomas and the approach to Dorchester, from the battery on Boston Neck.

Again the Americans had timely information of what was in agitation. On the 12th of June Colonel Reed's New Hampshire regiment was ordered to Charlestown Neck.¹ On the 13th the Committee of Safety directed the army to be in readiness to repel the attack, which was considered imminent. On the 14th an injunction of secrecy was placed on the members. On the 15th the committee

¹ " (General Orders.)

" Headquarters, June 12, 1775.

"That Colonel Reed quarter his regiment in the houses on Charlestown Neck, and keep all necessary guards between his barracks and the ferry, and on Bunker Hill."

FOURCE'S *Amer. Archives*.

¹ The New Hampshire troops were at Medford and Charlestown, the Rhode Island at Jamaica Plain, the Connecticut at Cambridge and Roxbury. Colonels Stark and Reed commanded the two New Hampshire regiments, General Greene the Rhode Island brigade, Generals Spencer and Putnam the Connecticut forces.



Israel Putnam.

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resolved to recommend the taking possession of Bunker Hill, to be "securely kept and defended by sufficient forces." The resolution also requested the council of war to take such steps respecting Dorchester Neck as to them might seem expedient. Both recommendations passed without a dissenting voice, and were immediately communicated to the generals of the army. The council of war, to whom the recommendation was addressed, determined to carry it into immediate effect.

Accordingly, on the evening of the 16th, about one thousand Massachusetts troops, drawn from Prescott's, Bridge's, and Frye's regiments, Samuel Gridley's company of artillery, with two field-pieces, and two hundred Connecticut men, under Captain Knowlton, of Putnam's regiment, were paraded on Cambridge Common. This force was placed under the orders of Colonel Prescott, and at nine o'clock marched for Bunker Hill. The commander and nearly all of the Massachusetts troops were from Middlesex.

It will be remembered that on the day after the first recommendation to fortify Bunker Hill, General Putnam made his reconnoissance of Charlestown at the head of all the troops in Cambridge. On the 27th of May he commanded at the capture of the British armed vessel at Chelsea, when Warren accompanied him as a volunteer. On the 6th of June he conducted, on behalf of the whole army, the exchange of prisoners at Charlestown. Thomas, Heath, Spencer, and Greene were at Roxbury, whence, if made at all, the movement on Dorchester Heights must begin. Imperative reasons forbade the withdrawal of either these generals or their troops from their present positions. The movement upon Bunker Hill proceeded wholly from the grand division of the army at Cambridge. Of the generals here, Ward commanded in chief; Whitcomb and Warren were yet without their commissions; Pomeroy and Putnam were available for duty.

General Putnam commanded the troops nearest to Charlestown, and covering Lechmere's Point. His own, and Sargent's New Hampshire regiment were at Inman's farm, with Patterson's Massachusetts regiment half a mile beyond, on the road to Charlestown. Reed had been ordered to take a more advanced position and to patrol Charlestown. Considering that Putnam held this exposed position; that Whitcomb and Warren were not yet his superior officers; that he had been so prominently and so successfully identified with whatever the army had undertaken, it is not credible that one of the

colonels of that army should now be intrusted with operations the most important of any it had yet attempted.¹ We cannot admit such a hypothesis to be probable; since no other course, consistent with proper self-respect, would have remained for Generals Putnam and Pomeroy, but to have resigned their commissions.

The detachment marching for Bunker Hill was accompanied by Colonel Gridley and followed by a number of carts containing intrenching tools. When it reached Charlestown Neck it was joined by General Putnam, and at about ten o'clock silently crossed the low and narrow neck without discovery. Without halting, the detachment moved cautiously on, up the slopes of Bunker Hill, and in about ten minutes stood on the summit. This eminence, the first reached after leaving the neck, was the highest on the peninsula, and of course commanded all the adjacent ground. A second eminence, called Breed's Hill, rose a short distance south of the first. The houses of Charlestown reached its lower slopes, and it was nearer Boston. On Bunker Hill the Americans would have entire command of Charlestown, effectually block the way from the peninsula into the country, and be nearer to their reinforcements. If the movement upon Charlestown was meant to be only so far aggressive as these objects implied, then Bunker Hill was the better position. On Breed's Hill, though the elevation was considerably less, even light guns would throw shot and shell into the north part of Boston, and, of course, set the town on fire with as much ease as the enemy's battery on Copp's Hill subsequently did Charlestown. The enemy's shipping, lying in the river between the two towns, would be compelled to move out of range, or be sunk at their anchorage. It is true that with heavy artillery the Americans would also be able to cannonade Boston and the shipping from Bunker Hill. While either was held by them, General

¹ It is claimed, unfairly, we think, that because Prescott was ordered to Bunker Hill with the intrenching detachment and fought at Breed's Hill the next day, he would be entitled to the chief command even when officers of higher rank came on the field with their troops and assumed command. The question for us is not whether we would assign to Colonel Prescott higher credit than to any other officer in the field for his gallantry, but whether, in the face of the facts, and of military law and usage, which alone must rule the decision, we can allow his title to be considered chief commander in the battle good and valid. The interested reader is referred to the arguments of Samuel Swett, of Rev. Increase Tarbox in his *Life of Putnam*, and of the editor in opposition, and of Hon. Richard Frothingham, Rev. George E. Ellis, and others in support of this view.

Gage could not consider himself master of Boston; but the occupation of Breed's Hill was a defiance he could not pretend to misunderstand. It promised to drive him from the town as soon as guns could be placed in position, and was therefore not only a menace, but a challenge.

The seizure by the Americans of either of these heights must ever be regarded as audacious, and more than audacious. When it is considered that the enemy's frigates could anchor near enough to sweep Charlestown Neck with their fire; that this was the only way by which reinforcements could come, or retreat was open; that it offered no vantage-ground for protection or resistance, — it excites our wonder that so much was hazarded by the supreme military authority of the American army. Admitting that the proposed works would drive the enemy's vessels out of the river, it was leaving too much to chance not to do it before the movement was undertaken; and this, as we have before pointed out, was entirely feasible by erecting batteries on Cobble Hill and Ploughed Hill.

The seizure of Charlestown Heights was, then, nothing less than an offer of battle to the British commander, with the alternative of evacuating Boston. Its possession was in no way vital to the Americans; for, supposing the British general to have quietly occupied it, he might be blockaded on this side even more effectually than at Roxbury, so long as the heights on the mainland were held against him. Therefore, a movement which offered him no alternative except to fight or retreat was, we repeat, nothing less than a game of battle.

Could it be believed that the American headquarters that General Gage would quietly look on while works destined for his destruction were being built, or that he would make no effort to prevent the expulsion of his fine army from Boston? To make no further preparation than sending a strong fatigue-party to begin the intrenchments admits of no other conclusion; for it is incredible that these ten or twelve hundred men under Prescott were expected to labor through the night with the spade, and then to bear the brunt of any attempt to drive them from their intrenchments which the British general might make. The recommendation of the committee was that Bunker Hill "be securely kept and defended by sufficient forces posted there."

While the American detachment was drawn up on Bunker Hill a conference took place between those officers on the ground, at the end of which,

notwithstanding the order to throw it up where they then were, it was decided to begin the intrenchment on Breed's Hill. This being settled, Colonel Prescott immediately led his men down the hill and over the ridge between the two eminences, to the plateau of Breed's Hill. Guards were posted in the town; the intrenchment was marked out, and the men, laying their trusty firelocks aside, went vigorously to work turning the first sods.

It was midnight before the first spadefuls of earth began to fall. To the actors the scene could hardly fail of being an impressive one. The glorious starlit heavens, the dusky line of swiftly moving workmen, the veteran engineer hurrying from group to group, the officers with their lanterns, Putnam standing in the wet grass, questioning the darkness that settled heavily down upon the river and the beleaguered town, Prescott, alert, watchful, attentive to every sound, at one moment encouraging his men to greater exertions, at the next listening with painful eagerness for the cry "All's well!" repeated from sentinel to sentinel on the opposite shore, — were marked features of this striking tableau. The fall of a star, the plash of a leaping fish, the stroke of a bell, were no longer common incidents of the night, but events in the experience of those watchers which became indelibly engraved upon the memory.

The workmen toiled steadily on. The night faded into twilight. The intrenchment every moment rose higher and higher. Towards morning Putnam mounted his horse and rode back to camp. His own idea was that Bunker Hill should be fortified as well as Breed's Hill. We shall see whether he was right or wrong.¹

It is not to be supposed that Colonel Prescott would disobey so explicit an order as that to intrench on Bunker Hill,² unless overruled, not by a different judgment from his own, but by an authority competent to control his acts, and at the same time to relieve him from the charge of disobedience. As a soldier, — and Prescott was not an inexperienced one, — no other choice was his to make. To the general council the situation of the two hills was perfectly known; so well, indeed, that the choice

¹ "The latter (Bunker Hill) ought to have been taken possession of at the same time, but it was somehow omitted." (General Heath.) Those who condemn Putnam's efforts to have this done must also condemn Heath.

² Colonel Prescott, writing late in August to John Adams, says he was ordered to Breed's Hill. It is generally believed his memory was at fault here.

of Breed's Hill was subsequently pronounced the "mistake" of those making it. Here was neither ignorance nor misconception of orders. The Committee of Safety understood "that General Gage *had issued orders* for a part of the troops under his command to post themselves on Bunker's Hill, *a promontory just at the entrance of the peninsula at Charlestown*. . . . By some mistake" Breed's Hill, "situated on the further part of the peninsula, next to Boston, was marked out for the intrench-

ment instead of the other." The purpose of the enemy, the plan to defeat it, the exact situation of the two hills, is here pointed out by the Committee of Safety in its narrative of the transactions of the 17th of June. It follows that Colonel Prescott either assumed the responsibility of disobeying his orders, or believed himself relieved of the letter of those orders when arrived on the spot. And this could happen only through the intervention of a higher authority than his own.

XX.

BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL.

EXCEPT for a double motive, strategic and topographic, we should scarcely venture to transfer our readers by a transition so abrupt as from the eve of battle to the present moment. To the greater part of our audience the battle-field of the 17th of June is, doubtless, familiar ground; but the past has wrought its changes, and the future will as surely bring its own. Moreover, as the history of this battle will continue to be written and sung throughout all time, it becomes the part of every narrator to fix his own monuments where his successor may find them. Especially does this course recommend itself when, as in the present instance, a battle-field is to be sought and found in the very heart of a populous city. A glance at the topography of Charlestown will therefore enable the reader to assist more intelligently in the events which have taken place there, and which, notwithstanding the Act of Annexation, have rendered the name perpetual.

Charlestown is a peninsula formed by the confluence of the Charles and Mystic rivers, in shape like a pear. Its natural features, one hundred years ago, were similar to those of its opposite neighbor, Boston. It was joined to the mainland by a flat, narrow neck, the stem of the pear, and traversed from end to end by a long, irregular eminence with two summits. As soon as the neck is passed the ascent of the first summit begins. This is called Bunker Hill. From the crest the ground descends, by an easy slope, to a ridge which connects it with the inferior summit, Breed's Hill. The distance from one to the other is not far from half a mile,

and from the seaward extremity of the peninsula to the neck it is about one mile.

As the peninsula enlarges in proportion as you advance from the neck, Bunker Hill is of course situated in the narrowest part, while Breed's is in the centre of the broadest. The first hill rises one hundred and ten, the second seventy-five feet above the rivers at their shores. This, of itself, is enough to instruct the unmilitary reader as to the relative strategic value of the two summits. In reality, Bunker Hill not only effectually blocked the way into or out of Charlestown, but it also commanded the neighboring summit. It was therefore, in every sense, the key to the peninsula.

In approaching Charlestown by Charles River Bridge, on arriving in view, you see at the right a monument, gray, massive, austere, shooting high above the roofs and even the steeples in its neighborhood; but as only two thirds of its height are visible, you have no idea that it is situated on an elevation. In fact, the elevation is inconsiderable, though it cost four or five hundred lives to scale it on the 17th of June, 1775. Considerably farther to the right is the United States Dockyard, with its mammoth buildings and its big war-ships.

The monument stands on the plateau of Breed's Hill, and on the spot where Prescott built the redoubt. It is one of the pillars of regenerated America. The dockyard occupies the ground from which General Howe thrice advanced to storm the plateau. History has, however, very properly entitled the action the Battle of Bunker

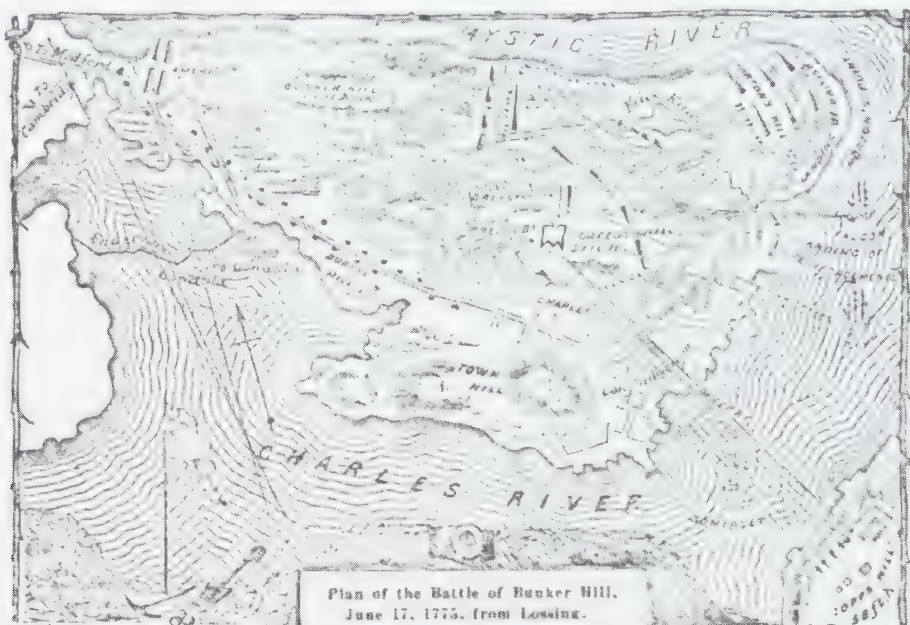
Hill, from the highest elevation of the range which the battle embraced.

Turning now your back to Charlestown, you have the northern section of Boston before you. High above the buildings is a clump of foliage; behind that springs a brown spire, sharp and pointed as a lance. The trees rise above the ancient cemetery of Copp's Hill; the steeple is that of Christ Church. The bridge on which we stand traverses the old ferry-way, where the ships of war lay and cannonaded the Americans. To command it, and the then village of Charlestown, the British had established a field-battery in the cemetery and a frigate in the stream. The church-belfry, already

famous, is the reported station to which Gage, the British generalissimo, ascended alone in order to witness the victory of his troops, and from which he descended silent, abstracted, gloomy, when it was won. We are now ready to proceed.

The lower slopes of Breed's Hill descend almost if not quite to the water's edge. Turning to the right, soon after leaving the public square of Charlestown we begin to ascend the hill, and upon reaching higher ground perceive that the navy-yard is situated at its base. Six or seven minutes suffice for a walk over the ground traversed by the British left wing in its march towards the redoubt.

On arriving at the monument you will see to



the right and left stones placed to mark the position of the northeast and southeast angles of the redoubt, of which scarcely a vestige remains. A third stone indicates the direction of the breast-work which prolonged the defences down the northern slope of the hill towards the Mystic, now in plain view on your right. Upon facing squarely about, you understand the full extent of the danger which threatened Boston from a position like this. It was, in the fullest military sense, a notice to quit the town.

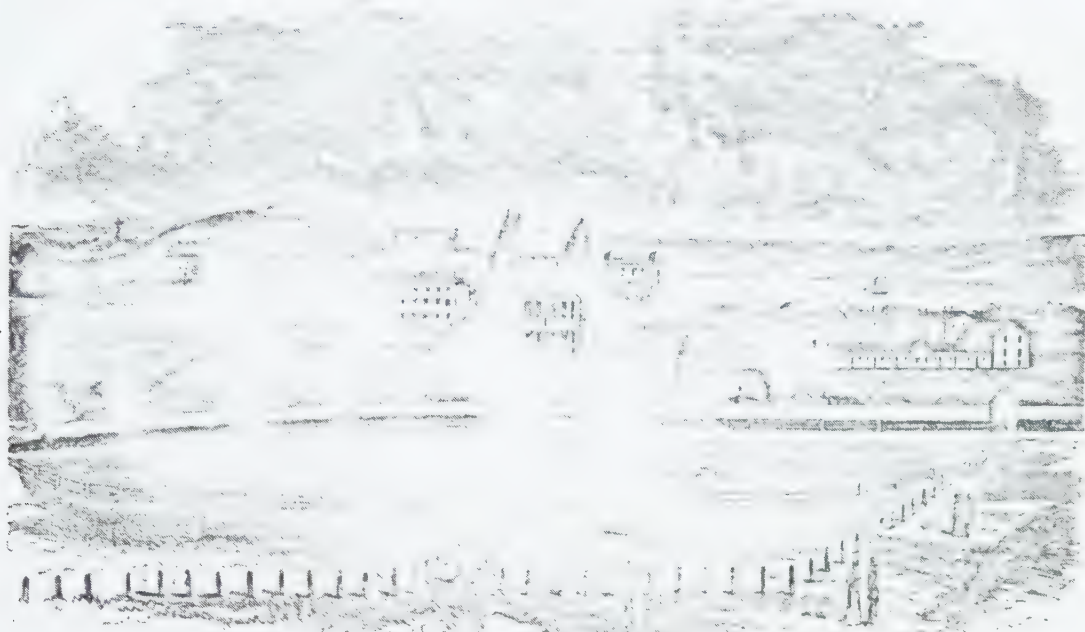
Resuming our walk, and crossing the few rods of grass-ground which the Monument Association has enclosed, we now first get a view of a height beyond, crowned by a church-spire. This is Bunker Hill. The church is situated somewhat to the

right, or northerly, of our stand-point, from which we are able to follow the course of the ridge between the summits, behind which is a little depression, or vale. Now with redoubts on both summits, connected by a line of earthwork along the ridge, with a strong body of sharpshooters in the town, the position was next to impregnable. If the enemy made himself master of Breed's Hill and of the ridge, he was only at the beginning so long as Bunker Hill remained in our possession. The battle was fought with one height fortified and the ridge only partially defended. One man in the provincial ranks knew the importance of Bunker Hill; but we have reason to believe his advice was not regarded, and we know that his efforts were not seconded. In other words, there were jeal-

ousies in those ranks which renders the success of the Americans, such as it was, all the more surprising.

In 1775 the settled part of Charlestown lay along the western base of Breed's Hill. It was traversed throughout by a street leading from the ferry-landing to the neck. A cartway also ascended

Bunker Hill from the neck, and descended it to Moulton's Point. A second cartway crossed from the first to Breed's Hill, and encircled the plateau; but these were only farm-roads traversing fields, intersected by fences. Having now arranged the stage, let us raise the curtain.



Breed's and Bunker Hills from the Navy-Yard, about 1826.

By break of day the Americans had thrown up a strong redoubt, eight rods square, and were working like beavers to complete a breastwork from the redoubt's eastern face down the hill, on its left flank. This breastwork covered the approach to the rear of the redoubt, where the gate was situated. It had been extended about one hundred yards towards the Mystic before the British attack began. Inside it was a banquette of earth, for the defenders to stand upon and fire, but no embrasures had been left for cannon. Such, briefly, were the defences executed by Prescott's detachment between midnight and dawn.

The redoubt fronted nearly south, or towards Charlestown, which indicates the point of attack the American engineer had in view when laying out the work; this face had therefore been rendered stronger by salients. The eastern front, which the breastwork prolonged, looked to defending the position against an advance up the hill, on the side opposite to the settled portion of the town.

The west face bore upon Charles River, the mill-basin, and the mainland beyond.

These simple works were considerably strengthened by natural defences. On the right, those houses skirting the hill were well situated for checking the advances of an enemy through the town. On the extreme left of the American line there were some brick-kilns, clay-pits, and shallow pools in the low ground, which made it difficult for troops to manœuvre. On all sides of the hill the fields were traversed by fences or stone-walls, and dotted with trees. In some enclosures the grass, tall, and ready for the scythe, had already been mowed, and was either stacked or lay in windrows on the ground. In brief, the American redoubt occupied a commanding and advantageous position, about midway between the Charles and Mystic rivers; but without cannon it could do nothing to prevent a landing when and where the enemy pleased. Both flanks were much exposed. The long reach of unoccupied ground between the

breastwork and the Mystic seemed especially to invite attack. Nevertheless, the intrenching detachment had performed a prodigy during the night; the appearance of these works on the morning of the 17th, heralded to the amazed garrison and inhabitants of Boston by salvos of artillery, was to them a new proof that the Americans were conscious of their strength, confident in their courage, and resolute in their purpose to fight.

In Boston everything was in confusion. The cannonade directed against the redoubt on Breed's Hill increased in violence as ship after ship brought her batteries to bear. Soon the guns of the royal artillery on Copp's Hill opened fire; yet, notwithstanding the shower of shot and shell, every moment falling in and around the redoubt, the Americans could still be seen vigorously plying the spade. All at once cheers were heard from the intrenchments, and then a tall and sinewy figure was seen pacing the rampart with the utmost sang-froid. General Gage immediately summoned a council of general officers. There was but one opinion. At every hazard the Americans must be driven from their position. Clinton favored the seizure of Charlestown Neck, which would have isolated the Americans from their reinforcements, cut off retreat, and rendered their situation in the last degree desperate. This proposal was, however, overruled. It was determined to dislodge the insurgents by an attack in front. Orders were at once given to get the light-infantry and grenadier battalions, the 51st, 38th, 43d, 52d, regiments, and some companies of royal artillery under arms. General Howe was directed to take command of these troops, and with them expel the daring provincials from Charlestown.

To assemble the troops, distribute ammunition and rations, to get together a sufficient number of boats in order to transport them to Charlestown, required some hours. Notwithstanding the utmost expedition, it was nearly noon before this could be accomplished, and the troops embarked. These hours were of incalculable value to the Americans. The bombardment continued, but the way over Charlestown Neck was still open. Seven hours had elapsed since the cannonade began. What was doing at Cambridge during these hours?

The cannonade had also roused the camps at Cambridge, and sounded its peremptory reveille all along the American line of investment. What was the situation at Cambridge? Everywhere consternation, confusion, indecision. At the British head-

quarters it was the confusion of surprise, out of which came delay. At the American headquarters, where everything was foreseen, and where this precious delay might be turned to golden account, there was an astounding failure to act with either vigor, intelligence, or moral courage. In one word, the exigency which had been invited and was now confronting him found the commander-in-chief of the army hesitating, unprepared, and a prey to the most cruel perplexity. This moral prostration was of evil augury for the success of the day. Two or three regiments were, however, ordered under arms.

After leaving the detachment on Breed's Hill, General Putnam rode back to camp. Before dawn he was at the general-in-chief's, at Cambridge, soliciting the men and provisions which had been promised for Breed's Hill. Hearing the firing, he again mounted his horse, and, without waiting for the reinforcements, galloped off for Charlestown. His son, who was at Inman's, finding the general was not in camp, set out in pursuit of him. At headquarters he learned that the object of his search had rejoined the detachment on Breed's Hill. "Your father," said Colonel Ward,¹ "was here before dawn of day this morning, but has gone back to Charlestown."²

The scene on Breed's Hill during the early hours of the morning was little calculated to inspire confidence in successful resistance. The terrific cannonade, the noise of flying missiles, shook the nerves of Prescott's inexperienced soldiers. One was killed by a cannon-ball, and buried on the spot by Prescott's order. Swift destruction seemed menacing this devoted band. Signs of wavering began to be visible in the ranks. The men had toiled all the night, and were worn out with fatigue, hunger, and thirst. Ill-omened murmurs began to be heard. It was at this critical moment that Prescott leaped upon the unfinished mound and began his walk upon the rampart. For an instant his men gazed open-mouthed, then they broke out in a deafening huzza which drowned the roar of artillery. This act restored confidence; but the men still clamored to be relieved.

The bustle and movement of bodies of troops in Boston were plainly visible from the redoubt. About nine o'clock, ceding to the importunities of his officers, Prescott despatched Major Brooks, of his own regiment, to headquarters to ask for reinforcements and supplies; with the instinct of a sol-

¹ General A. Ward's aide-de-camp and military secretary.

² Statement of Colonel Daniel Putnam, son of the general.

dier he refused to ask to be relieved. We respect the refusal; but Colonel Prescott's martial instinct by no means exonerates the general of the army.¹

It is not possible to tell how many of the original twelve hundred remained on Breed's Hill at noon. Many deserted before this hour, or upon witnessing the embarkation of the British troops, regiment after regiment, battalion upon battalion; while their eyes were every moment turned, in vain, in the direction whence help must come. By ten o'clock work upon the fortifications had ceased. The intrenching tools were piled in the rear of the lines; the men silently and sternly contemplated the preparations of their enemies.

Thus far Putnam is the only general officer whose active supervision of the operations at Charlestown is apparent. He is ubiquitous. Night and day he is its directing head. He goes with Prescott's detachment to Breed's Hill; sees the intrenchment begin without discovery; rides before dawn to Cambridge and confers with General Ward; is on his way back with the first British gun. After a hasty reconnoissance at Bunker Hill, he again rides to Cambridge and renews his request for reinforcements; but even his impetuosity, even his clearness of view, cannot shake off the fatal stupor at headquarters. The report now is that the enemy's fleet is battering the intrenchment; that the bustle and confusion in Boston mean that the work cut out for General Gage will very shortly be taken in hand. From this last interview the fiery old veteran turns his horse's head once more towards the peninsula. As he rides over the neck he meets Brooks hastening on foot to headquarters.

Enough has been said in order to show that Bunker Hill was all-important to the provincials intrenched on Breed's Hill. We have described how entirely it commanded, not only this hill, but the neck and the adjacent waters. Now if the provincial lines on Breed's Hill should be forced, the defenders could fall back on Bunker Hill; and this, we think, was the idea which ruled the midnight council held on the brow of this eminence. The position was so vital to the Americans that

¹ Gordon, whose opportunities for getting accurate information were better than those of any one who has yet undertaken to explain this abandonment of the detachment on Breed's Hill, says that, "By some unaccountable error, the detachment which had been working for hours was neither relieved, nor supplied with refreshments, but was left to engage under these disadvantages." This may fairly be presumed to express the sentiment prevailing when he wrote.

the neglect to hold it, by means of suitable defences, could only inspire amazement. Whoever kept Bunker Hill held Charlestown at his mercy.

Ten o'clock, and no reinforcements. Putnam rides up to the redoubt, and orders the intrenching tools carried to Bunker Hill. Prescott ventures to remonstrate, but obeys.¹ On Breed's Hill the tools can no longer be of use, but something may be done with them on Bunker Hill. Still, it is the skulkers' opportunity, and is embraced with alacrity. From all parts of the line volunteers run to pick up a mattock, or a spade, with which they hurry off to the rear.² Doubtless some returned to their posts later in the day. With the men thus collected, some beginning was made towards an intrenchment on Bunker Hill. Seeing men collecting here, the enemy directed their fire upon it. They soon got the range, and balls fell thickly upon the summit and slopes. Shot and shell were dropping, and bursting in the little valley between the two hills, rendering movement from one to the other hazardous.

Now, with the flood-tide, the enemy had brought a frigate and two floating batteries into the basin of Charles River. These vessels, after anchoring as near to the mill-dam as possible, unmasked their broadsides, and opened a point-blank fire on Charlestown Neck. Through this fire, through a hail of missiles falling on Bunker Hill, through the valley, enfiladed by the broadsides of the fleet, the American reinforcements must march to Breed's Hill. The five or six hours' opportunity was lost.

During the forenoon two ship's guns, with their platforms, had been sent to the redoubt; but there were no embrasures from which to fire them. The cannoners had already left the work. The intrenching tools were gone. What was to be done? In this dilemma Prescott turned to a subordinate, Captain Bancroft of Bridge's regiment, and asked him if he could do anything with the guns. Bancroft immediately ordered the soldiers to dig down the thick embankment *with their hands*. They at once attacked it with a will. Men never worked with greater zeal. Many dug until their bleeding hands compelled them to desist. In order to loosen the earth a cannon was loaded, and fired into the embankment. One or two balls fell in the streets

¹ Prescott does not ask Putnam, as he afterwards asks Warren, if he came to take the command. He simply acknowledges and submits to the order of his superior.

² Prescott did not undertake to stop the men and execute the order in a proper way.

of Boston, thus acquainting the enemy that cannon were mounted on the rebel works.

At about the same hour of the British embarkation in all the splendor of its magnificent array, General Ward sent an order to Colonel Stark, at Medford, for two hundred men of this regiment to march at once to Breed's Hill. The order, being unexpected, was not so promptly executed as it should have been; but as soon as ammunition could be served out, the two hundred, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Wyman, marched for the front. An hour would be required to arrive at Breed's Hill. Wyman halted in the valley between Winter Hill and Ploughed Hill, to rest his men, where he was found by Stark, who ordered him to push on. This was the first reinforcement that reached the American lines. It was first halted by General Putnam's order on Bunker Hill, and the men set to work intrenching. Subsequently it took post on the right of the lines, and was not again seen by Stark until the close of the action.

At about two o'clock, under protection of the guns of the Lively and Falcon, the British troops landed without opposition at Moulton's Point, on that part of Charlestown peninsula opposite the town and nearest to Noddle's Island. From their landing-place the view of the town was partly intercepted by Breed's Hill, whose northern slopes rose before them. Directly in their front lay the long declivity of Bunker Hill. To be more explicit, Moulton's, or Moreton's, Point was the northeastern extremity of the peninsula, at the confluence of the Charles and Mystic rivers. It embraced a moderate elevation which the enemy immediately occupied.

While his artillery was being landed, and his battalions forming on the slight elevation which ascended from the marshy shore, General Howe examined the American position. Before him, and a little to his left, rose Breed's Hill, its summit crowned by the redoubt, its northern slope divided by the breastwork, its southern defended by the houses of the town. The houses were occupied, the redoubt and breastwork seemed swarming with men. From the breastwork to the Mystic the line was prolonged by what looked like a thick-set hedge, which was also strongly manned. In this line was an angle, seemingly designed to rake the ground over which his troops must pass to gain the enemy's extreme right. A considerable body of provincials were moving about the summit of Bunker Hill or down towards the lines at its foot.

The miry nature of the ground at the lower slopes of Breed's Hill was evident. The walls and fences, in his front, were so many impediments. However, the beach, on his right, presented a practicable road, protected from the enemy's fire. At about equal distances in front of him there was a sudden depression of the hill on the right, and a stone-wall on the left, which would serve admirably as advanced positions for his columns of attack. The British general determined to push a strong column by the beach, for the enemy's left, while another assaulted the redoubt in front. If the first attack succeeded, he would have the defenders of the redoubt in a trap. But, finding the American defences not only much stronger than he imagined, but being constantly strengthened by the arrival of fresh troops, after having settled his plan of attack he decided against an advance with his present force of about two thousand men, but immediately sent to General Gage a request for reinforcements. The soldiers were ordered to eat their dinners, and for an hour no hostile movement took place. This delay was General Howe's mistake.

General Gage promptly answered his subordinate's demand by sending him the 47th regiment, Nesbitt's, the first marine battalion, Pitcairn's, and some additional companies of light-infantry and grenadiers. Instead of joining the main body, at Moulton's Point, these troops landed near the present entrance of the Navy-yard, or directly under the eastern slopes of Breed's Hill. They were, therefore, evidently intended to operate against the redoubt. It was three in the afternoon, sultry and oppressive, when Howe deployed his columns of attack.

When a messenger reached Cambridge with news of the landing, town and camps were thrown into an uproar, — the one by the village bells, the other by drums beating to arms. Orders were now sent in haste to various regiments in Cambridge to march for Breed's Hill with all possible expedition; to Stark at Medford, and Reed at Charlestown Neck. From the situation of his camp, Reed should have been first on the ground. The roads were soon filled with regiments moving towards the scene of action. But to reach it they must go through the fire which raked Charlestown Neck. The ordeal was indeed a trying one for raw soldiers. Some hesitated to cross in close order, and did so in squads and detachments. Some refused to cross at all, but halted where the enemy's balls could not

reach them; and some had been ordered to halt here for further orders. In this crowd were the regiments of Reed, Jonathan Brewer, Nixon, Little, Gerrish, Doolittle, Scammon, Gardner, Gridley, and possibly others. It was the moment for testing the quality of these officers.

Precisely at what time or in what order these reinforcements crossed the neck to the peninsula is impossible to know. The scene was one of strange confusion and excitement; but the regiments of Reed, Stark, Brewer, Nixon, Little, Gerrish, Doolittle, and Gardner, with Callender's and Trevett's companies of artillery, filed across before the attack began. It was this thin line, which distance exaggerated into masses of men, that caused Howe's delay and Gage's anxiety.

When Stark reached the neck he found his way blocked by two regiments. He immediately sent his major to desire their commanders either to move on or to open a passage. The regiments did not move on, but allowed the gallant New Hampshire men to precede them. While they were marching through the fiery gantlet, the captain¹ of the leading company ventured to suggest a quicker step to his colonel, but the seasoned veteran coolly observed to his subordinate that one fresh man in action was worth ten fatigued ones, and continued his route with the same deliberation as before. On reaching Bunker Hill, Stark halted for his rear to come up.

The hour taken to refresh and reinforce his troops was to give the approaching combat a new and more terrible aspect for General Howe. It was the salvation of the Americans.

When Prescott saw the British troops landing at a point nearly in the rear of the fort instead of in its front, he ordered Captain Gridley to take his two pieces out of the redoubt and attack the enemy while they were disembarking. Knowlton was ordered to support Gridley with his Connecticut detachment. Instead of obeying the order he had received, the officer moved off with his guns towards Bunker Hill, that is to say, towards the American rear. Prescott also ordered a detachment of his own regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Robinson, to take post on the enemy's flank.² The remainder of his command were in the redoubt and behind the breastwork.

The enemy, it was seen, was in a position where

he outflanked the American lines. He had only to advance boldly through that terrible gap, between the left point of the breastwork and Mystic River, to be in the rear of the American defences. A few minutes' march would compel the instant desertion of the redoubt and breastwork. If this movement were aided by a simultaneous attack on the redoubt, the result might, if entirely successful, be the capture of the force under Prescott's immediate command; for it is unnecessary to repeat that as soon as the head of a British column penetrated this gap retreat was cut off.

Prescott's attempt to annoy the British while in the confusion of landing having proved abortive, he contented himself with remaining quietly at his post. He took no steps to secure his unprotected flank, though its danger was too apparent not to be thoroughly appreciated. He could spare no more men, and, as has been seen, was not able to enforce obedience to his orders.

But Prescott's danger was both seen and felt by General Putnam. He clearly discerned the full importance of filling that gap in the lines. So much was clear, but what were the means? Two hundred yards behind the redoubt, and running towards the Mystic, was one of those stone-walls before spoken of. When the enclosure was made a trench had been dug, and above this was piled the low wall of loose stones surmounted by wooden rails, in common use in New England. Here was a natural breastwork, slight, but defensible, extending in the general direction of the American front line. It did not, however, close the gap. There were still two hundred yards of open space between the end of the breastwork and the wall, or fence. This space was partly covered by an orchard.

Seeing the artillery, and Knowlton leaving the lines and marching to the rear, Putnam hurriedly rode up, and, pointing with his sword to the wall just described, ordered Knowlton to man it. The order was instantly obeyed. Perceiving another fence in front of them, Knowlton's men pulled up the pickets, and having first fixed them in the ground near their own wall, thrust the rails through those of the first. They then heaped the space between with the newly mown hay lying on the field. In this way they constructed what was, in appearance, a very formidable intrenchment, but which was, on the contrary, neither musket nor cannon proof.

After a brief halt on Bunker Hill, and a spirited address to his men, Stark led his regiment, one of the largest on the field, to the rail-fence, taking a

¹ Afterwards Major-General Dearborn, U. S. A.

² Colonel Robinson is supposed to have gone to the right, into the town, or behind the natural defences of the redoubt.

position next to the Mystic, on Knowlton's left. Reed closed the gap between Stark and Knowlton. As the fence stopped short on the bank of the river, which was here elevated a little above the beach, Stark ordered some of his men to heap up stones as far as low-water mark, and to post themselves behind. The rest were soon busy protecting their front, as Knowlton had done. He soon had his flank covered, and at the same time blocked the road by which Howe meant to launch one of his columns. Stark then coolly surveyed the ground in his front, and after having attentively observed the movements of the British right, to which he found himself opposed, fixed a mark eight or ten rods distant from his battle-line, and, pointing it out to his men, told them not to fire a shot until the enemy had reached that spot. Thus at the two points selected by Sir William Howe for his attack a formidable resistance was already prepared.

Colonels Brewer, Nixon, and Little also led their regiments to the lines. Major Moore brought up a part of Doolittle's, and Adjutant Febiger a part of Gerrish's. Gardner, after sending Harris's company over to Stark, halted with the rest of his regiment on Bunker Hill. Gerrish did the same. Gardner's and portions of Nixon's and Brewer's were from Middlesex. Three braver officers did not unsheathe a sword on this day. Their battalions were weak in numbers, but, under the eye and example of such leaders, invincible. Brewer had about one hundred and fifty men, Nixon twice as many. It is impracticable to give the strength of the other battalions.

Brewer and Nixon immediately directed their march for the undefended opening so often referred to, between the rail-fence and earthwork.¹ They also began the construction of a hay breast-work, but when they had extended it to within thirty rods of Prescott's line the enemy advanced to the assault. The greater part of these two battalions stood and fought here without cover throughout the action, both officers and men displaying the utmost coolness and intrepidity under fire.

Up to this hour Putnam was the only general officer on the field. He had naturally and legitimately assumed the command to which his rank entitled him. The orders he had given had been obeyed at the redoubt, the rail-fence, and on Bunker Hill. He had been applied to for orders, had given them, and had known how to make them

respected. With or without orders from headquarters, Putnam's assumption of chief command is undeniable. Colonel Prescott understood his authority to limit him to defending the fort; consequently he did not attempt to control the movements of any troops not of his original detachment by giving them orders. Putnam understood his duty to be that of opposing the British general, wherever he might choose to attack, with every available man and musket. General Howe had developed his plan of attack; Putnam had organized the stone-wall defence without which there would have been no battle, but only a rout. It is true, Bunker Hill had been the great object of his solicitude, but it was now too late to think of Bunker Hill. Possession of the redoubt being the object of the British attack, Prescott's was the important position of the American line. Further than this, we must consider him as fighting on an equality with Colonels Stark, Reed, Brewer, and Nixon.

Just as the battle was about to begin, General Pomeroy arrived on the field, taking his station at the rail-fence amid the cheers of the provincials. He came only as a volunteer, but his presence and example infused new courage into the men. At this moment, too, a young man, somewhat below middle stature, but graceful and well-knit, appeared at the rail-fence armed with a musket. He was elegantly attired in the dress of a civilian, presenting, in this respect, a marked contrast to the man whom he accosted, and who was in his shirt-sleeves. But the same unconquerable spirit animated both. One was young, handsome, brave, the idol of the people, the hope of the Revolution; the other was already old, but, like the knarled and sturdy oak, seemed to defy the assaults of time. This was the hero of the fighting element of the army,—the brave, the heroic Putnam. To none was this daring spirit better known than to him who now approached. A brief conversation ensued.

Putnam declared himself ready to receive the orders of General Warren. But Warren had no thought of assuming command. He had too just a conception of his own position, too punctilious a sense of honor, to deprive Putnam of his authority. Declining to give orders, he asked the general where he could be most useful. Putnam pointed to the redoubt, saying, "You will be covered there." "Don't think," rejoined the heroic young soldier, "I came here to seek a place of safety; tell me where the onset will be most furious." Again

¹ Little's and Doolittle's were also probably at this point.

Putnam pointed to the redoubt. "That is the enemy's object; if that can be defended, the day is ours." Warren walked rapidly to the redoubt. On entering it he was received with loud cheering. To these Massachusetts men his person was well known. Colonel Prescott immediately tendered him the command of the redoubt, but Warren generously declined it. Instead of remaining under cover of the work, the young citizen-general retraced his steps as far as the gap. He had instinctively recognized the post of honor, and of danger. His reception here was as enthusiastic as at the redoubt, but at this moment the enemy was seen advancing all along the line.

The American battle-line, now complete, closed the peninsula from river to river. On the right Wyman and Robinson, with about three hundred men, occupied Charlestown and the defences next to the redoubt. One hundred and sixty-three men in their shirt-sleeves, with Prescott in command, occupied the redoubt. Men of his own, of Bridge's, and of Frye's regiments lined the earth breastwork; and here we venture to place Colonel Frye, who came on the field in time to take part in the engagement. Brewer and Nixon, with about four hundred and fifty men, stood in the gap, with Warren and Pomeroy at their head. Then came Knowlton, whose original command was two hundred; then Reed and Stark, whose united force could not have exceeded seven hundred men. Putnam posted himself behind this line. We suppose the defenders of the whole line to have numbered from eighteen hundred to two thousand men, more than half of whom were from Massachusetts, and more than one third from Middlesex County.

It was about half-past three when General Howe put his columns in motion.

The guns were ordered to open fire on the redoubt and breastwork, and to advance. The light-infantry battalion was moved up on the extreme right, the 38th filed out from the rear of the column and took a position on the left of the artillery. After moving forward over about half the distance to the redoubt, through various impediments, the artillery halted and concentrated its fire upon the rail-fence. The light-infantry also halted, under the break of ground which sheltered it, and the 38th drew up behind the stone-wall which covered it from the fire of the redoubt.

Having gained this ground in his front, Howe now moved the 5th and 43d over to the left, to the support of the 38th. The 47th and the Marines

were ordered to take a position on the left of these battalions, when General Pigot formed the whole in order of battle, protected by the rapid slope of the hill in his front. These troops now enveloped the southern and eastern faces of the redoubt. So far the movement had met with no other opposition than an irregular musketry-fire from the houses upon the British left, which occasioned some loss. Seeing this, General Howe sent a messenger to General Burgoyne, who superintended the cannonade from Copp's Hill, with a request to burn the town. Charlestown was soon on fire in twenty places, compelling the withdrawal of the American sharpshooters within their lines.

While the left attack was thus organizing under Pigot's supervision, the grenadiers were moved forward in the direction of the rail-fence; the 52d, deploying on their left, marched for the breastwork; the light-infantry were ordered to leave their shelter, and, taking up their march in column along the beach, force their way through the extreme left of the rebel works and gain their rear. This being done, the results previously pointed out must quickly follow. Appreciating its importance, General Howe, in person, led this attack. The bugles sounded. The whole glittering line pressed onward towards the American works.

Thus far General Howe had made his dispositions in a most soldierly manner. He had formed his line by simply extending and developing his left. Charlestown was in flames, and its defenders in full retreat. Now for the rail-fence, at which eight guns were steadily pounding away with shot and shell, grape and canister.

The British left, having the shortest distance to traverse, came first within musket-range. It began a harmless fire upon the redoubt and breastwork. There the steady advance, admirable precision, and confident bearing of the enemy produced almost a panic. It was an awful moment for rustic soldiery. Anxious looks were turned to the rear, but no reinforcements were in sight. Still the gleaming battle-line came on. Now its fire swept the rampart. The officers could be seen waving their swords towards the redoubt. By a simultaneous movement the Americans began to desert the eastern front of the redoubt. In another moment all would be lost. Feeling the importance of checking this panic, Prescott hastened to the men, and by dint of argument, entreaty, and promises induced them to go back to their posts. The enemy being now within half musket-range, a few shots

were discharged from the redoubt, but firing soon stopped, as the order passed to let the enemy come *within thirty yards*. "Aim low!" "Pick out the handsome coats!" were the officers' cool commands to their men.

For an instant or two a deathlike stillness reigned in the redoubt; then, as the head of the assaulting columns crossed the fatal boundary, the command was given to fire. Instantly the redoubt flamed like a volcano, the breastwork was in a blaze; while a cloud of smoke, lighted by incessant flashes of musketry, enveloped friend and foe in its murky embrace. The enemy fell in heaps, — actually in heaps. This butchery lasted some moments.

This rude reception where an easy conquest was looked for astonished the enemy. On his left the Royal Marines were in utter confusion. Unable to advance, disdaining to fly, they were shot down by files and platoons. Pitcairn was killed under the redoubt, and borne off the field in the arms of his son.¹ The 47th, led by the cruel Nesbitt, fared no better. The 5th, 38th, 43d, 52d, were stopped short, while officers and men were dropping right and left before the incessant and accurate fire of Prescott's men. Pigot's attack was handsomely repulsed all along his front, and after stubbornly enduring the murderous fire a few moments the bugles sounded a retreat.

General Howe advanced boldly on the right, the grenadiers occasionally stopping to pull down the fences in their way. Most of the troops in this attack had been in the battle of the 19th of April; and officers and men were full of determination to wipe away the disgrace their arms had suffered on that day.

The artillery continued to play upon the fence. The British officers, supposing it to be a natural hedge, held it in no great dread. As soon as the attacking columns came within range, two pieces Putnam had brought up opened a destructive fire. Putnam himself pointed these guns. The general then rode along the line giving his famous order not to fire until the men could see the white of the enemy's eyes. Soon the smoke of burning Charlestown, rising above Breed's Hill, drifted in a heavy cloud towards the hostile battalions. Now the crash of musketry, the uproar of the onset raging at the redoubt, came down the green hillside.

¹ His son, a lieutenant in his father's corps, carried his expiring father upon his back to the boats, about a quarter of a mile, kissed him, and then returned to his duty, to be himself wounded a little later in the action.

Excited by the scene, a few of the provincials discharged their muskets at the grenadiers, when Putnam rode to the spot and threatened to cut down the first who fired before the command was given. These dropping shots, however, drew from the enemy a harmless fire in return.

Here, as at the redoubt, the Americans reserved their fire until the enemy had come within half musket-range. The command was then given. The carnage at the redoubt and breastwork was repeated. With the first discharge, the head of the light-infantry was shot away by Stark's men, who loaded and fired amid exclamations of "There!" "See that officer!" which immediately directed twenty unerring bullets upon a single victim. Unable to deploy, the front of this column was rolled back in disorder upon the centre and rear. The company of Royal Welsh, which had so gallantly led, was reduced to a platoon. In this sorry predicament, huddled together in a confused mass, the light-infantry kept up a desultory, ineffective fire upon the fence.

Led by their general, whose soldierly figure was conspicuous, the grenadiers were soon enveloped by the same deadly fusillade in front and flank. It never slackened. Whole ranks were carried away. If the fire directed by Putnam in front had not checked the gallant but vain effort to gain the fence, the flank fire from Warren's position was more than flesh and blood could endure. At one moment Howe found himself alone, without officers, without soldiers. Clearly seeing the struggle was useless, he gave the order to fall back. In ten minutes from the time musketry began, it was all over. All along the line the attack had failed.

The enemy withdrew out of range, and for nearly an hour there was a truce to the combat.

While Howe and Pigot were closing up their shattered battalions for a fresh assault, the repulse had been witnessed from Boston, and a second reinforcement, consisting of the Second Marine battalion and some companies of grenadiers, was hurried across the river. The enemy's ships of war recommenced their fire upon the American works with greater fury than before.

When the British assaulting columns fell back, followed by the exultant huzzas of the Americans, General Putnam rode through the hot fire to Bunker Hill to bring up the provincials that were loitering there. Colonel Gerrish, with part of his regiment, had sheltered himself behind the northern side of the eminence, and now pleaded exhaustion

as an excuse for not coming up to the front. With such an example, little could be expected of the men. In the language of a well-informed writer, "General Putnam endeavored to rally these troops. He used entreaty and command, and offered to lead them into action, but without much effect." The general pushed on to the neck, but those provincials on the other side were afraid to encounter the fire of the frigate and batteries of the enemy. The result of this effort was that few if any reinforcements reached the lines at this time.

As the general rode up Bunker Hill he met Captain Callender hastening from the field with his guns. Putnam ordered him to halt, when this officer explained that his ammunition was gone. The general dismounted, and finding some cartridges still in the boxes, peremptorily ordered Callender back, who refused to obey until threatened with instant death, when he returned up the hill again. The guns were, however, soon deserted, when, seeing Ford's company of Bridge's regiment coming on the field, Putnam ordered it to take the abandoned pieces to the rail-fence.

The exultation of the Americans was succeeded by exasperation as they contemplated the conflagration of Charlestown. It was a grand and impressive sight. The flames spread from house to house; from street to street, roaring and crackling with indescribable fury. Soon the spire of the meeting-house was a pyramid of fire. The crash of falling roofs, of ships blazing upon the stocks, contributed to the general uproar; while the heavy booming of artillery, the smoke that hung like a pall over the battle-field, made it one of the most terrific scenes of war young soldiers were ever called upon to witness. Besides the combatants actually engaged, thousands of spectators thronged the neighboring hillsides or crowded the house-tops of Boston.

The second assault was as disastrous to the assailants as the first. The British general obstinately pursued the same tactics, and with the same result; but with courage worthy a better cause he persevered. He had now ascertained the weak point in the American defences to be the diagonal line from the breastwork to the rail-fence: but his troops had in these two attacks been horribly maltreated. Whole companies had disappeared; battalions had shrunk to companies. His best officers were among the heaps of dead and dying that encumbered the ground in front of the rebel works. Every man of the grenadier company of the 52d was either killed or wounded. Both cap-

tains, two lieutenants, and forty-four rank and file were *hors du combat* in the two flank companies of the King's Own. Overcome by panic, many of the soldiers rushed to the boats, and threw themselves into them, crying that the day was lost.

General Howe possessed in a remarkable degree the bull-dog tenacity of his race. He now prepared for a final and decisive effort. The surviving officers drove the dispirited soldiers back to their colors, using the flat, and sometimes the point, of their swords. The reinforcements had landed on the beach and were hesitating which way to march, when General Clinton, who had witnessed the repulse from Copp's Hill, crossed the river in a boat and put himself at their head. Once more the attenuated battalions closed up their ranks, and once more their diminished line advanced towards the rebel works.

Within those lines the two attacks had wellnigh exhausted the scanty stock of ammunition. Some had fired their last round. Others, believing the day won, were straggling away from the defences. Many had been badly wounded, and were being carried off the field by their comrades. Far too many were thus engaged; but, unfortunately, the discipline so conspicuous on the other side of the works, could not yet be enforced on this. A few gallant spirits, among them Chester's Connecticut company and Trevett's artillery, braved all the dangers of the march to gain the American lines; still the accessions were too few to fill the gaps in that long, weakly-manned intrenchment.

The British artillery had now taken a position from which it enfiladed the gap. With the remains of the grenadiers and light-infantry, Howe directed his march towards this breach in the American works, this time merely threatening the invincible rail-fence. Pigot and Clinton were to make a third attempt to storm the redoubt and breastwork, in front; while the Marines and the 47th were gaining ground more to their left, which would bring them under the redoubt's western angle and turn the American left. The officers placed themselves before the line. The men were ordered to throw off their knapsacks, to advance in open order, and not to fire; but when the word was given, to rush upon the rebel intrenchments with the bayonet.

Seeing these preparations betokened the final struggle, Prescott caused the contents of a few cannon cartridges—all the ammunition remaining in the redoubt—to be distributed. He exhorted his men to stand firm and ordered them

again to reserve their fire, and not to waste a kernel of powder. The enemy had avoided the west front of the redoubt, where the cannon were in his former assaults, but the movement of the two battalions on his left was ominous. By the time Prescott finished his dispositions to receive him, the enemy for the third time closed in around the redoubt.

At this moment Warren despatched sixty men to Prescott's assistance with the offer of more, but the commander of the redoubt told the officer who carried the message, that he had already as many men as could fight with advantage inside the work. The officer, however, made his way into the redoubt and took part in the catastrophe.

The weary defenders of the redoubt were overcome by their previous efforts, but they had imbibed the spirit of their indomitable leader. Not a man stirred from his post. Awaiting the advance of the scarlet line with grim determination, they held their fire until the enemy were close to the trenches. It was shockingly fatal. Again the enemy was staggered; but the American fire was growing weak. It was no longer the terrific fusillade of the first and second attacks. The enemy pressed on. On their left the Marines and the 47th, rallying from the confusion caused by the first volley, leaped the ditch and climbed the parapet under a sore and heavy fire. Two captains fell in gaining it. Three captains of the 52d were killed on the parapet. Captain Harris of the 5th, who had distinguished himself at Lexington, was shot down in the act of mounting it. For a few moments the resistance was as stubborn as the onset was furious; but the Americans were now no longer able to maintain the combat upon equal terms. Their powder was gone. The royal troops crowded the parapet, from which they fired down into the faces of the provincials. An officer of noble bearing haughtily demanded the surrender of the garrison, but fell dead almost as soon as the words were uttered. Furious, raging like a lion at bay, Prescott's voice rose above the horrible din. The Americans fought like madmen. They wrenched the muskets from the hands of their assailants, and with them bayoneted their owners. Some hurled stones, and others clubbed their now useless weapons in sheer desperation. A horrible and sanguinary *mélée* raged within the four walls of the redoubt, above which rose clouds of dust that blinded the combatants. Twice Prescott's little band cleared the redoubt of enemies, but the exasperated Britons returned to the charge with a

determination to conquer or die. Slowly, step by step, they made a road with the bayonet, forcing the defenders backwards towards the gorge. While this unheard-of resistance was going on, sharp musketry began in the rear of the redoubt. The cry arose that the Americans were surrounded. Prescott now gave the order to his men to save themselves, when the heroic garrison ran out of the work in time to receive a volley from the flanking column which had passed around the western side and gained the rear unperceived. Crowded with dead and dying, the blood-stained fortress was at last in possession of the triumphant enemy.

With the fall of the redoubt the breastwork was deserted, and the enemy began to show in force in the rear of this part of the line. Warren's men, who had securely held the gap against the renewed efforts of the grenadiers, were now between two fires, and were, in their turn, compelled to beat a hasty retreat. While doing so a ball struck down their brave leader, who fell, meeting a soldier's death. Brewer, Nixon, and Buckminster were wounded, the last two severely.

The Americans who had fought under Prescott were now running down Breed's Hill amid a shower of bullets; while the enemy, flushed with victory, followed close behind. Two things contributed to save this detachment from annihilation.

In the first place, the gallant Gardner led his men down Bunker Hill towards the flying Americans, followed by parts of Ward's and Gerrish's regiments.¹ He received a mortal wound, and was taken to the rear; but under command of Major Jackson² this brave band advanced and opened a well-directed fire, which checked the enemy's progress in this quarter.

In the second place, the defenders of the rail-fence, who had so successfully held their own line, easily repulsed the third demonstration of Howe in their front. But this was merely a demonstration to aid the attack on the redoubt. A brisk fire was, however, kept up on both sides, until after the redoubt was stormed and the breastwork abandoned. The firmness and intrepidity with which the rail-fence was held saved the American right wing from destruction; for, had the retreat been simultaneous all along the line, there is little room to doubt that

¹ Cushing's, Smith's, and Washburn's companies of Ward's regiment, and Febiger's party of Gerrish's. — *Siege of Boston*, p. 151.

² Of Newton; afterwards colonel of the 8th Continental regiment.



it would have resulted in prodigious slaughter. As it was, the provincials at the fence maintained a bold front until the fugitives had gained some distance on their pursuers, and then, their own flank being turned, they began an orderly retreat.

The Americans, now crowded about the summit of Bunker Hill, drew the enemy's concentrated fire of cannon and musketry. Men were falling fast here. Already a stream of fugitives flowed towards the neck. Those who had been driven from the redoubt were incapable of further resistance. Those who had not been in action were disheartened by the retreat, bewildered by the confusion. Putnam made a heroic effort to restore the fortunes of the day. He commanded, besought the fugitives to rally in the unfinished breastworks,—the breastworks he had so persistently endeavored to put in a condition of defence. Standing by a deserted cannon, he exclaimed, "Make a stand here! In God's name, form and give them one shot more!" Pomeroy vainly seconded these efforts—useless, because panic had already seized upon the multitude. A few fragments of provincial battalions are reported as arriving on the field at this critical juncture; but they were too late. Finding his efforts to collect men enough for successful opposition unavailing, Putnam, with such as fear had not overcome, fell back fighting from Bunker Hill. Not until the enemy were close upon him was the ground yielded. The crowd of weary, beaten, and terror-stricken fugitives made their escape from the peninsula under protection of this unconquerable rear-guard, and he who had crossed the neck with the intrenching detachment was now the last to leave it, sword in hand, his face to the enemy.

Putnam retreated no farther than Prospect Hill, and there bivouacked for the night in sight of the enemy. No other general officer was with him; nor did he receive any orders from headquarters.

The British brought up one or two field-pieces with which they cannonaded the American rear. By five o'clock they were in full possession of the peninsula, but no movement to pursue the Americans was made. The royal troops were too much exhausted for further offensive action. Their losses had been enormous; and, although the insurgents were driven from all their positions, it was felt that another such victory would be the undoing of the royal army. An advance upon Cambridge was a measure fraught with danger for the Americans; but, fortunately for the integrity of their camps and magazines, General Howe felt him-

self too much crippled to attempt it; and General Gage could spare no more troops while Thomas menaced him from Roxbury. Both combatants were for the moment exhausted by their efforts, and both instinctively recoiled from further conflict.

The British troops bivouacked on the field. The remains of the 52d took post at the neck, fatigue-parties were set to work intrenching on Bunker Hill, and collecting and caring for the wounded. By sunset firing had ceased. Throughout the night the wounded were being conveyed across the river. In Boston the streets were filled with vehicles bearing their ghastly burdens to the different hospitals. Not a regiment but was in mourning for some of its best and bravest; not a mess but had lost some of its number.

The official report of the British loss was 226 killed, 828 wounded; a total of 1,054. Many of the wounded subsequently died. Major Williams of the 52d and Spendlove of the 43d died of their wounds. An unheard-of number of officers were hit. Pitcairn was one of the best and most popular officers in the army. Colonel Abercrombie, adjutant-general, had only joined it the previous month. While being borne off the field, mortally wounded, he exclaimed to his men, "If you take General Putnam alive, don't hang him; for he is a brave man!"

The American official account fixes their loss at 115 killed, 305 wounded, 30 prisoners. Mr. Frothingham assigns these losses as follows:—

	Killed.	Wounded.
Prescott's regiment	43	28
Bridge's "	15	29
Frye's "	15	31
Brewer's "	7	11
Little's "	7	23
Gardner's "	6	7
Nixon's "	3	10
Woodbridge's "	1	5
Doolittle's "	0	9
Gridley's "	0	4
Ward's "	1	6
Scammon's "	0	2
Gerrish's "	3	2
Whitcomb's "	5	8
Stark's "	15	45
Reed's "	5	21
Putnam's "	11	20
Chester's Company	4	4

Killed, 140; wounded, 271; captured, 30; total 441.¹

¹ Gordon gives: killed, 139; wounded, 278; missing, 26; total, 443.

It will be seen that Prescott's, Bridge's, and Frye's regiments, the defenders of the redoubt and breastwork, bore the brunt of these losses, which were chiefly sustained during the storming of the redoubt, and during the few moments that hand-to-hand fighting continued. The losses in these three commands amounted to considerably more than in Stark's, Reed's, and Putnam's regiments and the detached companies at the rail-fence. Many fell during the retreat from the lines to Bunker Hill, and some were killed who were not actually engaged. On their side the Americans had to regret the loss of valuable officers. The same heroism that had brought Warren to the field made him one of the last to leave the post of danger he had coveted. His loss was felt to be irreparable. Colonel Thomas Gardner, of Cambridge, was mortally wounded. While being carried from the field he was met by his own son marching on with the gallant Trevett. The wounded man, after an affecting interview, exhorted his son to do his whole duty. Lieutenant-Colonel Parker, of Chelmsford, was wounded and made prisoner, afterwards dying of his injuries in Boston jail. Major Moore was also mortally wounded; and Major McClary, of Stark's regiment, killed while reconnoitring after the action was over. Colonels Brewer, Nixon,¹ and Buckminster were wounded.

The American prisoners were, according to Mrs. Adams, taken to Boston, "and there lay all night without any care of their wounds, or any resting place but the pavement until the next day, when

they exchanged it for the gaol." They were subsequently sent to Halifax.

Charlestown was a mass of smouldering ruins. On the morning after the battle the enemy destroyed all the houses beyond the neck, in order to prevent their occupation by American marksmen. The few remaining inhabitants had fled before the assault. Only a few blackened chimneys indicated the most ancient settlement of Middlesex; and the spot which had witnessed the landing of Winthrop and his companions was now drenched with the blood of their descendants.

As the military or political importance of a battle, rather than the number of combatants engaged, must decide its claim to be called great, Bunker Hill, considered in this light, was a great battle. The Americans lost the ground, but conquered the respect of their adversaries and of Europe. This was an important step gained. Henceforth the conflict assumed new proportions; the capacity of the Americans for resistance was fully recognized. In disregard of their history and traditions, they had been stigmatized as cowards, lacking all the qualities of a military people. At Bunker Hill, two thousand armed yeomanry displayed a heroism seldom surpassed by veteran soldiers. Nobly did they vindicate their claim to be the descendants of the heroes of the Indian wars. They now knew their own strength and their own weaknesses. On both sides the mists were cleared away, leaving the combatants free to measure the greatness of the struggle of which Bunker Hill was the prologue.

XXI.

THE INVESTMENT OF BOSTON.

DURING the night succeeding the battle of the 17th of June there was something like a panic at Cambridge. Nothing but an immediate forward movement by the victorious enemy was expected. Utter confusion, dejection, and demoralization reigned throughout the provincial camps. There was not powder enough in the magazines for another engagement, and if there had been, no

works strong enough to stop the enemy's advance in force had yet been constructed. To repair this neglect was now the first business of the American commanders.

General Putnam halted, in his retreat from the battle-field, at Prospect Hill, which has already been mentioned as commanding the main road from Charlestown to Cambridge. He began at once to throw up earthworks, and by dint of hard labor had constructed a defensible line by Sunday

¹ This gallant officer, born in Framingham, was subsequently a brigadier-general in the Continental army.

morning. The provincials continued under his supervision strengthening this position throughout Sunday, notwithstanding the enemy kept up a steady fire upon the hill from his floating batteries in Mystic River. Putnam now had Patterson on his right, his own camp at Inman's, half a mile farther on this flank, with the troops there to draw from in case the enemy threatened the new works on Prospect Hill. He had thus firmly established himself directly in the path of the enemy, and effectually covered the town and camps at Cambridge from an advance by the old road. To attain this important end, doubly important at this critical juncture, no orders whatever had emanated from the headquarters of the army. The credit of the new line belongs wholly to General Putnam, who, having recognized Prospect Hill as the key of the American centre and left, acted with the energy and decision which were his distinguishing traits.

During Saturday night and Sunday the intrenchments previously begun on Winter Hill, to cover Stark's encampment, were, by General Ward's order, carried over the hill. These works were thrown up across the road from Charlestown at the point where it divided, — one branch diverging to Medford on the right, the other to Menotomy, Lexington, and Concord on the left.

The relative importance of these two intrenched positions, which now blocked the enemy's advance from Charlestown, will be best understood by a brief reference to the roads themselves. After passing Charlestown Neck, over an artificial causeway constructed in 1717, two roads diverged, as now, at what was then the Common, now known as Sullivan Square. Near the point where these roads separated was Anna Whittemore's tavern, at which the Committee of Safety held some of its earliest sessions in 1774, and which had been an inn, kept by her father, as early as 1745.

The first of these roads, now known in Somerville as Washington Street, skirts the base of Prospect Hill, leaving the McLean Asylum on the south, and conducting straight on to Cambridge by Harvard College. By this road the Americans marched to and retreated from Bunker Hill.

The second road proceeded by Mount Benedict to the summit of Winter Hill, where it divided as at present; one branch turning northward, by General Royall's mansion, to Medford, the other pursuing its way, by the powder-house, to Menotomy, now Arlington. Only a single road connected Cambridge with Boston. This passed

Charles River by the bridge below the college, traversing the villages of Brighton, — then called Little Cambridge, — Brookline, and Roxbury.

Defeated in their attempt to gain possession of the peninsula of Charlestown, the Americans now fell back on the defensive again; but their measures, besides exhibiting a more settled purpose, were guided by a far more intelligent opinion of their own and their enemy's ability and resources. While they were compelled to confess the movement of the 18th of June premature, it is clear that, considered only as a trial of strength, the battle was productive of results in the end beneficial to the *morale* of the Americans. Moreover, they had checked an aggressive movement by General Gage, gaining thereby a prestige which exerted an important influence upon the British general's spirit, which clearly exhibited itself in his subsequent tactics. True, the provincials did not at once learn how deeply the bloody lesson of the 17th of June had impressed itself on the British army; but the effects of that lesson were for them a substantial gain, which the history of the siege renders more and more evident.

The British general had gained possession of Charlestown Heights at a fearful sacrifice of life.¹ He was not ready for another Bunker Hill by attempting the intrenchments on Charlestown road; but, on the other hand, he no longer dared to leave the unoccupied heights of Dorchester to be in their turn seized and fortified by the rebels in a single night. As soon, therefore, as he had received some further reinforcements, and had strongly fortified Bunker Hill, he prepared to execute the second part of his plan, which the battle of the 17th of June had delayed. The movement was to have taken place on the 24th. The troops for the attack were designated; Roxbury furiously cannonaded, and a strong column, paraded in front of the Boston lines, threatened Thomas; but, hearing that his real purpose was discovered by the Americans, General Gage for the present abandoned it.

For some time comparative quiet reigned in the hostile camps. Thomas was vigorously repairing his neglect to intrench by throwing up works in his front. Every effort to recruit and arm the regiments now in the field was being made by the

¹ In the whole memorable campaign, which ended at Saratoga, the British loss in killed and wounded was only 1,160, of which 73 were officers; while at Bunker Hill they lost 93 officers in an hour and a half.

provincials, whose idea was that their army should consist of two grand divisions, either of which should be strong enough successfully to oppose a sortie from Charlestown on their left or from Boston on the right. During this interval of recuperation the army was joined by its new commander-in-chief.¹

General Washington, accompanied by General Charles Lee, second major-general of the Continental army, arrived in Cambridge on Sunday, the 2d day of July. On the 3d he assumed formal



The Washington Elm, Cambridge.

command of the army. The scene of this event, justly regarded as one of the most remarkable of modern history, was Cambridge Common, where the army created by New England, now adopted by the whole country, was paraded under arms. Here, beneath the branches of this now venerable elm which bears his name, Washington first presented himself to the soldiers who were destined, under his leadership, to achieve the independence of their country. Here the conflict, inaugurated and thus far so heroically sustained by a fraction of the American people, at length assumed definiteness, grandeur, and stability.

¹ Congress appointed Washington commander-in-chief on the 15th of June. Ward, Lee, Schuyler, and Putnam were commissioned major-generals; Pomeroy, Montgomery, Wooster, Heath, Spencer, Thomas, Sullivan, and Greene, brigadiers. Gates was appointed adjutant-general. The appointment of Putnam over Spencer gave offence to the latter, who withdrew from the camp, but subsequently returned. Thomas was also displeased with the new arrangement, which awkwardly enough made him the inferior of officers he had been commanding; but this mistake was rectified by Pomeroy's retirement.

General Washington established his headquarters in the mansion of John Vassall,¹ a fugitive royalist, half a mile from the college, on the road to Watertown. General Ward was assigned to command the right wing, and took quarters at Roxbury. General Lee was ordered to take command of the left, and established himself at the Royall Mansion, at Medford. General Putnam remained at Inman's in command of the American centre. As soon as possible the army was brigaded. Greater order began to infuse itself not only into the discipline but the administration of the army. The adjutant-general was indefatigable in his efforts to make soldiers of these fourteen thousand and odd armed yeomen. The orders emanating at this early period from headquarters show what a multitude of evils the commander-in-chief found demanding reform, and the wise character of the measures adopted to increase the effectiveness and to elevate the tone of the army. A firm hand, cool head, mature judgment, and resolute will were now at the head of the army. The army soon began to understand that it had a head.

For a time hostilities degenerated into skirmishes at the outposts, or swift descents upon the harbor islands, over which the British by their fleet maintained a nominal control. These affairs were of little moment, except to keep both besiegers and besieged on the alert. The enterprise was all on the side of the Americans. Profound discouragement reigned in Boston, where not more than 5,200 effective soldiers could be mustered. Every day provisions were growing scarcer and dearer. The well-murmured at the prospect before them. The sick and wounded suffered for the want of nourishing food. Except in the minds of some of the fire-eaters, the idea of releasing themselves from the grip which the Americans were so steadily and inexorably tightening around them was dismissed as impracticable. They were in no situation to lose another thousand men in carrying Thomas's or Putnam's intrenchments; and, even supposing them to be conquerors in such an attempt, the Americans would as certainly erect another and probably stronger fortified line within musket-shot of their old positions. The army was not strong enough, we repeat, to undertake an assault which should, if successful, enable it to manœuvre the Americans out of their chosen positions and be the prelude to a vigorous campaign in the open field. It was simply an army closely

¹ Now the residence of the poet Longfellow.



Peale's Washington, Gallery of Versailles.

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besieged, — an army which had cheated itself with the belief that it had gained a victory on the day of Bunker Hill.

Washington's first care was to examine carefully his own and the enemy's positions. His report of the American line of investment was as follows:—

"On our side, we have thrown up intrenchments on Winter and Prospect Hills, — the enemy's camp in full view, at the distance of little more than a mile. Such intermediate points as would admit a landing I have, since my arrival, taken care to strengthen, down to Sewall's Farm, where a strong intrenchment has been thrown up. At Roxbury General Thomas has thrown up a strong work on the hill, about two hundred yards above the meeting-house; which with the brokenness of the ground, and a great number of rocks, has made that pass very secure. The troops raised in New Hampshire, with a regiment from Rhode Island, occupy Winter Hill; a part of those of Connecticut, under General Putnam, are on Prospect Hill. The troops in this town are entirely of the Massachusetts; the remainder of the Rhode Island men are at Sewall's Farm. Two regiments of Connecticut, and nine of the Massachusetts, are at Roxbury. The residue of the army, to the number of about seven hundred, are posted in several small towns along the coast, to prevent the depredations of the enemy."

The positions of the troops, which the general gives thus briefly, were as follows: Ward, with Thomas's and Spencer's brigades, was at Roxbury; Putnam, with Heath's and one other, was at Cambridge; Lee, with Sullivan's and Greene's brigades, was at Prospect and Winter Hills. Posts were established in the towns of Medford, Malden, and Chelsea.

An American council of war, assembled by General Washington soon after his arrival at Cambridge, decided it inexpedient to take possession of Dorchester, or even to oppose an attempt of the enemy in that direction. The enemy's force being much exaggerated, it was deemed inadvisable to attempt holding a longer line at present; moreover, Thomas had already thrown up intrenchments on the road to Dorchester in a good position to check the enemy. Aggressive measures were hardly more popular at the American than the British headquarters; each belligerent being inspired by a certain fear of the other. Coveted by both, Dorchester remained for the present neutral territory.

Our review of the siege operations must be chiefly confined to what transpired at the American centre and left, which lay wholly within the towns of Cambridge, Charlestown, and Medford, with posts at Malden and at Chelsea.

Owing to the great scarcity of powder, the Americans were unable to reply to the enemy's cannonade. Indeed, there was not sufficient ammunition for a battle, which might at any moment be forced upon them, and which was daily expected. Under such circumstances the most rigid economy of the small stock of powder was necessary. Strict orders were issued to guards and outposts not to waste it. The inhabitants of the New England colonies were strictly enjoined to husband their supplies; while the most urgent solicitations were sent to the more southern colonies to relieve this pressing need. A period of greater danger to an army would be difficult to conceive; yet, owing to the British general's lack of enterprise, it passed without disastrous consequences. So far from meditating an attempt to raise the siege, the evacuation of Boston was being seriously discussed at the enemy's headquarters in August.

During the last week of July and first weeks of August a reinforcement of 1,400 rifemen arrived in the American camp. They were chiefly the backwoodsmen of the Shenandoah Valley, and were the only distinctive body of men produced by the Revolution. They were expert marksmen, accustomed to border warfare and inured to hardship. They had marched from four to seven hundred miles, in mid-summer heat, to join the army. Morgan, Cresap, and Otho H. Williams were officers in this splendid corps. Washington immediately posted them on the advanced lines.

On the American side of Charlestown Neck was an orchard in which the daily detail for outpost duty took refuge. The British outposts were covered by *flèches* constructed a little in advance of their lines on Bunker Hill. Their habit of moving freely about the Common was now stopped. Neither officers nor men could show themselves within eight hundred yards of the orchard without being picked off by a rifle bullet.

At this time General Burgoyne was writing to Lord George Germaine a most gloomy account of the situation in Boston, which he describes as a town "invested on one side, asleep on the other." He criticised General Gage mildly, the admiral severely. The former was, in his view, not a mind of sufficient grasp for so important a command:

the latter was simply incapable. In a memorandum submitted to General Gage, he advocated the evacuation of the town and the concentration of the army at New York. Should this be thought premature, he proposed an expedition to seize Newport, which step would, in his judgment, lead to dismemberment of the investing army and materially improve that of his majesty. These representations unquestionably produced an impression in the minds of the ministry, which displayed itself in two ways. General Gage was superseded in October, and his successor was, somewhat later in the season, authorized to evacuate. In the mean time Burgoyne had received leave of absence and returned to England.

General Washington now determined to perfect his fortified line on his extreme left, by taking advantage of the heights adjacent to Prospect Hill, and forming with it an impregnable defensive position between the Mystic and Charles. The results to be obtained by seizing these heights, and which have been pointed out in a preceding chapter, will soon be apparent. It was determined to begin with Ploughed Hill, on Mystic side. With this object, about two thousand men under command of General Sullivan threw up works here on the night of August 26th. By daybreak they were sufficiently advanced to protect the working parties. The enemy immediately opened a heavy fire from Bunker Hill, and from a ship and floating batteries in Mystic River; but the Americans tranquilly pursued their labor, until they had erected a strong redoubt on Ploughed Hill and a battery on the shore at Ten Hills. Notwithstanding the enemy's persistent fire of shot and shell, at 1,200 or 1,300 yards, Sullivan's casualties were trifling. The Americans mounted a nine-pounder in the battery, with which they drove the enemy's armed gondolas out of range. They also connected their new works on Ploughed Hill with Prospect Hill by earthworks.

In the beginning of September General Washington received about three tons of gunpowder from Rhode Island, but the lamentable deficiency of heavy artillery still rendered the operations of the besiegers weak and inefficient. Indeed, it was held to be of little use to build works that they could not arm, but the prosecution of those works gave employment to the soldiers, gave them a certain sense of security, rendered them indifferent to the enemy's cannonade, and prepared the way for the moment when active operations should begin.

On the 13th of September the memorable and ill-starred expedition against Quebec marched from Cambridge under command of Colonel Benedict Arnold. The troops left their camps in the evening and proceeded to Newburyport, where they embarked for the Kennebeck. It is not our purpose to follow the disastrous fortunes of this little band of twelve hundred men. There was no lack of intrepid spirits to secure success. Morgan, Aaron Burr, Matthias Ogden, and Henry Dearborn accompanied Arnold. This was the third attempt upon the Canadian stronghold, originating at Boston, we have been called upon to chronicle. For the third time it resulted in failure.

Another event of moment was the arrest of Dr. Benjamin Church, surgeon-general of the army, charged with holding a traitorous correspondence with the enemy. The fact was proven beyond reasonable doubt. Being a member of the newly constituted house of representatives, the accused was arraigned at the bar of the house and expelled. By a resolution of congress he was sent to Connecticut, there to be kept in close confinement. Thus dismally ended the career of a man who had possessed the confidence of his countrymen in a high degree, and who had been rewarded with positions of high honor and trust. The solitary instance of his perfidy renders it all the more conspicuous. That it was so long successfully concealed was unquestionably owing to the exalted position occupied by the traitor.

Early in October General Gage was superseded by Howe, and embarked for England. The king sarcastically referred to him as the "amiable general." His measures had certainly been such, and such only, as were forced upon him. It was seen at London that the suppression and punishment of rebellion had proceeded but slowly under his administration as military governor. More vigorous action was expected from his successor.

The siege progressed quietly until November 9, when the enemy unexpectedly made a descent at Lechmere's Point for the purpose of shooting and carrying away some cattle that were kept there. A landing was effected at high tide, when the Point was isolated from the mainland. For this reason it was some time before the Americans could get across, and then only by wading waist-deep in water. Colonel Thompson, of the rifle regiment, and Patterson, who were nearest to the Point, made a spirited dash for it; but the enemy had re-embarked before they could close with them. This was

the boldest affair yet undertaken by the enemy, and its successful result caused great elation in Boston.

An important episode of the siege, one which offered a golden opportunity for distinction to an ambitious and chivalric spirit, now occurred. Among those who had assisted in planning and superintending the various works erected by the American army was young Henry Knox, of Boston, who had but recently married the lovely and accomplished daughter of the royal secretary of the province. Although he had not yet joined the army, he actively aided it as a volunteer engineer until such time as his merit and his services could be appropriately recognized. The commander-in-chief had already noticed him, and on the 8th of November wrote to congress recommending his appointment to command the artillery in the place of the infirm and venerable Gridley. The officers of the artillery regiment warmly seconded the recommendation.

Ever since the fall of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, the idea of bringing a part of their armament to the lines investing Boston had been prominent. We have already remarked upon the circumstances which had rendered even the partial dismantling of these fortresses inexpedient in the eyes of congress. These objections had now yielded to the acknowledged necessity of bringing the siege of Boston to a speedy termination. Washington now found himself free to order the transportation of a siege train from those remote posts. But who should undertake such a task? Winter had already set in. No means of transportation had been organized; the distance was three hundred miles, and the roads execrable. Evidently the commission could only be intrusted to a man whom no common difficulties would baffle, and whose resources would equal every emergency. Happily the commander-in-chief's knowledge of men did not deceive him. His choice fell upon Knox, who, after incredible exertions, succeeded in bringing the cannon and mortars to the foot of Lake George. Here he had ready forty-two strong sleds, on which the artillery was conveyed, *via* Saratoga, Albany, Kinderhook, and Springfield, to Cambridge. In the exuberance of his spirits at the prospect of successfully accomplishing what seemed at one time hopeless, Knox wrote to the commander-in-chief: "Three days ago it was very uncertain whether we could have gotten them until next spring; but now, please God, they must go."

While anxiously awaiting the result of Knox's mission, the general-in-chief resolved to close up

the line on his left by fortifying Cobble, or Miller's, Hill, on Charles River. The time of the Connecticut troops having nearly expired rendered it desirable to get all the work possible done before they returned home. General Putnam was ordered to secure the position. On the night of November 22d he began throwing up works, proceeding without molestation from the enemy until daybreak. The frozen ground covered with snow made the labor both slow and difficult, but a sufficient protection was raised by dawn to cover the intrenching party. Work was suspended until the following night, when General Heath, with a second detachment, continued the work, which when completed was pronounced to be the best on the American lines, and was called "Putnam's impregnable fortress." The range of hills between Willis's Creek and the Mystic was now a continuous line of batteries, redoubts, and intrenched camps.¹

Before the end of the month Captain Manly, with a Marblehead privateer, captured the British ship *Nancy* near the coast. The vessel was heavily loaded with ordnance stores destined for the army in Boston, and proved an invaluable prize to the Americans. She had on board four hundred barrels of gunpowder, two thousand stands of small arms, thirty-two tons of musket bullets, one hundred thousand flints, thirty thousand six and twelve pounder cannon-balls, with many other articles of the greatest necessity to the besiegers. A thirteen-inch brass mortar was among the trophies which the carelessness of the British convoy caused to fall into our hands. So apprehensive was Washington of an attempt by the enemy to recover the prize, that he instantly despatched Glover with four companies to Marblehead, with orders to call in the militia of Cape Ann while the transportation of the *Nancy's* cargo to Cambridge was being effected. This most fortunate capture caused great rejoicing in the American camp. On its arrival the mortar was christened the "Congress" by General Putnam and Colonel Mifflin in the presence of and amid the huzzas of all the troops in Cambridge. Several other captures were made which greatly distressed the enemy.

Washington was now to encounter the greatest danger which had yet presented itself. It menaced not only the successful issue of the siege, but the

¹ Besides fortifying Cobble Hill, Washington caused two half-moon batteries to be thrown up on the shore between Lechmere's Point and the bend of Charles River; another at the causeway to Lechmere's Point.

very existence of the army. The term of enlistment was nearing its close, and the new levies authorized by Congress to keep up the effective force before Boston were not forthcoming. In a word, the general was confronted by the probability of a speedy disbanding of the army under his command. His belief that the enemy was fully apprised of this state of things did not tend to render the situation any less serious or perplexing. On the 1st of December the Connecticut troops broke up their camps and marched for home in a body, notwithstanding the most urgent appeals to their patriotism, and a positive order from headquarters forbidding their departure until their place in the line could be filled by Massachusetts and New Hampshire militia. It was nearly three weeks before the whole number of militia called for could reach the camp. But this was only the prelude to greater dangers, as the term of enlistment of the Massachusetts and New Hampshire troops would expire on the 1st of January. It was determined at headquarters to improve the intervening time to the utmost. The ground would soon be solidly frozen, and the river would shortly offer a natural bridge between the hostile camps.

Lechmere's Point, the scene of the advance on Lexington, of the recent exploit of the British light-infantry, the stumbling-block of the 17th of June, was next fortified by the Americans on the 17th of December. Washington had planted a mortar-battery here on the 29th of November. It was only about three fourths of a mile from the enemy's batteries at Barton's Point in Boston,¹ and was the most serious advance towards a bombardment of the town Washington had yet attempted. Regarded as a defensive work, merely, it was well situated for checking any movement of the enemy in this direction when the river should become so solidly frozen as to allow the passage of a column of troops, with their artillery, over the ice.

A causeway was begun across the marsh to Lechmere's Point on the 12th. This must be made practicable for artillery, and raised high enough to allow troops to cross at high tide. During the 14th, 15th, and 16th, approaches were carried to the Point and well up to the summit of the hill, though the work was retarded by a fall of snow. The morning of the 17th being foggy, General Putnam began two redoubts on the hill,

continuing the work uninterruptedly until noon, when the fog cleared away, discovering the Americans to the enemy. The Scarborough, which was moored in the channel, immediately opened fire with round shot and grape, and the enemy's bomb-battery at Barton's Point began to shell the workmen. Putnam was obliged to withdraw his men, but the work was resumed on the 18th by General Heatli. In the mean time the Americans had brought an eighteen-pounder to bear upon the Scarborough from Cobble Hill, with which, at the distance of half a mile, they hulled the ship twice in six shots, compelling her to drop down the stream out of range. As the discomfited vessel floated slowly past their batteries, the Americans gave three rousing cheers. The workmen, having only the enemy's batteries on the opposite shore to contend with, proceeded with their labor, and during this and the succeeding day finished the redoubts. During the bombardment the enemy threw a thirteen-inch shell from Bunker Hill into the American lines at Butler's, now Dana Hill, in Cambridge.

The time had now arrived when the troops who had opened the trenches around Boston, and who, for more than six months, had held them with the greatest courage and devotion, were to return to their homes. Many re-enlisted, but to the greater number a brief return to their families had become a matter of necessity. Nevertheless, while this process of dissolving one army and of reorganizing another was going on the situation was truly alarming. From highest to lowest the American generals were in profound anxiety, nor had they much expectation of holding their long line should it be attacked by Howe. Indeed, his apathy was incomprehensible; for a greater opportunity to raise a siege had never offered itself to any general. So extraordinary a state of affairs drew from Washington this observation: "It is not perhaps in the power of history to furnish a case like ours, — to maintain a post within musket-shot of the enemy for six months together without —,"¹ and at the same time to disband one army and recruit another within that distance of twenty odd British regiments is more than probably was ever attempted."

General Greene wrote from Prospect Hill, January 4, 1776: "Had the enemy been fully acquainted with our situation, I cannot pretend to say what might have been the consequences. I

¹ Where West Boston Bridge now unites the West End of Boston with East Cambridge.

¹ The general purposely omitted the word "powder," fearing his letter might fall into the enemy's hands.

this day manned the lines upon this hill, and feel a degree of pleasure that I have not felt for several days. Our situation has been critical. We have no part of the militia on this hill; and the night after the old troops went off, I could not have mustered seven hundred men, notwithstanding the returns of the new enlisted troops amounted to nineteen hundred and upward. I am now strong enough to defend myself against all the force in Boston."

During these dark days of trial, the undaunted spirit of the commander-in-chief supported the cause confided to his hands with heroic constancy. His resolution communicated itself to his lieutenants. The routine of the army was kept up when there were scarcely men enough to furnish the necessary guards and outposts. Everywhere a bold and confident front was maintained. Militia from the nearest towns were hurried to camp, and armed in some cases with muskets taken by force from those old soldiers who were departing. On the first day of the New Year, while distress and apprehension prevailed throughout the half-manned works, the flag of the Thirteen United Colonies, blazoned with its thirteen stripes, was for the first time hoisted and saluted as it floated above the battlements of Prospect Hill.

The spirit of daring was by no means extinct behind the American lines. On the 8th of January Putnam sent Major Knowlton, with two hundred men, to destroy some houses on the main street in Charlestown which had escaped the conflagration of the 17th of June, and were now in quiet occupation of the enemy. At nine in the evening the detachment left Cobble Hill, crossed the mill-dam, and divided into three parties for the purpose of firing the houses. Owing to misapprehension of orders, or too great precipitation, the houses nearest the mill were first set on fire. The enemy's citadel on Bunker Hill was instantly in the greatest commotion. The long roll was beaten, the heavy guns fired at random; while Putnam and his officers were amused spectators of the scene from the redoubt on Cobble Hill.

The uproar on the enemy's lines at Charlestown was soon communicated to the camps at Boston. It happened that on this evening a burlesque representation of the Blockade of Boston, written by General Burgoyne, was being performed in Faneuil Hall for the entertainment of the officers of the garrison. At the very hour the farce began, Knowlton opened the ball at Charlestown. The

roar of artillery was heard by an Irish sergeant outside the playhouse door, who immediately rushed into the theatre and upon the stage, vociferating, "Turn out! turn out! they're hard at it, hammer and tongs!" Supposing the sergeant was acting a part, the whole audience loudly applauded the naturalness of his alarm, and it was some moments before he could make himself heard. When the applause subsided, the bewildered sergeant cried out, "What the d—— are ye all about? If ye won't believe me, you need only go to the door, and there ye'll hear and see both." General Howe, who was present, immediately rose and ordered the officers to their alarm-posts; and thus was the reality substituted for the farce of the blockade. Knowlton's men returned from their daring excursion without loss, having penetrated within the British lines and almost to the muzzles of the guns on Bunker Hill.

During January General Lee left camp for New York. On the 16th, in consequence of a resolution of congress authorizing an assault on Boston, the commander-in-chief submitted the question to a council of war, giving his own favorable judgment in support of the measure. Notwithstanding this, the council, while agreeing that a vigorous attempt should be made as soon as possible, decided it inexpedient at the present moment. News of the disastrous end of the Quebec expedition, which reached headquarters at this time, could not but exert a depressing influence. Powder was still scarce, and the ice was hardly practicable. The general-in-chief, apparently gave up the idea of an assault with reluctance.

The 24th of January was a memorable day in camp, it having witnessed the arrival of the gallant Knox, with his park of artillery, from Ticonderoga and Crown Point. He now received his commission as colonel of the artillery, and with it the thanks of the commander-in-chief. From this moment the actual siege of Boston began.

In Boston, General Howe found difficulties to multiply with the advance of the season. The subsistence of his troops and of the inhabitants was the most serious problem with which he had to deal. General Burgoyne had truly said that Boston was untenable with the present means and numbers of the army, but a sentiment of pride forbade its abandonment so long as it might be maintained. To be driven from this stronghold of rebellion which the king, the ministry, the parliament, had so especially marked for their re-

sentiment, involved a loss of prestige to British power and British arrogance not to be thought of. Moreover, it was now seen that the little flame kindled in an obscure corner of Massachusetts had spread throughout the length and breadth of the colonies, and that wherever a British army marched it would be met and resisted to the bitter end. A few of the British officers in Boston comprehended the change. They comprehended the absurdity of attempting to put down three millions of people with seven or eight thousand regular soldiers. The siege had developed power, resources, resolution, of which they had hitherto little comprehension. Instead of the rebel, it was their own army that was becoming contemptible.

Howe, nevertheless, doggedly persisted in holding Boston. He was a very different man from his predecessor, Gage; but then he had some conspicuous weaknesses of his own. Boston under his control became strictly a garrisoned town under all the restraints of martial law. The troops manifested a much greater degree of discipline and subordination under their new general, who was respected for his valor and feared for his severity. The loss of so many transports, which were bringing supplies of fuel, provisions, and clothing for the army, entailed real suffering among the garrison and inhabitants; for the latter were now dependent upon the military authorities for food and fuel. The bay swarmed with rebel privateers, the shore was for miles encompassed by rebel intrenchments.

In order to make his supplies of provisions go as far as possible, Howe sent at one time four hundred, at another three hundred, of the poorest inhabitants out of the town to be cared for by their countrymen. To provide fuel, he caused the vacant houses and even the Second Church of the town to be demolished. The garrison at Charlestown were provided in the same way. To increase the suffering, the small-pox broke out within the town in a malignant form. The difficulties which beset Sir William Howe account in a great measure for the non-appearance of a British column of attack outside their works during that memorable month of December. The distance from his point of supply rendered the British commander's situation one of peculiar embarrassment; but by the middle of January it had considerably improved.

To return to the besiegers; Washington on the 16th of February summoned another council of

war to consider the feasibility of attacking Boston. The basin of Charles River was now frozen over. Although General Gates opposed the movement, and it was again negatived by a vote of the majority, the commander-in-chief could not conceal his dissatisfaction with the decision, for he had promised himself to end the siege with one gallant blow.

At this council General Ward again directed attention to the forgotten, or neglected, heights of Dorchester. He urged, with good reason, that the object of bringing on a general engagement, or of driving the enemy from Boston, would be as well or better accomplished by taking possession of these heights. We need not recapitulate the reasons for this opinion. The question of seizing and fortifying Dorchester Heights was then submitted and agreed to by the council. General Ward was directed to take the necessary measures to carry this decision into effect with the troops under his command. The Massachusetts Council was notified of the intention, and requested to order in all available militia to the lines at Roxbury and Dorchester.

The dénouement was now approaching. Thanks to Knox, the forts at Lechmere's Point, Cobble Hill, and Lamb's Dam in Roxbury had been armed with heavy guns and mortars; but, having no powder to spare, Washington waited for the decisive moment. At about eleven o'clock on the night of the 2d of March the signal was given at Cambridge to begin the bombardment. The American batteries at once opened fire. Shot and shell from Lechmere's Point fell far within the town, doing considerable damage to buildings and causing a few casualties among the garrison. The enemy returned the fire with spirit from Bunker Hill, Barton's Point, and the Boston lines, without damage to the works or troops of the besiegers. During this night's bombardment four or five mortars burst in the American batteries. The greater part of the enemy's shells either fell short or did not explode. At daybreak firing ceased.

The ensuing night, and that of Sunday, the 4th, the bombardment was again renewed with greater violence than ever. All night long projectiles from the hostile batteries were traversing the air in fiery circles, illuminating the heavens like incessant flashes of lightning. The explosion of artillery, the crash of falling buildings, the bursting of shells in the streets, caused the frightened inhabitants to believe the town doomed to swift destruction.

With General Howe the question was, whether it was a simple bombardment, or the prelude to an assault. If the latter, he was fully prepared.

The morning resolved his doubts. It was the 5th of March, the anniversary of the Boston Massacre. He saw the heights of Dorchester crowned with hostile batteries, and filled with hostile troops whose cheers bore their defiance to his ears. Without doubt it was to be the pendant of Bunker Hill. There were only two alternatives, and no one doubted what Howe's decision would be. He immediately ordered five regiments under arms to be embarked for the Castle under Brigadier-General Jones. The grenadiers, light-infantry, and other troops were made ready to attack on the side nearest the town, while Jones's column, landing at a point opposite the Castle, advanced on the farther flank of the rebel intrenchments.

In occupying Dorchester Heights, the mistakes of Bunker Hill were avoided and its lessons carefully heeded. Fascines, bundles of hay, chandeliers, had been provided beforehand. Two thousand men under Thomas were assigned for the duty. Soon after nightfall they marched, and by eight o'clock were upon the ground to be intrenched. The advanced guard of eight hundred men then divided in two detachments, one moving on to the point nearest the Castle, the other to that nearest Boston. Bundles of hay were placed along that side of Dorchester Neck exposed to the enemy's fire. The engineers having laid out the works, the fatigue-party of twelve hundred at once fell to work on the frozen ground; but their task proved to be one of extreme difficulty, for the frost had penetrated to the depth of eighteen inches. The use of the chandeliers and fascines was now apparent. The former were simply thick planks, laid horizontally upon the ground, having sharply pointed joists fixed upright at either end. The chandeliers being first placed at proper distances apart, the space between the uprights was filled with fascines. In half an hour the faces of the redoubts were completed. Behind the protection of this rampart, which, at a distance, had every appearance of a strong intrenchment, the Americans plied mattock and spade with persevering industry, while carts loaded with materials continually passed and repassed the neck without the least interruption from the enemy. Everything proceeded with order, regularity, and despatch; everything favored the commanding general's purpose. All night the cannonade and bombardment fiercely continued. At three in the

morning Thomas had raised two forts, one upon each hill, when his men were relieved by fresh troops. The night was remarkably fine, mild, and lighted by a brilliant moon, the hills being wrapped in a soft haze which rendered them indistinguishable to the enemy, and in the midst of which the Americans toiled like an army of phantoms. By direction of the engineers, Gridley and Rufus Putnam, the neighboring orchards had been cut down to form the *abatis*. Besides this, a number of strong casks filled with earth were placed around the works, designed, at a decisive moment, to be plunged down the steep declivity of the hills upon an attacking column.

The first part of Washington's plan had succeeded; but there was a second, of which the enemy held the key. Would he attempt to carry the heights? It was what the American general most desired. Would Washington assault the town? It was what Howe had longed for; but now the conditions were so changed he could not be said to welcome the alternative with the same eagerness as before. This was what had been agreed upon at the Vassall House in Cambridge: If Howe launched an assaulting column upon Dorchester Heights and was repulsed, boats had been prepared and were then lying ready to transport four thousand men to the foot of Boston Common, where they were to land and carry all before them. For this glorious and at the same time hazardous *coup de main* there was but one man in the army. Washington had therefore selected Putnam to lead the column of assault. It consisted of two divisions, respectively commanded by Sullivan and Greene. Heath had been offered the command of one, but declined it because he believed the attempt would fail. His excessive discretion rendered it but too probable that the honor of Massachusetts would be safer in the hands of a Connecticut, a New Hampshire, or a Rhode Island general.

On the 5th, in the morning, this column was paraded in front of the lines, half a mile from the college, ready to embark. Every movement of the enemy was visible from the American posts in Roxbury, from which signals were to be transmitted to Cambridge. The roll of drums, the bugles, the aids hurrying from camp to camp, signalled that the enemy accepted the challenge. Soon his columns were seen in battle array, and then marching to the wharves. It was evident there was to be a double assault and, without doubt, a bloody day. All these movements were plainly visible from

Dorchester Heights. Two thousand more troops had been despatched to the aid of Thomas; while behind the works at Roxbury all the old regiments were in line of battle waiting the order to move to his support.

On the summit of Dorchester Heights Washington sat on his horse calmly surveying his own and the enemy's preparations. There was neither exaltation nor dejection, doubt nor indecision, in his demeanor. That erect figure, that face without emotion, had such martial grandeur that all instinctively recognized the leader. The soldiers began to clap their hands. Washington saw the British battalions embarking. Turning to those nearest him, he said: "Remember the 5th of March; avenge your brethren." These words passed through the ranks and were answered with cheer upon cheer. They became the battle-cry of the army.

At the province-house, in Boston, it had already been determined to evacuate the town; but now British honor was at stake. We have seen Sir William Howe at Bunker Hill, where his personal bravery, his example, and his invincible determination to conquer or die saved the day for his sovereign and the honor for his soldiers. He was now to stake everything on a last effort. Defeat was equivalent to destruction; success guaranteed his withdrawal from the town with honor untarnished.

The day passed quietly. Sir William meant to effect a landing under cover of the night. Besides the twenty thousand men under arms along the American lines, the hills overlooking the scene of expected combat were black with spectators. Without quitting their posts of observation, they awaited in breathless anxiety throughout the morning, the afternoon, until the tide had ebbed too far for boats to reach the shore in front of the American intrenchments. In the evening the British transports, accompanied by a floating battery, dropped down to the Castle; but during the night a furious gale rendered a landing out of the question. Three of the transports were blown ashore on Governor's Island. The Americans were subjected to much discomfort throughout the night, being compelled to bivouac, exposed to the whole violence of the storm. The works were, however, so much strengthened by daybreak of the 8th as to render an attack improbable.

In effect, the storm having frustrated his design, and seeing the hostile works hourly growing under

his eyes, Howe, on the 6th, called a council of war, which determined on the evacuation of the place. Orders were immediately issued to embark the army stores, artillery, and baggage as rapidly as possible. The royalists who had taken refuge within the town were notified of the general's intention, and were thrown into the utmost consternation by the intelligence. They were permitted to embark with the troops or remain. To remain was to invite the calamities from which they had fled. They therefore prepared, with heavy hearts, for their departure.

On the 8th Washington was fully apprised of what the enemy was doing.¹ Suspecting he might make a bold push for New York, he despatched the rifle regiment to that place. On the 9th he resolved to hasten the enemy's departure by constructing a battery on Nook's or Foster's Hill, within short range of the enemy's lines on Boston Neck. The enemy immediately turned all the guns he could bring to bear upon this point. This brought on a general cannonade from all the American positions. The enemy's fire was, however, so severe that the workmen were driven from Nook's Hill with some loss.

The 10th was a day of utter confusion in Boston. Troops and inhabitants were hurrying their effects on board the ships, private merchandise often taking precedence of public stores. Shops and dwellings were plundered under color of orders, soldiers and sailors wantonly destroying what they could not carry away. The 11th and 12th were but a repetition of these disorders. The soldiers not on other duty were busy barricading, digging ditches, or cutting down the fine old trees with which to obstruct the streets. The heavy ordnance at Boston Neck, Barton's Point, and Bunker Hill which could not be expeditiously removed was to be spiked, and the carriages destroyed at the last moment.

Having their artillery and stores on board, the embarkation was fixed for the 14th; but, the wind being contrary, the troops remained in their quarters. On the 15th proclamation was made by the town-crier for the inhabitants to remain in their houses from eleven in the morning until dusk. At noon the troops got under arms, but the wind

¹ General Howe made the safety of the town the guaranty of his own. The selectmen communicated to General Washington his purpose to destroy it if attacked. Without committing himself, Washington allowed the inference that he would refrain from assaulting or not, according to his discretion.

again came from an unfavorable quarter, postponing the intended embarkation.

Washington had completed the battery on Nook's Hill on the 18th. This was an imperative notice to Sir William to quit the town without further delay. At four o'clock Sunday morning, it being the 17th of March, the British garrison of Boston silently and ingloriously went on board the shipping which was only waiting to receive it. By nine o'clock the whole were embarked and under way. About fifteen hundred of the inhabitants followed the fortunes of the royal army.

Bunker Hill was immediately taken possession of by the Americans, who found the army had left wooden sentinels standing at the abandoned posts, General Putnam having brought a portion of his troops in boats to Sewall's Point ordered them to cross the river to Boston. He himself repaired thither and assumed command of the town; while General Ward, with a column of five hundred men, under command of Colonel Learned, made their way from Roxbury through the deserted lines on Boston Neck. They found the streets encumbered with breastworks, barricades, and *abatis*. A dry ditch had been hastily dug across the neck, between the outer and inner lines of works, a few days before the evacuation, in order further to impede the advance of an attacking column of insurgents. The town still being infected with small-pox, only sufficient troops were ordered in to furnish the necessary guards. All others were excluded until the 20th, when the whole army, except Heath's brigade, which had then marched for New York, made its triumphant entry with Washington at its head.

The few subsequent days were eventful ones for the Bostonians. Those who had remained during the siege testified the most extravagant joy on seeing the head of an American column enter the town. Those whom inclination, distress, or the policy of the British general had driven from their homes now crowded the streets, seeking out lost relatives or hastening to their long-abandoned habitations. The town had suffered much at the hands of the besieged. Conflagration, demolition, fortifications, had sadly ruined and defaced it; but the invaders were at length expelled, an American ensign floated over the province-house, and the first act in the great drama of revolution showed the cause of American liberty triumphing over the despotism which would forever have humbled and degraded it before nations.

The British fleet, with the army on board, dropped down the bay no farther than King's Road, before the Castle, where it remained a few days, during which the fortifications of the Castle were blown up and its armament rendered unserviceable. This being accomplished, the fleet proceeded to Nantasket Road and again cast anchor. Several more days were occupied in getting in water and preparing for sea. Washington viewed this period of delay with anxiety. He had yet no clew to the destination of the enemy, and could not venture further to weaken his army until his doubts were resolved. Finally, on the 27th, the fleet, with the exception of a few frigates left to keep up a show of blockading the port, set sail. As it stood to the northward and eastward, its destination was seen to be Halifax. Sullivan's brigade, therefore, marched for New York on the same day; a third detachment moved on the 1st of April; and on the 4th General Spencer took the same route, with all the troops remaining, except five regiments placed under General Ward's orders for the protection of Boston. On this day also the commander-in-chief quitted Vassall House, in which he had passed nearly eight eventful months, and in which he had firmly established his title to be the head of the army.

In obedience to his instructions, Ward posted two regiments in Boston, one in the works at Dorchester, one in those at Charlestown, and the fifth at Beverly. These troops built defensive works on Fort Hill in Boston, Charlestown Point, and Noddle's Island, and restored the fortifications on Castle Island as far as possible. Much to the annoyance of the inhabitants, the blockading vessels continued in the lower harbor until June 14th, when, batteries having been raised on the islands commanding their anchorage, they too were forced to hoist sail and depart, so that now no hostile flag floated in town or harbor.

Historians will be divided in opinion as to whether Washington fought or ought not to have permitted Sir William Howe's leisurely and unmolested evacuation of the town. Beyond question it was in his power to have inflicted serious loss on the British army while in the act of being embarked, but from considerations creditable to his humanity, if not to his military judgment, he refrained from doing so. To have pushed matters to an extremity would doubtless have involved the destruction of the town; but whether its preservation compensated for the defeat or destruction of

the British army is a question to be decided on military principles alone. Boston, it is true, was saved; but Sir William Howe withdrew his army without other loss than that of prestige, and Washington had soon to meet and fight that army in another field. The capture of a large number of cannon and military stores which the enemy was forced to leave behind was, however, a substantial acquisition of great advantage to the meagre magazines of the investing army.

The works erected by our forces during the investment were subsequently levelled where they obstructed the highways, and their armaments re-

moved to the chain of forts built by Washington for the defence of the Hudson. Time has almost wholly obliterated the traces of those intrenchments, but enough still remain to enable one familiar with the ground to follow the line throughout its entire length from Charlestown to City Point. It would be a pilgrimage of great interest, one much enhanced in its profitable enjoyment, if all the principal sites were designated by appropriate monuments, however humble. Something has been done to carry out this object, but much more remains to do.

XXII.

EVENTS TO THE CLOSE OF THE CENTURY.

THE cloud of war which had so heavily brooded over the scene of our history since the memorable 19th of April, 1775, was suddenly lifted. During the long and sanguinary conflict which secured the independence of the American colonies no further warlike operations occurred upon the territory of Middlesex County. Upon the conclusion of the siege of Boston her citizens resumed their customary avocations so far as the unsettled condition of the times permitted. Rumors of a new invasion, indeed, reached them from time to time, serving to keep alive the same unsettled feeling which for nearly twelve months had possessed the minds of the whole population.

The functions of government, assumed in the crisis by the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, had now passed into more stable hands. Pursuant to the recommendation of the Continental Congress, the administration of the government of the colony was resumed after the ancient form, — by a council which acted as the executive, and a house of representatives which embodied the legislative power. The time for the election of a chief magistrate by the popular voice had not yet arrived. Upon the organization of the house of representatives the Provincial Congress, on the 19th of July, 1775, was formally dissolved, after an existence of more than ten months, during which it had not only exercised the highest prerogatives of government, but

had stood like a wall between the people and their oppressors.

The Committee of Safety was, by a resolution of this congress, prolonged until the 30th of July, but with powers much more limited than it had previously exercised. The assumption of the army, its organization, conduct, and control, by the Continental Congress, with the formation of a competent staff to regulate and administer its various departments, rendered a further existence of the revolutionary committees of the colony unnecessary.

During the period of General Burgoyne's advance, by Lake Champlain and the Upper Hudson, upon Albany, the inhabitants of Massachusetts were in great alarm. Many believed Boston to be the real object of this force, and the population of the country lying between the sea and the Hudson was much excited by the prospect of the enemy's march to the seaboard. The fall of the lake fortresses, the disastrous affair of Hubbardston, produced the greatest dejection. Large bodies of militia were hastily despatched to join the army of General Gates at Albany. News of the battle of Bennington raised the people from extreme prostration to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. This was followed by still greater intelligence. The surrender of Burgoyne's whole force at Saratoga was the signal for public and private rejoicing in every village and hamlet of the land. By the terms of capitulation,

the captive troops were marched to Cambridge, and were then quartered in barracks occupied by our own troops, during the siege, on Winter and Prospect hills in Somerville. Generals Burgoyne, Phillips, Riedesel, and Specht were assigned quarters in Cambridge. Here the British and Hessians remained until the summer of 1778, when they were removed to Rutland, and subsequently to Virginia. The extraordinary nature of the capitulation accorded by General Gates was a prolific cause of controversy between Generals Burgoyne and Phillips and General Heath, who commanded in Boston. For reasons which impartial history will be slow to approve, congress refused to carry the terms of the convention into effect. By its provisions, the defeated troops were to be marched to a designated seaport and embarked for England.¹

While in the vicinity of Boston the convention troops were guarded by Middlesex militia. To officers and men the duty was anything but pleasing, for the prisoners, considering themselves victims of a breach of public faith, were intractable and mutinous; while the inhabitants were justly apprehensive that they would attempt to escape in a body, possess themselves of their own artillery, which was at Cambridge, and inaugurate a scene of bloodshed, anarchy, and pillage. With great relief, the population in the neighborhood of Boston saw the prisoners leave their barracks on Prospect and Winter hills for the interior.

¹ It is not generally known that England made serious overtures to obtain from the Empress a body of Russian auxiliaries for the American War. The following extract of a letter from Edward Gibbon to J. B. Holroyd puts the matter in its true light:—

— BENTINCK STREET, October 14, 1778.

"I send you two pieces of intelligence from the best authority, and which, unless you hear them from some other quarter, I do not wish you should talk much about. When the Russians arrive, (if they refresh themselves in England or Ireland,) will you go and see their camp? We have great hopes of getting a body of these Barbarians. In consequence of some very plain advances, King George, with his own hand, wrote a very polite epistle to sister Kitty, requesting her friendly assistance. Full powers and instructions were sent at the same time to Gunning, to agree for any force between five, and twenty thousand men, *carle blancs* for the terms; on condition, however, that they should serve not as auxiliaries, but as mercenaries, and that the Russian general should be absolutely under the command of the British. They daily and hourly expect a messenger, and hope to hear that the business is concluded. The worst of it is that the Baltic will soon be frozen up, and that it must be late next year before they can get to America."

Eighteen thousand Germans were subsequently obtained from Hesse, Brunswick, and Hesse Darmstadt. Those captured at Bennington and Saratoga excited great curiosity while on the march to Cambridge.

The campaign of Rhode Island in 1778 was participated in by a portion of the Middlesex militia. Besides the calls to meet emergencies confronting themselves or their neighbors, there was a constant demand for recruits to fill the ranks of the Continental regiments. The fortunes of Washington's gallant little army were followed by many brave officers and soldiers of Middlesex from Boston to Trenton, from Trenton to Monmouth, and from Monmouth to Yorktown.¹

The Declaration of Independence, by decisively establishing a nationality; consolidated public opinion, which had hitherto been much divided upon the question of total separation from the Empire. This definite and courageous assumption of the perils and responsibilities of government called for corresponding action on the part of the colonies. They had now only to erect the government of their choice; but a strong party still adhered to old forms and old traditions. Massachusetts, as early as 1778, attempted to form a constitution, by the action of her house of representatives, sitting as a convention; but it was not until September 1, 1779, that a body fresh from the people effected this highly important object. On that day a convention of delegates assembled at Cambridge. It continued by adjournments until March 2, 1780, when the work of framing a constitution was completed, and the result submitted to the people for their action. The instrument was duly ratified and became the organic law.

The first person to occupy the chair of governor was John Hancock, who, after seeing the opposition to Great Britain assume form and purpose in Massachusetts, had been called to the more important position of president of the Continental Congress. As the head of this remarkable body of men, he was the first to affix his name to the immortal Declaration. He continued to hold the office of governor until 1785, when he was succeeded by James Bowdoin. In 1780 Carlisle and East Sudbury were constituted in Middlesex, the former as a district. In 1783, the year in which peace with Great Britain was concluded, Boxborough was also made a district.

¹ Massachusetts furnished for the Revolution 67,097 soldiers, or more than the six Southern States of Georgia, North and South Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware. She furnished more than New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania combined, although the population of the latter province nearly equalled her own. The last surviving revolutionary pensioner of Middlesex was John Goodnow, born in Sudbury, in 1762, living in 1864, at the great age of 102 years.

Peace with Great Britain did not bring with it domestic tranquillity. The birth of the new commonwealth was signalized by civil commotions, which threatened to extinguish its brief and feeble existence almost as soon as that existence had announced itself. At the conclusion of the war everything in the new state tended towards anarchy. This history is not less regrettable than true. The price of liberty achieved was now contemplated with something like terror. With a state debt of more than three million pounds, every town embarrassed by its efforts to furnish its quotas of men or supplies for the army, every individual embarrassed by the unheard-of depreciation of the currency and by the total decay of private credit, the situation was more than alarming.

The demands of public and private creditors which the war had postponed, or the suspension of the courts had rendered it impracticable to satisfy by judicial remedy, now became urgent in proportion as the means of payment decreased. Landholders wished the burdens thrown upon commerce. Commerce demanded a more equitable distribution of those burdens; she would not consent to be destroyed for the benefit of the agricultural class. Recourse was had to imposts and excise, but these methods could afford only partial relief, and could not put off the day of the old and dreaded mode of taxation. The tax-gatherers were able to collect only a moiety of the tax, — while the state, distressed for the means of carrying on its government, was hypothecating the tax to its creditors in advance of collection.

The attempt to collect private debts by recourse to the courts created a war between debtor and creditor, — a war of classes. Rich and poor were thus arrayed against each other. Under such conditions it was not difficult for a few dangerous or designing men to inaugurate the idea of forcible resistance to the sitting of the courts, in order to prevent the issuing of executions. There is no other name than madness for the frenzy that seized upon a large portion of the people of Massachusetts, — a people who had just made such heroic efforts for political independence, and who had borne so honorable a share in its accomplishment. The evils which an impoverished population, without money and without credit, were called upon to encounter, were truly great; but they were magnified by the artful, and the passions of the ignorant inflamed, until a dangerous crisis was forced upon the law-abiding inhabitants of the commonwealth.

On the 22d of August, 1786, during the incumbency of Governor Bowdoin, a delegate convention from fifty towns of Hampshire County assembled at Hatfield, and continued by adjournment until the 25th. The catalogue of grievances for which the people of Hampshire demanded redress through the General Court was: the existence of the senate; the mode of representation; the officers of government not being dependent on the representatives alone for their salaries; all civil officers not being elected by the General Court; the existence of the courts of Common Pleas and General Sessions of the Peace; the fee-table; the mode of apportioning impost and excise; unreasonable grants to certain officers of government; the supplementary aid granted to the United States; the mode of paying government securities; state taxes and their collection; the unequal mode of laying taxation upon landed and mercantile interests; the method and practice of attorneys at law; the want of a sufficient medium of trade; the sessions of the General Court in the town of Boston. To this formidable arraignment of law-makers and law-givers, of the political, judicial, and financial systems of the state, the convention added its recommendation to the towns to instruct their representatives to vote for an emission of paper money to be a legal-tender for the payment of the commonwealth's securities. A revision of the state constitution was also demanded; and a call made for the governor immediately to convene the General Court, in order to take steps for the redress of the grievances enumerated.

In consequence of this public censure of the inferior courts by so large and influential a representative body, a mob of fifteen hundred armed men assembled at Northampton during the last week of August, took possession of the courthouse, and effectually prevented the sitting of the obnoxious courts at the time and place prescribed by law. The counties of Worcester, Middlesex, Bristol, and Berkshire were instantly in a flame.

During the next week forcible resistance was made to opening the courts at Worcester. Disaffection had so widely spread itself throughout the ranks of the militia, that it could not be relied upon for offensive operations against the insurgents. Thus, the first efforts of the chief magistrate to rally the forces of the commonwealth for the suppression of these disorders were ineffectual.

In Middlesex, a county convention assembled at Concord on the day subsequent to that on which

the Hampshire convention met at Hatfield, in which the same ideas were enunciated, and similar demands made upon the authorities. The Court of Common Pleas, which was to sit in Concord on the 12th of September, was especially numbered among the grievances of the people. Confidence felt in the high character for intelligence of the people of Middlesex County, and in the assurances made to him by many influential citizens that active steps would be taken to prevent a repetition of the outrages at Northampton and Worcester, induced Governor Bowdoin to refrain from calling out the militia; or, rather, to countermand an order already issued to General Brooks for the purpose.

But these pacific measures on the part of the state authorities were by the insurgents construed to mean fear. On September 12 the court-house in Concord was taken possession of by about one hundred men, of whom Job Shattuck, of Groton, was the leader. These were joined by an equal number from Worcester and Hampshire counties, making the insurgents' aggregate force not far from two hundred men. At the same time a county convention of those who deprecated violent measures was holding its session at Concord. The efforts of these mediators proved abortive. Shattuck, in an insolent communication to the justices of the Court of Common Pleas, forbade their entering the court-house. At a later hour he notified the Court of Sessions that it might open for the purpose of adjournment only, but entrance to the court-house was refused. In this case, even so small a body as that led by Shattuck was able to carry its point, because armed and united in a definite purpose. The courts were overawed, and the justices left the town.

The county convention of the 23d of August reassembled at Concord on the 3d of October. A petition to the General Court was voted, in which the old grievances were reiterated and new ones brought forward. On the 31st the session of the Supreme Court at Cambridge was protected by two thousand Middlesex militia. On the 28th of November the Court of Common Pleas was also to sit in Cambridge; and, as this court was the special object of the insurgents, precautions were taken to meet any demonstration that might be made. On the 27th a party under Oliver Parker marched into Concord *en route* for Cambridge. These were to have been joined by other bands from Worcester, but the expected reinforcements not arriving, Parker's men became disheartened, and dispersed.

Parker, Page, and Shattuck were subsequently taken prisoners, the latter only after a desperate resistance in which he received several severe wounds. Shattuck was condemned to suffer the extreme penalty of the law, but was afterwards pardoned. Like many of his followers, he had been a soldier in a worthier cause, and it was felt that in the present feverish condition of the public mind magnanimity was the wisest as well as the most humane policy to pursue toward these misguided men.

The insurrection did not by any means cease with its suppression in Middlesex, but was transferred to the western counties, where it soon assumed a far more dangerous character. Early in December the insurgents assembled in considerable force at Worcester, where they posted guards, arrested such persons as they pleased, and billeted themselves on the inhabitants like an invading army. The courts having met, and adjourned without attempting to transact any business, the insurgents retired from the town. They next appeared, to the number of about three hundred, under command of Daniel Shays, at Springfield, where they again intimidated the justices, and prevented the lawful administration of justice.

Convinced that the hour for vigorous action had at length arrived, and having raised the means of equipping a force by voluntary contribution, — for the state treasury was, as we have said, empty, — 4,400 men, of which number 800 were from Middlesex County, were raised, in January, and placed under the orders of the veteran General Benjamin Lincoln. This army rendezvoused at Roxbury on the 19th, and on the 22d marched into Worcester, where its appearance at once quieted any apprehensions that might previously have been felt in regard to the intentions of the insurgents. In the mean time General Shepard quietly took post at Springfield with about 1,100 militia.

The insurgents had succeeded in collecting, in the neighborhood of Springfield, nearly two thousand men under Day, Shays, and Parsons. Among them were a considerable number of old Continentals, who might be expected to fight with all the desperation which in their present treasonable attitude the leaders had persuaded them was the only way to safety. They resolved to capture the United States Arsenal, and, if possible, Shepard's command, before he could be reinforced by General Lincoln. Owing to want of co-operation among the insurgent leaders the scheme failed. Shays's column was the only one which advanced

against the arsenal. On its approach within musket-range Shepard warned Shays that a further advance would be the signal for hostilities to begin. The rebels continued their march towards him, when Shepard opened fire with artillery, killing and wounding several of the insurgents. The remainder broke and fled in the utmost disorder. Two days afterward, on the 27th, General Lincoln's advance entered Springfield, after a forced march.

Notwithstanding their repulse, the insurgents still remaining in the vicinity the united forces of the state immediately began a vigorous pursuit, which ended in the capture and dispersion of the largest body still in arms at Petersham during the first week in February. Smaller bands continued, however, to appear from time to time in the western part of the state, taking refuge in Vermont and New York when closely pursued. Some further collisions occurred between the state forces and the insurgents, and in the town of Sheffield happened the severest engagement of the whole insurrection. Having encountered each other here, the opposing bodies fired several rounds of musketry into each other before the insurgents gave way with the loss of two killed and thirty wounded. The insurrection now collapsed, after having shown extraordinary vitality, and a much firmer hold on the disaffected classes than it was at first believed possible. It was the first and last rebellion that has sullied the fair fame of the state of Massachusetts.

The insurrection exercised a salutary effect in directing the minds of the people to the reformation of evils growing out of the unsatisfactory and anomalous relations existing between the federal and the state governments. It inaugurated a full and free discussion of those evils, not only by the legislature, but by press and people everywhere; so that, notwithstanding a powerful opposition, at the head of which were some of the foremost men of the state, the present Federal Constitution was adopted by Massachusetts.

In his efforts to suppress the rebellion, Governor Bowdoin had the support of the best men in the state, among whom were Samuel Adams and James Sullivan. Adams and others feared the rise of an oligarchy, but they dreaded the levellers more, and therefore gave their consent to the ratification of the present Federal Constitution. On the other hand, the need of a stronger government prepossessed some minds in favor of the Old Monarchy. Such opinions, though guardedly expressed, were actually broached in influential circles.

In 1789 Washington, then President of the United States, revisited New England, passing through the scenes of his former triumphs in Middlesex County. His progress was a continued ovation. On his arrival at Worcester he was met by an aide-de-camp of General Brooks, then commanding the Middlesex militia, who tendered a military escort as far as the limits of the county, and also a review of the county troops at Cambridge, through which place the president's route lay. With a modesty which did him honor the president would have declined the proffered military pageant; but from the general who had so gallantly served under his orders throughout the War for Independence, to the humblest private soldier in the ranks, the desire to pay this homage was universal, and would not be denied.

Escorted by a troop of the county light-horse, the president reached Marlborough on the 23d, where he dined, and Weston the same evening, where he passed the night. He had appointed ten o'clock, of the 24th, to meet his old companions in arms at Cambridge, and his punctuality was the terror of all those who surrounded his person. At eight o'clock in the morning he set out from Weston, and at precisely ten he rode into Cambridge. The militia, having to march considerable distances to reach the ground, had not yet appeared in line; but the president was here met by the lieutenant-governor of the state, Samuel Adams, and the executive council, who informed him that they were come in order to accompany his Excellency to the capital.

By eleven General Brooks had formed his troops, and shortly afterward the president rode down the line, receiving its salute as he passed. His Excellency has left his testimony to the excellent appearance of this fine body of men, with their general at their head. There was quite a sprinkling of old Continental soldiers in the ranks, and many an eye grew moist at the recollections summoned from the past by the presence of their beloved commander.

On the 29th the president paid a visit to Harvard College, the board of which had honored him with an address of congratulation and welcome. He was received in the president's house by President Willard, who showed his distinguished guest through the buildings of the college. In going and returning to Boston, the president inspected the bridges recently erected between Boston and Charlestown, and between Charlestown and Mal-

den, which he pronounced "useful and noble" structures, "doing great credit to the enterprising spirit of the people" of Massachusetts. His Excellency subsequently visited Billerica, Lexington, and Watertown, where he lodged in a house, still standing, near the bridge over Charles River.

The district of Tyngsborough was incorporated in June, 1789. Burlington received its incorporation ten years later, closing the catalogue of towns for the century.

During the year 1799, the attention of the general government having been directed to naval affairs by the hostile attitude of the French Republic, the United States purchased Moulton's Point, in Charlestown, for a dockyard. The purchase included about eighty acres, at a cost to the government of nearly \$40,000. Twenty-three acres were acquired from three principal proprietors, Harris, Stearns, and Breed, at a cost of \$20,000. Much of the site was covered by a marsh which has since been converted, by filling, into firm ground.

Historical from its intimate relation with the battle of Bunker Hill, the dockyard is yet more so from the number of famous ships that have been built and launched within its limits. The Frolic, Cumberland, Merrimack, Hartford, are names that adorn our naval annals with unfading lustre. The Frolic was captured by the enemy in the War of 1812; the Cumberland was sunk in Hampton Roads, in 1862, by the rebel ram Merrimack, with her crew at their guns. The Merrimack was the steam-frigate seized by the rebels and converted into an iron-clad ram of the same name. After sinking and disabling several of our most powerful wooden vessels, she was defeated by the Monitor, and the fleet at Hampton Roads saved from annihilation. The Hartford was the flag-ship of Admiral Farragut during the attacks on Mobile and

New Orleans. When the Cumberland went down, her topmasts showed above water with the Stars and Stripes still flying at the mast-head. The incident is referred to in Longfellow's beautiful ballad:—

"Next morn, as the sun rose over the bay,
Still floated our flag at the mainmast head.
Lord, how beautiful was Thy Day!
Every waft of the air
Was a whisper of prayer
Or a dirge for the dead.

"Ho! brave hearts that went down in the seas!
Ye are at peace in the troubled stream;
Ho! brave land! with hearts like these,
Thy flag, that is rent in twain,
Shall be one again,
And without a seam!"

As a naval station, Charlestown began to assume importance during the War of 1812 with Great Britain. The navy, which Adams had founded, was still in its infancy, although the war with Algiers had carried its reputation abroad, and won for it respect at home.

The dry dock connected with the yard was completed in 1833, under the superintendence of Loammi Baldwin, civil engineer. To give éclat to the opening of this magnificent structure which had occupied six years in building, it was decided that the famous frigate Constitution, or Old Ironsides, as she was popularly called, should be the first vessel admitted. The event was fixed for the 24th of June. In the midst of a vast concourse of spectators, and in presence of the Vice-President, Mr. Van Buren, the Secretary of War, Mr. Cass, and other distinguished guests, Commodore Hull superintended the entrance of the gallant ship into the dock. Here she was afterwards entirely rebuilt by Josiah Barker, the eminent naval constructor.

XXIII.

FIFTY YEARS OF PROSPERITY.

IN this chapter, which brings our history to the ever-memorable year 1861, we make no more than a brief reference to those events which by their importance demand fuller and more intelligent representation under special divisions. Manufactures, canals, and railways form these divisions; the

first being the creator, the others the legitimate offspring born in obedience to the laws of demand and supply, which is the modern way of characterizing those wonderful discoveries science brings to the aid of man at the moment of his need.

The war with Great Britain, to which the Em-

bargo of 1807 was the prologue, finished with the bloody repulse of the enemy at New Orleans, January, 1815. It was emphatically "a war imprudently engaged in, feebly conducted, rarely successful, very costly, perfectly sterile in diplomatic results, and, nevertheless, finally as useful to the prestige of the United States as fruitful for them in necessary lessons."

The war was viewed with aversion, almost with hostility, by the people of Massachusetts. A few troops were raised for service on the Canada frontier, and in the then remote regions now constituting the states of Ohio and Indiana.¹ A few militia responded to the call of the executive of the state to fortify the more important and exposed seaports. But perhaps the most curious aspect this unpopular war was made to take resulted from the stimulus it gave to manufactures, which until now had been insignificant in Massachusetts, but which sprung into vigorous existence at the moment the importation of British goods was stopped by it. So far the war proved a blessing in disguise. The commerce of Massachusetts was destroyed, but her manufactures arose on its ruins.

The dozen years comprised between 1818 and 1825 constitute the era of manufactures bounded by the enterprise of Francis Cabot Lowell and others at Waltham, and by the rise of Lowell. From 1830 to 1840 was the era of railways, as from 1786 to 1830 had been that of canals, bridges, and turnpikes. The year 1844 was the era of the magnetic telegraph, inaugurated by a distinguished son of Middlesex, Samuel F. B. Morse.

Morse was born at Charlestown, April, 1791. He was the son of Rev. Jedediah Morse, minister of the First Congregational Church, who is sometimes called the father of American Geography. Inclination rather than genius led him to adopt painting as a profession; but it is not by art that his name will live. There is little reason to suppose that Morse approached the invention of the recording telegraph through a long series of experiments, or by a protracted scientific study of the singular agent he was to make so obedient to his will. The seed chance dropped there quickly germinated in his mind. He began his own experiments where others ceased theirs, or were baffled;

and within a few years from the time he had first witnessed, in a lecture-room, the working of an electro-magnet connected with a battery, had prepared his first model of a recording telegraph. Other inventors were slowly developing ideas of



S. F. B. Morse.

their own, but Morse at once grasped the simplest and most practicable methods, and fairly outstripped them in the race for fame.

While enterprises destined to effect such marked changes in ways of travel, in methods of communicating public or private intelligence, in developing our own manufactures, were in progress, other events connected with the social aspect of the time demand relation at our hands.

In 1834 there happened within the present limits of the city of Somerville an event which threw all New England into violent commotion. This was the destruction of the Ursuline Convent, situated upon Mount Benedict, by a mob assembled for the purpose, who, after giving the inmates time to depart, fired the building, and prevented any effort to quench the flames.

Considering such an act of lawlessness as to-day impossible, it is difficult to conceive a public opinion that either justified or silently approved it; but it is nevertheless true that the growth of a public sentiment which should tolerate the establishing of Catholic institutions was exceedingly slow in New England. There was no thought of molesting

¹ The 4th United States infantry regiment was wholly raised in New England in 1808. It fought gallantly, under Harrison, at Tippecanoe, and was surrendered at Detroit. The remnant of the regiment reached Boston in 1812, and was quartered at Charlestown.

churches, but by the middle class private religious houses, secluded from the public gaze and the public oversight, were regarded with distrust and aversion.

With such prepossessions it was not difficult to arouse the impetuous, unreasoning, or lawless into a state of exasperation. Still, had this conflagration on Mount Benedict been simply the act of a mob, we should have little to say of it: it was the inaction of the authorities, fully warned as they were of the attempt, that truly indicates the condition of popular opinion. A feeble effort to disperse the mob was indeed made; but, being unaccompanied with any means for its enforcement, the rioters paid no attention to it whatever.

The immediate cause of the outbreak was the spreading of reports that some inmate or inmates of the convent were detained contrary to their own will, or had been abducted to prevent the interposition of friends in their behalf. These reports were soon exaggerated into greater cruelties in their passage from mouth to mouth, until the excitement reached fever heat. The credulous and the ignorant, who believed the rumors true, were very soon persuaded that the destruction of the convent would be less a violation of law than an assertion of popular justice. Threats were openly made to burn the nunnery. Placards were even posted in the streets of Charlestown fixing a time for the attempt. Both passed unheeded; but on the night of the 11th of August, 1834, the torch was applied, and the convent and outbuildings consumed. Four to ten thousand people witnessed the disgraceful affair.

The sole advantage derived from this outrage — an outrage in the last degree cowardly, since the inmates of the convent were only defenceless women and children — was the immediate and eminently healthful reaction in public sentiment by which it was followed. So fully and unmistakably was this sentiment expressed, that there can be no doubt the natural exasperation of Catholics was allayed by it, and reprisals upon Protestant churches prevented. Under the wise counsels of their bishop, Fenwick, they exhibited remarkable forbearance, but it was long before the bitterness engendered by the occurrence passed away. Until recently the ruins were a conspicuous object to travellers crossing the Mystic, but they are now nearly obliterated, presenting only heaps of unsightly rubbish to the eye of the wayfarer.

In 1842 Bunker Hill Monument was completed.

The event was considered one of national importance. Indeed, the completed structure represents the offering of a nation, and is a remarkable example of the truth that where men fail in carrying out an object that appeals wholly to pure and patriotic sentiment, women invariably succeed. Mount Ver-



Bunker Hill Monument.

non, Bunker Hill, and the Old South Church are so many monuments to the women of America.

For a comprehensive *résumé* of the history of the present monument, we have no more appropriate language than that of Hon. G. W. Warren in his annual address to the Monument Association, made in 1862.

"On the 17th of June, 1823, the Bunker Hill Monument Association was first organized. In two years from that day the young patriotic society had obtained the means to acquire to itself a large part of the field of the battle of Bunker Hill, and to lay, with imposing ceremonies, the cornerstone of the monument. In 1843, just twenty years from its organization, — the great work having been completed by popular aid alone, — the association, with equally imposing ceremonies, and in the presence of the whole executive government of the nation, and of patriotic and official personages from every state, inaugurated one of the grandest monuments to one of the grandest objects of commemoration in the world."

William Tudor of Boston, the accomplished scholar, was the first to draw public attention to the building of a memorial on Bunker Hill, com-

mensurate with the importance of the event it was forever to celebrate. He pursued the subject until the sympathies and co-operation of many distinguished citizens were enlisted. This action resulted in some preliminary steps being taken. In November, 1822, Dr. John C. Warren, nephew of the general, purchased three acres of land on Bunker Hill, thus securing a site for the proposed monument. A meeting of those friendly to the enterprise was held at the Merchants' Exchange in Boston, in May, 1823, which resolved itself, under an act of incorporation passed June 7, 1823, into the Bunker Hill Monument Association. Daniel Webster presided at the first meeting.

The consideration of a plan for the monument



Lafayette.

was committed to Daniel Webster, Loammi Baldwin, George Ticknor, Gilbert Stuart, and Washington Allston. Some fifty plans were submitted. The first committee having failed to make a decision, a second, composed of H. A. S. Dearborn, Edward Everett, Seth Knowles, S. D. Harris, and T. H. Perkins, eventually adopted the obelisk offered by Horatio Greenough and modified by the taste and judgment of Loammi Baldwin. Solomon Willard was the architect and superintendent. On the 17th of June, 1825, the anniversary of the battle, the corner-stone was laid in the presence of General Lafayette, then the nation's honored

guest, and of some forty survivors of the battle, whose appearance was greeted with the loudest acclaims of a multitude of spectators. The ceremony of laying the corner-stone having been conducted with the impressive Masonic rite, Mr. Webster addressed the assembled people. In the course of his remarks the orator thus beautifully expressed the purpose of this or any national monument:—

“We wish, that whosoever, in all coming time, shall turn his eye hither, may behold that the place is not undistinguished, where the first great battle of the Revolution was fought. We wish, that this structure may proclaim the magnitude and importance of that event, to every class and every age. We wish, that infancy may learn the purpose of its erection from maternal lips, and that weary and withered age may behold it, and be solaced by the recollections which it suggests. We wish, that labor may look up here, and be proud, in the midst of its toil. We wish, that in those days of disaster, which, as they come in all nations, must be expected to come on us also, desponding patriotism may turn its eyes hitherward, and be assured that the foundations of our national power still stand strong. We wish, that this column, rising towards heaven among the pointed spires of so many temples dedicated to God, may contribute also to produce, in all minds, a pious feeling of dependence and gratitude. We wish, finally, that the last object in the sight of him who leaves his native shore, and the first to gladden him who revisits it, may be something which shall remind him of the liberty and the glory of his country. Let it rise, till it meet the sun in his coming; let the earliest light of the morning gild it, and parting day linger and play on its summit.”

The erection of the monument proceeded under continued difficulties, frequently halting for want of funds, until its completion on the morning of July 23, 1842, when the pinnacle, consisting of a single mass weighing two and a half tons, was raised to its place. While struggling with its difficulties, the Association had been compelled not only to sell a portion of its land, embracing the battle-ground, but to diminish the height of the obelisk as originally designed. At this time, when the affairs of the Association looked gloomy indeed, the patriotic women of the country came to the rescue. Thirty thousand dollars were contributed by them from the proceeds of a fair held in Boston; ten thousand were given by Judah Touro,

the princely and philanthropic merchant of New Orleans. Amos Lawrence and Nathan and William Appleton were among the most prominent benefactors; and Edward Everett's eloquence did much to inaugurate and to sustain the memorable effort which resulted in the completion of the monument.

The obelisk is two hundred and twenty feet high. It is the simplest as well as the grandest public monument in America. A spiral staircase conducts the visitor up the interior of the shaft to the pinnacle, from which a view at once varied, extended, and sublime is to be had. In the chamber at the summit the visitor sees, affixed to the wall, two small brass cannon, which were originally taken out of Boston by stealth in September, 1775, used during the Revolution, and restored to the state at its close.¹

It again fell to the lot of the same great orator who had spoken in 1825 to assist at the ceremony of dedication. He spoke, on this occasion, to a vast concourse; but only twelve of the veterans who had been present when the corner-stone was laid now listened to the sonorous accents and majestic periods of Webster. Lafayette was dead. The two events of commemoration were the limits of nearly twenty years, in which time had wrought many and great changes, and of which the distinguished speaker was himself a living representative. His address, delivered in the ripeness of his intellect and the maturity of his fame, is justly considered one of his great efforts. Profoundly moved by the scene, confronted by a dense mass paved with upturned faces, the orator turned to the monument, and with the gesture which belonged only to himself, pronounced the words,—"There it stands!" A thrill ran through the vast multitude. A moment of silence was succeeded by a simultaneous outburst, or, rather, a roar like that of the tempest, from a hundred thousand throats. Much of the effect proceeded from homage to the man, something is due to the excitement of the moment; but the speaker had touched the mysterious chord which connects visible objects with hidden emotions, causing them to vibrate in the depths of every listener's heart. It was not a *coup de théâtre*. The orator had succeeded in communicating to his audience what he himself felt,—the grandeur of the occasion, the greatness of his theme.

The present is not, however, the only monument

that has stood on Bunker Hill. As early as 1784 King Solomon's Lodge of Charlestown erected a Tuscan column, twenty-eight feet high, to commemorate the death of its heroic Grand-Master, Joseph Warren. The structure stood for about thirty years, but being of wood was in a state of ruinous dilapidation before the movement to erect the new column caused its disappearance. It stood opposite to the present monument, on Concord Street. A model, in marble, may be seen within the obelisk. The original monument bore the following inscription on the pedestal:—

Erected, A. D. MDCXCIV
By KING SOLOMON'S LODGE OF FREEMASONS,
Constituted in Charlestown, 1783,
In Memory of
MAJOR-GENERAL JOSEPH WARREN,

And his Associates,

Who were slain on this memorable spot, June 17, 1775.

None but they who set a just value on the blessings of Liberty are worthy to enjoy her.

In vain we toiled: in vain we fought: we bled in vain: if you, our offspring, want valor to repel the assaults of her invaders.

Charlestown settled, 1638.

Burnt, 1775. Rebuilt, 1776.

The enclosed land given by the Hon. James Russell.

Charlestown contains other monuments, but we will speak only of one of the humblest. In the ancient cemetery is a plain granite shaft to the memory of John Harvard, erected by graduates



Harvard's Monument.

of the University of which he is considered the founder, and to which he gave his name. We have already referred to Harvard's gift in connection with the University. Little can be recovered of

¹ For an account of these guns, see *Old Landmarks of Boston*, pp. 314, 315.

his biography. He died in 1638. The library he gave to the college was destroyed by fire in 1764. On the occasion of the dedication of the monument Edward Everett delivered the address. The eastern face bears the following inscription:

"On the 26th of September, A. D. 1828, this stone was erected by the graduates of the University at Cambridge, in honor of its founder, who died at Charlestown on the 26th of September, 1638."

The western front bears a Latin inscription, recognizing that one who had laid the corner-stone of letters in America should no longer be without a monument, however humble. The memorial, which was raised nearly two hundred years after the decease of Harvard, rests on a suppositive site, his burial-place having been forgotten or obliterated. The old graveyard, one of the most interesting in New England, suffered mutilation while the town was held by the British in 1775-76. It is said that the gravestones were in some cases used by the soldiers for thresholds to their barracks.

Besides that on Bunker Hill, monuments com-

memorative of the events of 1775 have also been erected at Acton, Arlington, Concord, Lexington, Chelmsford, and Cambridge.

The Mexican War, which broke out in 1846, was regarded with disfavor by a majority of the people of Massachusetts. If possible, it was even more unpopular than the War of 1812. A single regiment was raised within the state, which under the command of Colonel Caleb Cushing proceeded to the seat of war on the Rio Grande in the spring of 1847.

The towns admitted to be independent municipalities between 1807 and 1861 are Arlington (as West Cambridge) in 1807, Wakefield (as South Reading) in 1812, Lowell in 1826, Somerville in 1842, Ashland in 1846, Melrose and Winchester in 1850, North Reading in 1853, and Belmont in 1859. With this organization, and a population little inferior to that of the metropolitan county, Middlesex was now called upon to meet the responsibilities and to bear the burdens of the great Civil War.

XXIV.

THE SOUTHERN REBELLION.

In 1860 Middlesex had a population of 216,352 souls, and a property valuation of \$135,458,009.

The unmistakable symptoms of a settled determination on the part of the Southern States to secede from the Union, the hostile tone of their recognized leaders in and out of Congress, of their journals, together with the more significant preparations everywhere visible in that section to maintain that determination, if necessary, by an appeal to arms, at length awoke the North to a full sense of the impending danger.

During the winter of 1861 steps were taken to put the militia of Massachusetts in condition for active field service. The sentiment of the state, expressed through the legislature, was that the president should enforce the execution of the laws of the United States with all the means at his disposal.

On the 23d of January, while measures for putting 2,000 militia in the field were being considered, the governor communicated to the House

a tender by Colonel Jones of the 6th regiment, for immediate service. Even before this tender was made a company had been organized in Cambridge by James P. Richardson, to offer their services to the common country, and to do what they might "to maintain the integrity of our flag and Union." This was the first body expressly organized to meet the coming emergency. True to her history, Middlesex had been the first to act.

The organization of the state government in 1861 was as follows: John A. Andrew was governor, Hon. William Claflin, of Newton, President of the Senate, Hon. John A. Goodwin, of Lowell, Speaker of the House, — the presiding officers of both branches of the legislature thus being from Middlesex. The state was represented at Washington by Senators Wilson and Sumner, the first named a citizen of Middlesex; and in the lower house of Congress by an able delegation in which was Daniel W. Gooch of Melrose.

On the 11th of February there was a monster

meeting in the City Hall at Cambridge, called without distinction of party. In a brief address Hon. John G. Palfrey said, "South Carolina has marshalled herself into revolution; and six states have followed her." Richard H. Dana announced that the South was in rebellion. He was, uncompromisingly, for the Union. Similar meetings were being held everywhere, but the one held at Cambridge had a far greater than local importance. It sounded the keynote to loyal men.

Upon the invitation of Virginia, Massachusetts, in February, sent seven commissioners to meet the commissioners of other states in convention at Washington. This convention is historically known as the "Peace Congress." Middlesex was represented by Hon. George S. Boutwell, of Groton. The deliberations of this body proved unavailing to restore harmony to the opposite sections; and it was dissolved in the latter part of the month in which it assembled. The inauguration of President Lincoln, on the 4th of March, 1861, produced a crisis.

The first act of civil war naturally took place in South Carolina. Here the attempt of the rebels suddenly to seize Fort Sumter was frustrated by the firmness of its commander. On the 12th of April it was bombarded. On the 14th it was surrendered, after sustaining, for thirty-three hours, a fire of unexampled severity, during which it was several times in flames.

The whole country, north and south, was now intensely excited. Indecision was at an end. The first gun fired upon Sumter had instantly consolidated both sections, — the North, in its resolve to assert the national authority over every foot of national territory; the South, in its fatal determination to conquer the separation for which it had been preparing. The guns of Sumter, which saluted its torn but not dishonored ensign as it was lowered, were hardly silent, when, on the 15th of April, a call was made upon the loyal states by the president for 75,000 men. The situation of the national capital already caused great anxiety, and now the ordinary communication by railway through Maryland was in danger of being cut off by the rebels of that state. The sagacious executive of Massachusetts, in anticipation of such a step, had already secured the necessary information relative to routes by which Massachusetts soldiers might reach the threatened capital. With equal forethought he had provided the soldiers. Within a week from the date of the president's

call the state despatched five regiments of infantry, a battalion of riflemen, and a battery of field-artillery to the relief of Washington. A united North arose in its might. The obscure soldier who fired the first gun at the flag flying over Sumter — that flag until now honored as the symbol of freedom in every foreign land — had lighted the flames of civil war among thirty millions of people.

It is not for us further to recount the military or political events of the war for the Union, but we may briefly narrate the part — the important part — played by Massachusetts in rescuing Washington from a situation of imminent danger, and in throttling with her mailed hand the demon of rebellion in Maryland.

Upon receipt of the requisition from the War Department at the State House for two full regiments, orders were immediately transmitted for the 3d, 4th, 6th, and 8th regiments to rendezvous on Boston Common for active service. Before night-fall of the 16th the troops were at the designated rendezvous.

On the 16th the requisition from Washington was increased to four regiments, to be commanded by a brigadier-general. The 5th was accordingly ordered for duty, and General B. F. Butler of Lowell directed to take command of the brigade.

Notwithstanding preparations made by the state to forward its troops by sea to Annapolis or Washington, the Secretary of War, on being apprised of the intention, directed them to be sent by railway *via* Baltimore. The 6th regiment was accordingly sent as directed, arriving in Philadelphia on the 18th of April. The 3d and 4th were despatched by sea, on the 17th, to Fortress Monroe.

The 6th mustered in Lowell at nine o'clock on the morning of the 16th. Its field officers were Edward F. Jones, of Pepperell, colonel; Benjamin F. Watson, of Lawrence, lieutenant-colonel; and Josiah A. Sawtelle, of Lowell, major. Four companies were from Lowell, one each from Groton, Acton, and Stoneham. The remaining companies were from Lawrence, Worcester, and Boston.

In its passage through New York and Philadelphia the regiment received an ovation seldom paralleled in the annals of war. The tidings spread, that while others were talking, six or seven hundred Massachusetts men were actually going to save Washington. The enthusiasm overthrew all restraints. Women wept with joy. Men embraced our soldiers, plied them with offers of money, and bade them God speed. Never was a greater

tribute paid to the patriotism of the Old Bay State.

The 5th Regiment was in part composed of Middlesex soldiers. The field officers were Samuel C. Lawrence, of Medford, colonel; J. Durell Greene, of Cambridge, lieutenant-colonel; Hamilton W. Keyes, of Boston, major. Company B was from South Reading, now Wakefield; companies C and K from Charlestown; Company E from Medford; Company G from Concord; and Company I from Somerville: the Cambridge company referred to had been attached to the 5th. This regiment left for New York on the 21st, and embarked on transports. Cook's battery and the 3d battalion of rifles were also promptly despatched to the national capital.

The 6th, which we left at Philadelphia ready to take the direct route to Washington, left the former city before daybreak on the morning of the 19th of April, — a day twice famous in the annals of Middlesex County. Some premonitions of coming danger which reached the officers in Philadelphia determined the departure at this early hour. On reaching Baltimore it was necessary to detach the locomotive, and to attach horses to the cars, as the passage from the north to the south side of the city was through the streets. Seven companies of the regiment made the passage of two miles, across the city, without accident; but before the remainder could follow, a mob had barricaded the streets in its route, and torn up the rails, thus isolating the two detachments. In order to rejoin their comrades, the three companies left behind began their march across the city under the command of Captain Follansbee.

It is useless to recount the insults which these two hundred brave men patiently bore from a populace sympathizing with rebellion and infuriated by the sight of the Stars and Stripes surrounded by loyal bayonets. But threats, reproaches, and insults were soon followed by a violent assault, the mob showering stones, bricks, and other missiles upon the devoted little phalanx. Although several were wounded, the men tramped steadily on with compressed lips, but without attempting to defend themselves, until the report of firearms, followed by the fall of two or three of their comrades, warned them that the moment for resistance was come. The mob pressed upon them with savage yells. The battalion received the order to commence firing. Never did soldiers obey an order with more alacrity. Numbers of the assailants fell. A road was opened through which the bat-

tion moved on. Massachusetts blood was up; and during the rest of that memorable march the lost detachment returned shot for shot and death for death.

At length, after losing four men killed outright and having thirty-six wounded, — the gallant Captain Dike of the Stonelham company being among the number, — the battalion forced its way to the Washington station, closely pursued by the mob howling like wolves who see their prey on the point of escaping.

Having thus successfully surmounted this fiery ordeal, the regiment proceeded to Washington, where its arrival was hailed with wildest joy. It was immediately quartered in the senate-chamber, and its six hundred bayonets formed an impenetrable hedge against treason around the Capitol. On this very day, in 1775, Massachusetts had been the first to spend her blood at the call of Liberty. She was now the first to renew the precious libation in its defence.

The 8th had followed the 6th on the 18th. General Butler accompanied this regiment. On the 19th the battalion reached Philadelphia; where it learned the opposition the 6th had met with at Baltimore. The same night the bridges on the railway between the Susquehanna and Baltimore were burned. In consequence of this state of affairs General Butler proceeded with the 8th, *via* Perryville, to Annapolis, the capital of Maryland, where he arrived on Sunday morning, the 21st of April. Possession was immediately taken of the frigate Constitution, then lying at Annapolis, by two companies of the 8th. The next morning the 7th New York arrived, and was the first to land. The railway from Annapolis to the junction of the Baltimore and Washington Railway having been rendered impassable, the engines and cars disabled, the men of the 8th set to work putting it in repair. A company of Marblehead men had manned the Constitution; now the mechanics of the regiment relaid the tracks and repaired the locomotives. On the 24th the two regiments began their march for the junction, suffering much from heat and hunger. Friday, April 26th, in the afternoon, the 8th reached Washington. On the 30th the regiment was mustered into the service of the United States.

In this important crisis valuable services were rendered to the nation and state by distinguished citizens of Middlesex. Confusion, distrust, and for the moment inability to grasp the full extent

of the danger threatening the Republic, reigned at Washington. The vigorous and prompt action of Massachusetts did much to restore confidence, at the national capital, especially to the mind of President Lincoln, who doubted if the unanimity of sentiment leading to unqualified support of the government might be counted on from the loyal North. The emergency found the North unprepared. Treason in high places rendered this want of preparation still more unfortunate; but John A. Andrew was eminently the man for the crisis. With the aid of Henry Wilson, E. Rockwood Hoar, George S. Boutwell, at Washington, to advise with the authorities, transmit true intelligence, and care for our soldiers, the governor's hands were greatly strengthened and the situation visibly improved. With Massachusetts troops at Washington, at Fortress Monroe, at Annapolis, at Fort McHenry, rebellion received its first check, and the idea of peaceful secession its final quietus.

Neither our limits nor our purpose permit a more extended notice of the part taken by the soldiers of Middlesex during the four subsequent years of fratricidal strife. A volume would hardly do this; and we have only a few pages to devote to a brief and general *résumé* of the subject.¹

The total number of men furnished by Middlesex during the war is given at 29,170. The adjutant-general of the state believed, however, this enumeration to be somewhat exaggerated; still, it is certain, he says, that every city and town in the county furnished its complement of men on every call made by the president; and at the end of the war each had a surplus standing to its credit. The amount raised and expended in aid of soldiers' families and repaid by the state was \$1,560,825.²

These figures give an intelligent idea of the resources of the county in men and money. They are also a speaking evidence of the public spirit and patriotism of its citizens. With a population of 216,352 (census of 1860), she put into the field a body of soldiers equal to a large army corps. When the next decennial census shall give her a population of 300,000 souls, her military strength may be fairly estimated at forty thousand fighting men.

Of the whole number of soldiers, Lowell con-

tributed 5,266; Charlestown, 4,307; Cambridge, 3,600; Somerville, 1,135; Newton, 1,067. The other towns of the county furnished as follows: Acton, 195; Arlington, 295; Ashby, 114; Ashland, 184; Bedford, 95; Belmont, 137; Billerica, 173; Boxborough, 51; Brighton, 365; Burlington, 82; Carlisle, 74; Chelmsford, 249; Concord, 229; Dracut, 218; Dunstable, 72; Framingham, 426; Groton, 400; Holliston, 364; Hopkinton, 425; Lexington, 225; Lincoln, 79; Littleton, 117; Marlborough, 731; Malden, 567; Medford, 557; Melrose, 454; Natick, 625; North Reading, 131; Pepperell, 186; Reading, 411; Sherborn, 108; Shirley, 142; Stoneham, 404; Stow, 174; Sudbury, 168; Tewksbury, 180; Townsend, 250; Tyngsborough, 65; Wakefield, 386; Waltham, 700; Watertown, 392; Wayland, 124; Westford, 172; Weston, 131; Wilmington, 99; Winchester, 224; Woburn, 708.

Middlesex furnished many valuable officers whose valor in the cause they espoused will forever illustrate the heroic page of our history. Those who attained the highest rank were Benjamin F. Butler and Nathaniel P. Banks. The former had the honor of commanding the brigade of three months' men first despatched to the relief of Washington; and subsequently, when commanding at Annapolis, at Baltimore, at Fortress Monroe, and at New Orleans, of solving some of the most difficult military and political problems the war developed. His ingenious and sagacious application of the principle of contraband of war to slaves was an inspiration. His government of disloyal Baltimore and of captured New Orleans was remarkable for justice, strength, and comprehensiveness. It was in these highly difficult administrative positions that General Butler's genius shone pre-eminent. It was his fortune to render the most conspicuous services to his country, and to obtain at an early stage of the war the rank of major-general of volunteers.

General Banks had only just resigned the gubernatorial chair of Massachusetts when the rebellion broke out. He hastened to offer his services to the government, and was created major-general of volunteers in May, 1861. He commanded the military district of Annapolis, and subsequently that of the Shenandoah. Later he succeeded General Butler as military governor of the department of Louisiana. Knowing, as few knew, how to conciliate a proud and sensitive population, his administration was looked upon with much favor by the citizens of New Orleans. General Banks

¹ Schouler's *History of Massachusetts in the Rebellion* gives detailed information of the events in which the different regiments took part. See also the town histories in this volume.

² The honor of organizing the first Soldiers' Aid Society is claimed for Judge Nathan Crosby, of Lowell.

had the good fortune to receive the surrender of Port Hudson as the sequel of the fall of Vicksburg, thus removing the last obstacle to the navigation of the Mississippi.

The news of the evacuation of Richmond by the rebel forces was everywhere received with the wildest demonstrations of joy. In city, village, or hamlet, no sooner was the intelligence received than all business was, by a common impulse suspended. In Cambridge a meeting was held, at which addresses were made by Richard H. Dana, J. M. S. Williams, and George Thompson, M. P. All the bells of the city rang out a joyful peal; houses were illuminated; while the military paraded the streets, which resounded with martial music and huzzas.

In Charlestown the church-bells were rung and flags displayed. These demonstrations were followed in the evening by illuminations and fireworks. Four thousand workmen, employed at the Navy-Yard, assembled before the residence of Admiral Stringham, who made them a patriotic address. Salutes were fired; and in numerous public and private gatherings the whole population testified to its gladness at the great news of the hour.

On the 9th of April General Lee surrendered his army to General Grant at Appomattox Courthouse, Virginia, thus virtually ending the war. With this blow, the rebellion crumbled in the dust. In the midst of universal congratulations the country was electrified by the intelligence of the assassination of President Lincoln, on Saturday, the 15th of April. This dastardly crime changed the tide of public rejoicing into mourning; but the occurrence, terrible as it was, did not and could not, as the assassin hoped, result in anarchy or paralyze the strong arm of the nation. It was simply murder; yet it was felt to be the greatest loss the nation had sustained in all the war. Governor Andrew communicated the sad intelligence to the legislature on the 17th, in the following language:—

"In the midst of exultations of recent and repeated victory, in the midst of the highest hopes, of the most auspicious omens, in the hour of universal joy, the nation passed at once, by an inscrutable and mysterious providence, into the valley of the shadow of death. Assembled while the cloud is yet thick upon our eyes, and the hearts of men are oppressed by a sense of a strange dismay, it has become my mournful duty to record, by for-

mal and official announcement to the legislative department of the commonwealth, this calamitous and distressing event."

Appropriate honors were paid to the memory of the deceased president. Never was sorrow more spontaneous or more heartfelt. Notwithstanding the exalted position of him to whom these honors were paid, there was not an individual but seemed to feel the loss as a personal bereavement; and from every pulpit in the commonwealth the universal grief and lamentation found appropriate and tender expression. In the army triumph was changed for sadness, and horror followed by exasperation; for the murdered president was the soldiers' friend. All this was the work of a man who believed himself a hero, but who was only an assassin.

The census next following the conclusion of the war showed Middlesex to be the most populous, and, next to Suffolk, the wealthiest county of the state. In 1874 she, however, received a sensible check by the annexation of Charlestown and Brighton to the metropolis. The government census of 1870 showed the first to have a population of 28,330, and the last of 4,970. At the time of actual separation the number of inhabitants thus lost to Middlesex was probably not fewer than 35,000. The annexation of Brighton was a question of comparatively recent growth, but that of Charlestown had been long agitated; and though its associations with the county were hallowed by age, and the common history one and indivisible, the dismemberment was inevitable.

The loss of population was, however, soon repaired; though Suffolk, by her numerous annexations, still holds the first place in respect to population and wealth. Since 1870 the towns of Hudson (1866), Everett (1870), Ayer (1871), and Maynard (1871) have been incorporated, constituting, at the moment we are writing, an aggregate number of fifty-four cities and towns.

The statistics of population present some curious results. Previous to the Revolution, while engaged in her disputes with the mother country, the province refused to take a census, fearing that it might be made the basis for taxation. By the colonial census of 1776 the population of Middlesex was 40,121 souls. By the state census of 1816 it was 53,408; and by that of 1875, 284,112 souls. Lowell, which had no separate existence until 1826, has to-day ten thousand more inhabitants than the whole county had a century ago. If

we include Charlestown and Brighton, which together had about 33,000 inhabitants in 1870, and which we are certainly entitled to include in our comparative estimates, we shall find the population to have doubled every thirty-four years during the century; to have increased its original numbers eight times; and now showing an aggregate somewhat in excess of 325,000. In the state, Middlesex holds the second rank in population by counties; and were the towns taken from her since 1870 to be restored, she would fall but a few thousands short of Suffolk, the most populous county. Middlesex exceeds the aggregate population of the six counties of Barnstable, Berkshire, Bristol, Hampshire, Nantucket, and Dukes.

The census of 1776 affords other curious comparisons with the present rank and importance of many towns. For example, Sudbury was then the only town having a population of 2,000 souls; it now ranks thirty-ninth in the order of population; Reading and Concord come next, with 1,900 each.

Charlestown having been destroyed the previous year, exhibits only 380 in the tables. In 1810 Charlestown, the largest town, had 4,959; Cambridge, 2,323; Reading, including that part since set off under the name of South Reading, 2,228 inhabitants. Next to Reading, in population, came Groton, Newton, Marlborough, Framingham, Concord, Watertown, and Medford in the order given. In 1776 there were thirty-seven, in 1816 forty-five, and in 1878 fifty-four towns in the county. Looking back across the century, these figures give a most instructive view of the growth and expansion in this important division of the commonwealth.

In the value of farms, including land and buildings, Middlesex far exceeds any other county, her valuation in that class of property being nearly one fifth that of the whole state, or, in figures, \$36,375,185. Included in this general aggregate are the market-gardens of the county, which are valued at \$497,079, or nearly half the ascertained value of such gardens in the state.

XXV.

COTTON MANUFACTURE. — WALTHAM. — LOWELL. — OTHER INDUSTRIES.

WITH the year 1813 a new era of progress dawned in Middlesex County. This year witnessed the establishment on solid foundations of cotton manufacture in New England. There had been many attempts to introduce this important manufacture, but so far those attempts had met with indifferent success, and the rude mechanism in use for spinning and weaving cotton had thus far attained only trifling results. The restrictions upon commerce, which culminated in the war of 1812, and of course put a stop to importations of British goods, undoubtedly stimulated new efforts to improve machinery, and to furnish the supply the war had thus cut off.

Some beginning had been made at Bridgewater, soon after the Revolution, to construct machinery for carding and spinning cotton. Aid was granted by the state to enable the inventors to complete their machines; but it does not appear that they were practically used in actual manufacture, although they were exhibited as successful models.

We learn from Samuel Batchelder's *Introduc-*

tion and Early Progress of Cotton Manufacture in the United States, valuable from its having been written by a man not only familiar with the early history of cotton manufacture, but possessing, himself, a lifelong acquaintance with the practical and theoretical working of mills, that, "in 1786 and 1787 the legislature of Massachusetts was taking active measures to encourage the introduction of cotton machinery, and that it had succeeded in obtaining machines and models, probably including the roller-spinning and other improvements of Arkwright, which had then been but partially introduced in England." Mr. Batchelder concludes that the machinery at Bridgewater was the first built or introduced into this country for the manufacture of cotton, which included Arkwright's improvements.

A factory for the manufacture of cotton cloth was commenced at Beverly in 1787. The managers, discouraged by the great difficulty and expense of getting the works into operation, petitioned the legislature for aid, which that body,

considering the enterprise one of public importance, granted in lands to the value of five hundred pounds; and upon this proving insufficient, made a further grant of one thousand pounds, to be raised by lottery. In 1789 the company was incorporated, and the works were visited by President Washington during his tour in October of that year. The raw staple was then procured from the West Indies in exchange for dried fish, the most valuable export of the state.

The cotton manufacture continued to extend itself within and without the New England states, but it was reserved for Samuel Slater, who had acquired eight years' practical knowledge in England, to make the production first remunerative at Pawtucket, Rhode Island, in 1790. By 1812 there were said to be in Rhode Island thirty-three factories, with 33,660 spindles; in Massachusetts twenty factories, with 17,370 spindles; and in New Hampshire twelve factories. All these were built after the plan introduced by Slater.

As early as 1803, Seth Bemis of Watertown began spinning cotton by machinery at the old chocolate and snuff mill on the Watertown side of Charles River. The weaving was done on hand-loom. It is claimed that the first cotton sail-duck ever offered for sale in this country was turned out of this mill. In 1807 an exemption from taxes for five years was granted by the legislature for a cotton-mill erected at Watertown by Seth Bemis and Jeduthan Fuller. In 1810 the Waltham Cotton and Wool Factory went into operation, and in 1815 was working 2,380 spindles. In 1813 there was a cotton-mill at Framingham.

In 1810 Francis Cabot Lowell, son of Judge John Lowell, was in England. The subject of cotton manufacture was engrossing his mind when, in 1811, he met Nathan Appleton, of Boston, in the city of Edinburgh, to whom he imparted his idea that the processes of manufacture might be so improved as to render the United States independent of Great Britain. Mr. Appleton encouraged him to pursue his investigations by visiting Manchester, and by an examination of all the new appliances which were, so to speak, only so many approximations towards the power-loom.

Having procured all the information possible to be obtained, — for the improvements in cotton machinery were jealously guarded from the public, — Lowell, in 1812, returned to the United States with the idea of the power-loom in his head. He im-

mediately set about making and perfecting a working model with much secrecy, and having at last attained this object, secured the co-operation of his brother-in-law, Patrick Tracy Jackson, a successful merchant of Boston. The next step was to obtain an act of incorporation, under the name of the Boston Manufacturing Company. Having associated with themselves several of the intelligent merchants of Boston, among whom was Nathan Appleton, the projectors of the enterprise proceeded to erect a mill at Waltham, which went into successful operation in 1814, and was the first, in America, in which all the processes of making cotton cloth were combined.

In 1817 Lowell died. But he had left a successor who, if not his equal in fertility of invention, was, in other respects, worthy of himself. The limited capacity of Charles River for extending the manufacture of cotton, the future of which he had the sagacity to foresee, induced him to seek other locations where it might be prosecuted with advantage on a great scale. The canal at Pawtucket Falls having attracted his attention was soon transferred to the control of himself and a few chosen associates. The lands lying contiguous to the falls, on both sides of the Merrimack, were also purchased. Nathan Appleton, Kirk Boott, and others of the Waltham Company joined in organizing a new company with the corporate title of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company. A mill was immediately constructed, and in September, 1823, it went into successful operation. At the suggestion of Nathan Appleton the new manufacturing town took the name of the distinguished founder of the mills at Waltham, Lowell.

Tudor, in his *Letters on the Eastern States*, has the following reference to the establishment of the factory at Waltham: "This," he says, "was begun at a period when manufactures were depressed, and many of the establishments were discontinued. One in the immediate vicinity, of considerable extent, had ceased working. Under these discouraging appearances this manufactory was set on foot by five or six gentlemen who had a sufficient capital to meet the delays attendant upon an incipient establishment, and in both their purchases and sales to take advantage of the market. They had a large stake in the undertaking, and everything was done with precaution and solidity. They first secured a water-power which gave them an ample, certain supply at all seasons. They then erected large, substantial buildings. Having procured the best

mechanics, they began by degrees to put up their machinery, making it certain, by experiment, that it was of the best and most improved kind. Their machinery is, consequently, superior to any other in the United States, and is not surpassed by the most perfect in England. They now consume about 400,000 pounds of cotton annually, and keep nearly two hundred looms, moved by water, in constant operation. This manufacture is a very interesting one, because it proves decisively that, with sufficient capital and proper management, the manufacture of cotton may be carried on with advantage."

Through the eyes of a visitor, who saw these works in 1825, we are enabled to take a passing view of them as they then appeared to an intelligent European, and to observe what were the most striking characteristics of cotton manufacture as conducted at Waltham.

His Highness, Duke Bernhard, of Saxe Weimar, thus describes Waltham and its mills in 1825: "At this place a branch of a large cotton manufactory is situated, belonging to a company of twenty-five persons. It is under the direction of Mr. Jackson, who possesses a very handsome dwelling, where he appears to pass a happy life with his amiable family. About four hundred and fifty workmen are employed, who live in different buildings belonging to the factory, and form a particular colony. They have two schools, a church, and a clergyman. They appear to be in very good circumstances, as the dress, cleanly exterior, and healthy appearance of the workmen testify. In these buildings the cotton is spun and woven; but the coloring and printing are performed in another establishment. The machines are worked by water which is said not to freeze in winter, but sometimes fails in dry summers. More simple machines than jennies are used for spinning, and the dressing machines are different from those in the Netherlands, though not better, I believe, as they have but one cylinder. The weaving machines are mostly of wood, which is very cheap, though I believe that our iron ones are better. The workmen of this factory are, as I have since learned, esteemed on account of their good manners, and their morality is universally praised."

Mr. Butchelder remarks that the inventions and improvements in the machinery at Waltham having been patented, the Rhode Island mills adopted the crank-loom, and introduced various other plans in the processes for which these patents were held, so that two systems of manufacture were thus

established. On the other hand, the mills which were from time to time built in Massachusetts and New Hampshire adopted the Waltham loom, and in general the plan pursued there.

But there was also a difference in the general management of the business, as well as in the machinery of the two systems. The works at Waltham formed a new era in the conduct of a manufacturing industry. In Rhode Island the English plan of employing families, often including children of a tender age, was put in practice; and, instead of payment in money for daily or weekly wages, a store was established by the mill-owners, which paid for labor in provisions, clothing, and other articles. At Waltham wages were paid in money, and boarding-houses built for the accommodation of operatives. Children were excluded. Thus, instead of drawing to the neighborhood of the mills a population wholly dependent upon them for support, which, in the event of even a temporary suspension, would suffer destitution, a picked class of operatives were provided who, when work failed from any cause, might return to the homes they had left. By this system the *status* of the English manufacturing town, its squalor, poverty, and crime, was wholly avoided, to the great melioration of the condition of the employed.

Lowell, being the most remarkable example of sudden growth the Union could show, besides embodying new and philanthropic ideas in the management of its mill operatives, soon became an object of the greatest interest to foreign tourists of distinction who found themselves in its vicinity. We present a picture of Lowell as it appeared in October, 1827, to Captain Basil Hall, B. N.

"A few years ago," writes this English officer, who had travelled over the greater part of the habitable globe,—"a few years ago, the spot which we now saw covered with huge cotton mills, canals, roads, and bridges was a mere wilderness, and, if not quite solitary, was inhabited only by painted savages. Under the convoy of a friendly guide, who allowed us to examine not only what we pleased, but how we pleased, we investigated these works very carefully.

"The stuffs manufactured at Lowell, mostly of a coarse description, are woven entirely by power-looms, and are intended, I was told, chiefly for home consumption. Everything is paid for by the piece; but the people work only from daylight to dark, having half an hour to breakfast and as long

for dinner. 'The whole discipline, ventilation, and other arrangement appeared to be excellent, of which the best proof was the cheerful and healthy look of the girls, all of whom, by the way, were trigged out with much neatness and simplicity, and wore high tortoise-shell combs at the back of their heads.

"On the 13th of October, at six o'clock in the morning, I was awakened by the bell which tolled the people to their work; and on looking from the window saw the whole space between the 'factories' and the village speckled over with girls, nicely dressed, and glittering with bright shawls, and showy-colored gowns, and gay bonnets, all streaming along to their business, with an air of lightness and an elasticity of step implying an obvious desire to get to their work."

At this early period Lowell boasted of several school-houses, no less than three churches, innumerable boarding-houses, taverns, and stores, all in the freshness of new bricks, which gave her the appearance of a city sprung, Aladdin-like, in a single night from the wilderness. Lowell at this time had her newspaper and her bookstores; and Captain Hall records with evident gratification the erection of a mammoth brewery destined to substitute the use of malt-liquor for that of ardent spirits among the mill population.

Lowell then had a population not much exceeding 3,000 souls. In 1830 the number was 6,477; in 1840, 20,796; in 1850, 33,383, nearly as many as Boston had in 1810; by the census of 1870, 40,978; and by the state census of 1875, 49,688 inhabitants. Lowell was incorporated as a town March 1, 1826, and as a city April 1, 1836. Originally part of Chelmsford, it has annexed parts of Tewksbury, Dracut, and Chelmsford. It is now the second city in the state.

It may, we think, be fairly asked whether cotton manufacture, in New England, has not reached its greatest development. In some of the cotton-producing states, the manufacture has been introduced with success. The state of Georgia is already a strong competitor in the markets of the South and West. Besides furnishing abundant power, her great rivers neither freeze in winter nor fail in summer. Negro and even white labor is, since the Civil War, cheap and abundant; while the staple grows at the factory doors, and is, therefore, not subject to the charge of transportation to the Northern mill in its raw state, or back again to the Southern consumer when made into cloth. We

leave the problem for the consideration of economists and to the solution of time.

According to the latest official tables, Middlesex County has \$10,815,096 invested in the manufacture of cotton into cloth, canvas, thread, and the numerous other articles in common use. Of this capital Lowell has \$10,075,096, and eleven of the sixteen establishments. Medford, Waltham, and Newton have one each, and two are in Shirley. The value of the manufactured product was, in 1877, nearly eighteen millions of dollars. Middlesex holds the second place in the state in this important industry, being only surpassed by Bristol County with its fifty-three works and its twenty-five millions of capital.

Timothy Dwight, in an account of a journey made through New England about 1810, mentions that the most important manufacture of wool and cotton-cards then carried on in the United States was in Menotomy, now Arlington.

The water-powers of Charles River and of Sudbury and Concord rivers were very early utilized by the settlers for purposes of prime necessity, such as the erection of saw and grist mills. These were followed by fulling-mills, snuff, chocolate, and paper mills before the era of cotton manufacture had dawned.

The first dam on Charles River is said to have been built in 1778 by David Bemis and Dr. Enos Sumner, at Bemis' Station, one mile above Watertown Bridge.¹ The following year a paper-mill was erected on the Newton side, where the manufacture was carried on by the Bemises for many years. Under skilful and prudent management this has become one of the busy manufacturing centres of the county.

The water-power of Charles River was further improved. At the Upper Falls, in Newton, the hydraulic power was, previous to 1800, utilized to carry snuff, grist, and saw mills. Only about six families resided in that part of the town at this date. Since that time cotton-mills, iron-works, and works for the construction of machinery used in cotton-mills have been erected. A factory for the manufacture of cut-nails was built in 1809, and the first cotton mill about 1814.

Iron-works were established at the Lower Falls by Jonathan Willard as early as 1704. The first paper-mill here was built by John Ware, in 1790.

¹ *Waltham, Past and Present*, p. 125. In the Newton Centennial Memorial, 1876, this dam is said to have been erected in 1760.

During the half-century that followed, the manufacture of paper was greatly extended by the Curtises, the Crebores, and the Rices. Formerly, when it was wholly performed by manual labor, the process was slow and laborious, but with the introduction of machinery the production was immediately and largely increased. The first Fourdrinier machine used in this country is said to have been placed in a mill at the Lower Falls. At the Lower Falls there have been silk factories; and there are now cloth and hosiery mills, shops for the manufacture of machinery, and other industries. Manufactures are also carried on at Silver Lake, in the northerly part of Newton.

There are other industries in which the people of the county are employed, some of which may be appropriately mentioned here, though our limits do not permit a history of their progress. Middlesex takes the first rank in the state in the manufacture of leather, chiefly carried on at Woburn, which has ninety-seven establishments and nearly one half of all the capital invested. Malden, Groton, Lowell, Stoneham, Winchester, Cambridge, Natick, and Sudbury also do a considerable business in tanning and preparing leather for market. The whole capital employed is \$2,892,410; the value of the annual product is \$7,261,199. We proceed to classify the following industries in the order of their importance.

Boots and Shoes.—Middlesex stands third in the order of counties, having 228 establishments, a capital of \$2,705,491, and a production estimated at \$16,066,284. In the order mentioned, Hopkinton, Stoneham, Marlborough, Hudson, and Natick are the principal towns in which this industry is carried on. We remark in connection with this once distinctive New England industry, in which fully one half her rural population employed the leisure hours of winter, that so complete is the application of machinery to every process requisite for its manufacture, that no one workman now makes a boot or a shoe in the manufactories. It may therefore be said to have ceased to belong to the number of recognized trades. The manufacturer formerly distributed his stock among his workmen, each of whom returned him the completed boot or shoe; he now distributes materials to be worked into one of the parts, which is to be fitted together by other hands. Fifty years ago it was confidently asserted that machinery could not be used in the manufacture of boots, shoes, hats, saddlery, etc. Now the mechanical appli-

ances are among the most numerous as well as the most ingenious to be found. The relation which the value of the manufactured product bears to the capital employed is one of the marked features—perhaps the most remarkable—that the introduction of labor-saving machinery has presented. In the statistics given, the original capital annually multiplies itself six times.

Woollen Cloths, Blankets, etc.—Capital employed, \$2,796,000; value of product, \$6,067,131. Lowell, Maynard, Billerica, Watertown, and Stow are at the head of this branch of manufacture. Fifty years ago only the coarsest cloths were made in this country. Experiments for the manufacture of finer cloths were just beginning. Their success has kept pace with the improvements made in machinery and in the breeds of sheep, which had then only begun with the introduction of Spanish breeds. In connection with the various manufactures from wool, it should be mentioned that in Lowell carpets of excellent quality are produced which find a ready market in the United States. It is said that the Lowell Company's mills were the first in the world where power-looms were introduced for weaving woollen carpets.

Worsted Goods are manufactured at Framingham, Westford, Lowell, and Chelmsford, employing capital to the amount of \$1,213,000, and turning out goods valued at \$1,619,566.

Machinery.—The manufacture of machinery is one of the important industries of the county, employing, in 1875, \$1,839,396 of capital, and furnishing \$2,095,952 in machinery of various kinds. The works are chiefly at Lowell, Cambridge, and Everett.

Wooden Ware employs \$1,719,200, and produces manufactured goods of the value of \$1,980,234, principally in Wakefield, at the celebrated works of the Wakefield Rattan Company, whose annual production is given at \$633,172. The establishment of these works may be said to have inaugurated a new era by introducing articles of utility and luxury from a material previously little used on this continent, but in which lightness, strength, and beauty are in a remarkable degree combined. Cambridge, Townsend, Lowell, and Watertown are also engaged in making wooden ware.

Food Preparations are manufactured in the county to the value of \$12,104,720; with a capital of \$1,722,626. We have here another branch of industry of recent growth, but supplying an important need.

Metals and Metal Goods are manufactured to the value of \$3,278,440, employing a capital of \$1,969,848.

Clothing employs capital amounting to \$890,689, producing a great variety of manufactured goods of the value of \$2,368,197.

Printing and Publishing have an invested capital of \$800,000, and turn off their presses printed matter to the value of \$1,410,268. In this branch Cambridge takes the lead, having \$680,000 of the capital, and yielding \$1,271,400 of the whole product. The imprints of the University and Riverside presses are of world-wide reputation, and it is believed that nowhere is printing as an art carried to greater perfection than in these establishments.

Paper is represented by a capital of \$731,325 and a production of \$970,300. The manufacture is chiefly carried on at Pepperell, Watertown, and Groton. Mills were quite early established at Watertown and at Newton Lower Falls.

Other industries of importance are the manufacture of glass, chiefly at East Cambridge, where it was first introduced in 1814,¹ of lumber, boxes, bricks, extensively produced in Cambridge and Somerville, of clocks and watches at Waltham, and of rubber, scientific instruments, and furniture, together with various textile fabrics not included in our enumeration under specific heads.

We conclude our summary of the industrial and other interests of the county with a brief reference

to one article of traffic which, from being at first considered a luxury, is now universally regarded as a necessity. The idea of harvesting the ice crop of our fresh-water ponds in storehouses, to be transported to foreign or domestic ports, or left at the doors of consumers at home, originated with Frederick Tudor. In 1805 he shipped his first cargo to Martinique. The venture provoked the derision of his merchant acquaintances, but the cargo having arrived in perfect condition found a ready sale. The business prospered. He obtained leases of Fresh Pond, Spot Pond, Walden Pond, and Smith's Pond, all in Middlesex County. To the first named a railway was built solely for the transportation of ice. Extending itself far beyond the most sanguine expectations of its originator, this extraordinary traffic contributed largely to the wealth of the county.

In 1775 the whole number of manufactories in Middlesex County was 3,156, giving employment to 53,000 persons, of whom 17,934 were females, who earned yearly wages amounting to \$24,145,051. These manufactories represented an aggregate capital of \$47,053,532. Lowell employed 18,311 persons in her mills and workshops; Cambridge, 6,953; Waltham, 2,500; Marlborough, 2,404; Woburn, 2,226; Somerville, 1,991. The yearly value of materials of all kinds used by them is fixed at \$57,404,804, and the total value of their production at \$103,085,248.

XXVI.

CANALS AND RAILWAYS.

THE little that is to be said concerning artificial inland navigation within the county is identified with the history of two of the most enterprising, skilful, and far-sighted of its citizens. The various schemes that were discussed, after the Revolution, had in view the restoration to the metropolis of Massachusetts the traffic which had once been hers, but was now diverted, by the natural course of the great rivers and by the improvement of their navigation, to other points. This discrimination of

Nature against her was a serious obstacle to the prosperity of Boston; for, instead of bringing trade to her, the great rivers of the state carried it away from her. Thus, the Connecticut on the west and the Merrimack on the north became, in the first instance an absolute, and in the second a partial, barrier which commerce would not cross. In other words, the Connecticut became tributary to New York, and the Merrimack to Portsmouth or Newburyport. It was all important to the future of Boston to solve this problem.

In June, 1793, an act passed the legislature incorporating James Sullivan of Boston, Oliver Prescott of Groton, James Winthrop of Cambridge,

¹ Glassworks were first introduced in Boston in 1793, but were not successfully established there until some years later. Glass bottles were, however, made at Braintree, Mass., before the Revolution.

Loammi Baldwin of Woburn, Benjamin Hall, Jonathan Porter, and others of Medford, as the Proprietors of the Middlesex Canal. It was at first contemplated to open the canal from the Merrimack, at Chelmsford, to the Mystic, at Medford; but subsequent legislation extended it across Charlestown Neck, to the mill-pond, and by a second lock to Charles River, thus making continuous water-communication with the metropolis. The surveys were made by an English engineer named Weston; Colonel Loammi Baldwin, a native of Woburn, and one of the incorporators, superintended the construction. In 1803 the canal was opened for traffic. Its cost was something more than half a million of dollars.

The canal was twenty-seven miles long, with a breadth of thirty and a depth of four feet. Beginning at tide-water at Charlestown, it ascended one hundred and seven feet, by thirteen locks, to Concord River. Crossing this stream, it descended twenty-one feet, by three locks, to the bend of the Merrimack, a little above Pawtucket Falls. The locks were well built of hewn stone. Boats of twenty-four tons burden usually occupied twelve hours passing through the canal. Improvements made in the river above Chelmsford rendered the Merrimack navigable for boats to Concord, New Hampshire. During its period of prosperity the annual income to the Middlesex Canal from tolls amounted to \$25,000.

Until the era of railways the Middlesex Canal was a work of great public utility. The lumber and grain from the Upper Merrimack, with other products of the region tributary to that river, now found their way through the canal to the metropolis. The commodities of the city were transported back into the country by way of exchange. Both travel and traffic advantageously pursued the canal until the birth of its legitimate successor, the railway. Upon the completion of the Boston and Lowell, and Lowell and Nashua roads the canal ceased to pay its operating expenses. In a few years it was discontinued, and is now nearly obliterated.

The elder Loammi Baldwin, who had been so zealous a friend and promoter of the Middlesex Canal, died in 1807, only a few years subsequent to its completion. He had been a member of the memorable Middlesex Convention of 1774, had fought at Lexington, and had subsequently commanded a regiment in the army of the Revolution, the fragments of which he led at Trenton.

The second part of the programme — that for

turning the commerce of Western Massachusetts to her own seaboard — was now being actively agitated in commercial as well as in political circles. A new and important element was introduced. De Witt Clinton had inaugurated his magnificent scheme for a canal from the Hudson to Lake Erie, and the work was vigorously progressing. The people of Massachusetts could not shut their eyes to the danger that threatened when this avenue should be opened to commerce. The traffic of the West was felt to be a prize worth contending for even at that early day. They resolved to enter the lists; but it was now no longer a question of a few miles of canal through a region highly favorable for its construction. Mountain ranges must be crossed, scientific problems solved, that rendered the enterprise one which even the sanguine regarded with misgiving.

Half a century ago an engineer, now famous, came up the valley of the Deerfield with the purpose of conducting a canal over Hoosac Mountain. The river led him to the vertical eastern wall of the mountain, and there left him looking askance, no doubt, at its two thousand or more feet of forest-shagged rock. He ascended the gorge of the Deerfield to find himself at length in a deep depression, where the west branch of that stream and the north branch of Hoosac River, having their sources within a hundred rods of each other, flow down opposite sides of the mountain. To unite these streams was, indeed, feasible; but the plan involved a system of locks and reservoirs too costly for the treasury of a state by no means opulent, and it was, moreover, at most, uncertain of furnishing an adequate supply of water for the proposed canal. The engineer, however, was not to be thus out-generalled by the mountain; he had still another idea.

Mr. Loammi Baldwin's sufficiently audacious idea was that Hoosac Mountain might be successfully pierced by a tunnel, and the only obstacle in the way of uninterrupted water-navigation between Lake Erie and Massachusetts Bay be thus overcome. It was at this time that the opening of the Erie Canal, a work highly favored by Nature, was giving new vitality to projects of inland navigation, some of which had quietly slumbered since the Revolution. Among others, the scheme of a canal to connect the Merrimack with the Connecticut, for which surveys had been made, and an act of incorporation obtained in 1792, was again revived. It chanced that Governor Eustis, the executive of Massachusetts, had, while Minister to Holland,

been much interested in the complicated system of canals of that country. The enterprise in question received his hearty advocacy and his official support. A commission was appointed, to which Mr. Baldwin was attached as engineer, for the purpose of making a thorough reconnoissance of the country from Boston Harbor to the Hudson. The work was thoroughly performed, and the route, now followed by the tunnel line of railway, declared to be, beyond comparison, the most practicable and advantageous.

Mr. Baldwin's estimate of the probable cost of a tunnel through Hoosac Mountain was less than a million of dollars. General Simon Bernard, then chief of United States Engineers, computed the expense of a tunnel, twenty feet wide and thirteen and a half high, at about three hundred thousand dollars a mile; the estimated length of the tunnel being four miles, and the route substantially that since adopted by the tunnel engineers. There can be no question that Mr. Baldwin's conception was a bold one. Not only was there no tunnel in existence of such great length as he proposed, but in the limited knowledge of such stupendous public works then prevailing in this country, the project appeared, to the common apprehension, little short of folly. The cost of perforating Hoosac Mountain was, however, the greatest stumbling-block in the way of the original enterprise, which only contemplated an outlay of three millions from the Connecticut to the Hudson, or one sixth of the sum the state of Massachusetts has expended between Greenfield and the state line. An instructive example of the way in which common opinion adjusts itself to great and novel ideas may be found in the fact that in less than two years the people of Berkshire were ardently and hopefully discussing the feasibility of building a railway from Boston to Albany; a scheme which Captain Basil Hall, R. N., pronounced to be "madness," precisely as Dr. Dionysius Lardner, a few years later, declared steam-navigation on the ocean "impracticable."

Before the projected canal to the Hudson had taken form the era of railways had dawned. In five years after the completion of the Erie Canal several steam-roads were under construction, one of which was destined forever to supersede the canal. It is to their development that the state owes its rapid advance in population, wealth, and prosperity.

Before leaving the subject of canals, mention should be made of that opened in 1792 around

Pawtucket Falls, on the Merrimack. In this year Dudley A. Tyng, William Coombs, and others were incorporated as "The Proprietors of the Locks and Canals on Merrimack River." The distance to be overcome was one and one half miles. About five years were occupied in its construction. As an avenue of trade, it did not fulfil the expectations of its projectors, being superseded by the Middlesex Canal; but in the hands of Patrick T. Jackson and his associates it subsequently became the hydraulic power of the city of Lowell, and the primary cause of its vast manufacturing interests.

Several small canals were also constructed in Cambridge, subsequent to the erection of that town into a port of delivery, and to facilitate the entry and unloading of vessels. A full description of these may be found in the Middlesex Registry of Deeds.

So far as her inland commerce is concerned, Middlesex is the antechamber of Boston. Her great iron roads radiate like the fingers of an open hand. The railway system of the state, converging upon the metropolis, intersects the county in every direction, constituting a network of highways which has in a great measure replaced the common roads. Indeed, railways have come to be regarded as public thoroughfares, to be conducted for the interests of the population from which they derive support. The history of those railways first entering the county limits is also that of the first constructed in the state for public travel.

The Lowell Railroad owes its existence to the sagacity, boldness, and energy of a single man. We have already had occasion to name him in connection with the old canal around Pawtucket Falls, built for the purpose of improving the navigation of the Merrimack.

Patrick Tracy Jackson, the friend and associate of Francis Cabot Lowell, in his enterprise of establishing cotton manufacture at Waltham, was, in 1821, so fully convinced of the great possibilities of this industry that he was seeking a new location for its expansion. His attention was directed to Pawtucket Falls and to the almost forgotten canal. In conjunction with Nathan Appleton and Kirk Boott, Jackson immediately set to work buying up the shares of the canal and those farms contiguous to the falls on both sides of the river. His proceedings being conducted with secrecy and despatch, both lands and water privilege were soon in his hands. A new company was formed of the

Waltham mill-proprietors and others, under the corporate name of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company. It had a capital of \$600,000, and was placed under the management of Kirk Boott. On the 1st of September, 1823, the first wheel of the Merrimack Company was set in motion. In 1825 three more mills were built.

For the transportation of the product of the mills to market, and for the supply of raw cotton and machinery for the mills, there was the Middlesex Canal in summer, and in winter the common roads; for at this season the canal was solidly frozen. As the business of Lowell increased, the need of better and quicker means of transportation became more and more evident. With his habitual energy, Jackson set about solving the problem.

In Great Britain the movement to establish steam-railroads had just passed from the experimental stage. Roads were being constructed on which locomotives were to be used. But in the United States very little was known of the progress making there towards this radical change in the methods of travel and transportation. Without previous knowledge, with experience to be acquired, Jackson grappled with the novel and herculean undertaking of building a railway, on which locomotives were to be used, from Lowell to Boston.

Jackson pursued his new design constantly, but with the deliberation of a man who appreciates the importance of a false step, and who has, moreover, everything to learn. To mature his plans, induce capitalists to join him, to master the scientific and practical problems presented by his own mind or suggested by the doubts of others, were the occupations to which he now gave himself up. In 1830 an act of incorporation was obtained. Subscriptions to the capital stock were made, more from faith in the man than in the undertaking. The road was prepared under conditions highly favorable to success. It was built for a double track, the grades reduced to a maximum of ten feet to the mile, sharp curves avoided. The whole work was constructed in the most substantial manner.

This line was opened to Lowell on the 24th of June, 1835. It passes through Somerville, Medford, Winchester, Woburn, Wilmington, Billerica, and Tewksbury into Lowell, being for its entire length of twenty-six miles wholly within the county. The Andover and Wilmington, chartered in 1833, now forming part of the Boston and Maine, was first a branch of the Lowell. The

Nashua and Lowell, chartered in 1836, and opened to Nashua October 8, 1838, was until recently operated by the Lowell Company. It passes through Chelmsford and Tyngsborough.

Besides those enumerated, the Lowell leases and operates the following roads: Lowell and Lawrence, thirteen miles, opened in 1848, crossing the town of Tewksbury in Middlesex; Salem and Lowell, sixteen miles, opened in 1850, entering the county in the town of North Reading, crossing the upper part of Wilmington, and uniting with the Lowell and Lawrence line in Tewksbury; Middlesex Central, leaving the main line in Somerville, traversing Arlington, Lexington, and Bedford to Concord. The Lowell also has the following branches: Woburn Branch from Winchester to Woburn Centre, Stoneham Branch from East Woburn to Stoneham, Mystic, and Lawrence branches.

The Lowell, with its connections, forms one of the great routes to Montreal and the Dominion of Canada, to Lake Champlain, Ogdensburg, and the system of inland transportation to the West by the Great Lakes. Through Mr. Jackson's exertions many acres of useless marsh-land at the westerly part of Boston were reclaimed for the use of this and other corporations.

The Boston and Albany line is the outgrowth of two corporations, the Boston and Worcester and the Western Railroad. It is the most important of Massachusetts trunk routes, having a continuous line of its own from Boston to the Hudson, a distance of two hundred miles. This road enters the county in the city of Newton, to which it gives large facilities, touches Weston, where it crosses the Charles, traverses the town of Needham, in Norfolk, again enters the county in Natick, crosses the southerly portion of Framingham into Ashland, and out of the county, thus intersecting its most densely populated section. We give a brief outline of its rise and progress.

In 1800 a line of stage-coaches made three trips a week between Boston and Worcester, taking an entire day for the journey of forty-four miles. At the same time, and for several years after, the only mode of transporting merchandise between these places was by baggage-wagons, which, in good weather, accomplished one journey per week. The projectors of the railway promised an incredulous public that passengers should make the entire journey in from three to four hours.

We ask the reader who is familiar with the rapid and interesting journey by rail from Boston to

Worcester, for a moment to take a backward glance at the same journey as performed by a most intelligent traveller only a little more than half a century ago. Let him institute a mental comparison between the populous and thriving cities and towns now thickly clustered along the line of the railway, with the "wild and thinly settled" appearance of the country which this traveller remarked.

"We left the hospitable city of Boston," he says, "with grateful hearts, and rode over the Mill-dam into the interior of the country. The horses were changed four times, generally in small villages; Framingham and Westborough appeared to be the only ones of any importance. The country sometimes seemed wild, and but thinly settled, though the state of Massachusetts is said to be the most populous in North America. We saw no grain, though in some places we observed Indian corn, and now and then some millet. Apple-orchards were abundant; the trees hung so full of fruit that many of the boughs were broken. The apples are small and yellow, and are employed in preparing the favorite beverage called cider. We gradually approached forests consisting of oak, chestnut, and elm trees. Sumach also occurs in some places, the bark of which is said to be excellent for tanning leather. There are evidently no forest regulations here, and the timber is very much neglected. The road was, for the greatest part, a good turnpike, and made in the German manner. We crossed several small rivers and rivulets on wooden bridges, which are very slight, though they are built with great waste of timber. The planks are not even nailed upon the beams, so that I began to be somewhat fearful, especially as the carriage drove rapidly over. About two miles from Worcester we crossed a lake called Quansiganog-pond¹ on a wooden bridge one fourth of a mile in length. The banks of this lake are covered with wood, and present a very handsome appearance. On our way, we were overtaken by a considerable thunder-storm, which settled the dust and procured us a pleasant evening. We arrived at Worcester about seven o'clock, and alighted at an excellent tavern."

In this description of a journey of nearly or quite ten hours between the two places we scarcely recognize the ground now traversed by an express-train in an hour, nor the succession of towns which for a dozen miles constitute in this direction the suburbs of Boston, and which seem to the traveller only a continuation of the city itself.

¹ Quinsigamond.

The Boston and Worcester line was chartered in January, 1831, with a capital of \$1,000,000. Work immediately began, under supervision of Colonel Fessenden as principal engineer. In August, 1833, the workmen began laying down the rails, on the first division, between Boston and Needham. On the 18th of April, 1834, the road was opened to Newton; in August trains were running to Needham, thirteen miles, four times each day. Here a line of stages connected with the railway,—an arrangement which permitted a citizen of Worcester to leave his home at six in the morning, arrive in Boston at noon, pass three or four hours in the city, and reach home at eight in the evening. By this time the managers had grown confident. They now promised a speed of twenty miles an hour on passenger trains.

In September the track reached Hopkinton; in November it was laid to Westborough; and in July, 1835, a train carrying three hundred people passed over the road to the terminus at Worcester. Two daily trains were run each way, making the distance in two and a half hours. The achievement was considered a marvel.

At this time Worcester was a humble village of some 4,000 or 5,000 inhabitants, and Boston had a population of about 65,000. In five years Worcester advanced to 7,500 souls, a greater gain than she had shown in the previous forty years. During the same period Boston advanced to 93,000. Middlesex made a gain in population of nearly thirty thousand between the years 1840 and 1850, or from 77,961 to 106,611, the rate of increase being most marked in those towns on the lines of railway then opened. Lowell, which had a population of 6,474 in 1830, had 20,796 in 1840. Newton and Woburn each showed an increase of fifty per cent during the same decade.

Twenty years later, alluding retrospectively to the history of this road, a writer gives the following information relative to its construction and the results accomplished:—

"The Company was weak in its resources, and credit and railway construction a novelty in Massachusetts. It is not surprising, therefore, that some errors were committed,—that inferior ties were used resting in trenches filled with stone; that a narrow road-bed was provided, scarcely wide enough for a single track; an edge-rail of thirty-nine lbs. to the yard laid down; and sharp curves introduced to keep down the maximum gradient to thirty feet to the mile. In Boston, the dépôt

arrangements were on the most limited scale. A one-story building, barely sufficient to receive two cars at once, sufficed for the indoor freight. Bales of cotton were loaded by a derrick in the open air, exposed to the weather, while the track-room and car-room were altogether insufficient.

"The road relied principally on passengers; short cars were used for passengers and freight; the light engines in use could take, on an average, but forty-eight tons to a train, and as late as 1838 could find at Worcester but twelve tons, on an average, to return. So little was the freight esteemed, that one of the directors, Mr. Bond, is reported to have proposed to lease this branch of business for little more than a nominal return.

"At first the line met with indifferent success. Worcester had been alienated from Boston, and united to Providence and New York by the Blackstone Canal, and it required time to revive a business with Boston. But gradually trade increased; the Norwich and Western lines were commenced, the operatives and their supplies added to the traffic while these enterprises were in progress, and their completion opened new sources of revenue."

While the Worcester was approaching completion earnest endeavors were making to procure its extension to the Hudson. The effect of the completed line upon business was immediate and marked. Indeed, it surpassed the expectations of the most sanguine. If so much could be accomplished by fifty miles of road, what might not be claimed for one four times as long, traversing a region not tributary to the Massachusetts capital. Influential movers of popular opinion, such as Edward Everett, Abbott Lawrence, T. B. Curtis, and others, aroused, by public speeches and printed arguments, a popular demand for the measure, as one vital to the true interests of the state. A charter had been obtained in 1833. Within a month after the completion of the track to Worcester books were opened for subscriptions; and so firmly had the idea that the stock would immediately become remunerative fixed itself in the public mind, that the directors were charged in the public prints with a desire to prevent subscriptions being taken except by a favored few.

What the Worcester road had done for Boston was presented at a monster meeting in Faneuil Hall, in that city, as follows: "I trust," said Mr. Lawrence, "that you all know from experience, what I certainly do, the vast increase of business in our city within a few months past. I ask you,

as business men, what has caused this increase? We have yet no great connecting link with any distant country,—still, there is at least a quarter more people in the city every day, engaged in traffic. What,—if the small matters already completed (not extending over forty miles) can do so much,—what will result from connecting our city with the Erie Canal, with Lake Erie, Lake Ontario, and with the mighty Mississippi?

"You will call me enthusiastic, but I cannot tell you half the advantages which I think would be derived from opening this road to the Hudson River. I believe the city of Boston and its neighborhood are destined, if this project should be effected, to change far more than the city of New York changed, when the Grand Canal was completed. Many people doubted the expectations of advantage from that work, but it caused real estate in the city of New York to advance *fifty per cent.* Within one year, in our own city, it has advanced more, it has doubled in value; it could not, without real value, during the pressure of the two past years, have held its own, but it has come out with an advance. What will be the effect of a railroad to connect this city with the great West, I forbear to estimate. If I expressed my feelings, I should be called latitudinarian."

The Western Railroad was completed to Springfield in 1839, and to its terminus, opposite Albany, in 1841. A consolidation of the two lines took place in 1867, when the two corporations adopted the name of the Boston and Albany Railroad Company.

This road has the following branches in Middlesex County: the Newton Lower Falls Branch leaves the main line at Riverside; the Milford Branch, twelve miles, leaves at Framingham, traversing Sherborn and Holliston; the Saxonville Branch leaves at Natick, and terminates at the manufacturing village of Saxonville, in the northeast corner of Framingham.

The completion, in 1841, of the railway which Captain Hall regarded as "madness," was sure to give for many years to come all needful facilities for the expected traffic between our northern seaboard and the lakes. It was not, therefore, until ten years later that a new line approached Hoosac Mountain over the route traced by Mr. Baldwin.

The Fitchburg Railroad was chartered in 1843; opened to Waltham in December of the same year; to Concord June 17, 1844; and to Fitchburg March 5, 1845. Its route lies for nearly its

whole length of forty-nine miles within the county. It passes through the county from east to west, changing its direction in the town of Acton to northwest, and traversing the tier of towns on that border. Somerville, Cambridge, Belmont, Waltham, Weston, Lincoln, Concord, Acton, Boxborough, Littleton, Groton, and Shirley all lie upon the main line; while Watertown, Marlborough, Stow, Hudson, Townsend, and Ayer are reached by its branches. The Watertown Branch, six miles long, diverges at the brickyards, passes through Watertown, and again enters the main line at Waltham. The Marlborough Branch, twelve miles, leaves the main line at South Acton, traverses Maynard, Stow, Hudson, and Marlborough. The Peterborough and Shirley Branch, twenty-three miles, leaves the main line at Ayer Junction, passing through Groton and Townsend in the county.

While its importance as a local road is probably greater than that of any within the county limits, the Fitchburg, by its connections with the Vermont and Massachusetts, and Troy and Greenfield railroads, and the New Hampshire and Vermont systems, has become one of the trunk lines to the West. It now operates the connecting roads as far as North Adams, 143 miles, where a junction is effected with the Troy and Boston Railroad and by it with the New York Central.

The Boston and Maine Railroad does for the eastern tier of townships what the Boston and Albany does for the southern. It was first operated as a part of the Boston and Lowell, having been opened to Andover in 1836, to Dover, New Hampshire, in 1841, and in 1843 extended to a connection with the Portsmouth, Saco, and Portland Railroad, at South Berwick, in Maine; and also diverted from its parent stem by the building of an independent line through Wilmington, Reading, Melrose, Malden, and Somerville to Boston, which was opened in 1845. In 1873 a separate line was built from Salmon Falls to Portland, through the picturesque and much-frequented seacoast towns between. The Boston and Maine has a branch to Medford, and operates tributary lines to Newburyport and to Danvers, both of which join it in Wakefield. It also manages the Lowell and Andover Railroad, which crosses the town of Tewksbury, uniting with the main road at Lowell Junction. This road enters upon the New Hampshire system at Lowell and Lawrence, and the Maine system at Portland. Within the county it passes through a region of great natural beauty,

which it has already done much to develop into homesteads for a thrifty and energetic population.

Besides the four principal trunk lines enumerated, numerous roads intersect the county in every direction. The Worcester and Nashua, opened in 1848, traverses Ayer, Groton, Pepperell, and Dunstable.

The Hopkinton, from Milford to Ashland, eleven miles, opened in 1872, connects by Milford with Woonsocket, Rhode Island. It is operated by the Providence and Worcester corporation.

The Eastern, since its connection, in 1854, with Boston, by continuous rail, lies for a few miles within the county, and by its branches reaches the towns of Everett and Malden *via* the city of Somerville. This road was first opened from East Boston to Salem, August 27, 1838.

The Boston, Clinton, Fitchburg, and New Bedford Railroad, now forming a part of the Old Colony line, enters the county in Framingham, crosses the Boston and Albany, taking a southeast direction through Sherborn into Norfolk County. It was opened from Fitchburg to Stirling Junction in February, 1850, to Framingham December, 1855, to Mansfield February, 1870.

The Framingham and Lowell, leased by this road, passes through Framingham, Sudbury, Acton, Carlisle, and Chelmsford to Lowell, twenty-six and one half miles. It lies wholly within the county, and was opened to the public October 1, 1871.

The Stony Brook Railroad, extending from Lowell to Ayer Junction, seventeen miles, is also wholly within the county. It passes through Ayer, Westford, and Chelmsford into Lowell.

The New York and New England Railroad (Woonsocket Division), opened October, 1863, traverses the central portion of Newton to the Upper Falls, where it crosses Charles River into Norfolk County.

The Nashua, Acton, and Boston Railroad passes through Dunstable, East Groton, Graniteville, Westford, East Littleton, and North Acton to Concord Junction, twenty-four and one half miles. It was opened July 1, 1873, and is leased to and operated by the Concord Railroad, of New Hampshire.

The Massachusetts Central Railroad, now under construction, passes from east to west, almost through the geographical centre of the state, dividing, almost equally, the belt of territory which lies between the Boston and Albany and Fitchburg railways. The present eastern terminus is fixed by the charter "near the Stony Brook

station, on the Fitchburg Railroad," in the town of Weston; and its western terminus at Northampton, on the west side of the Connecticut, whence it is designed to reach the Hoosac Tunnel by connecting roads. This railway is expected by its projectors to be a rival of the two great east and west lines now traversing the state, and to open railway communication with towns now having little or none with the metropolis. The grading and masonry between Stony Brook and Northampton are already half completed. The line in Middlesex County passes through the towns of Weston, Wayland, Sudbury, Stow, and Hudson.

The Mystic Valley Railroad (under construction) was originally projected on the narrow gauge to pass through Wakefield and Reading, but the location was subsequently changed so as to run from the point of junction with the Boston and Maine Railroad in Somerville, through the towns of Medford, Winchester, Woburn, and Wilmington, when the road again joined the Boston and Maine. The gauge was also changed to that in common use. The intention of its projectors in making a change of location was, probably, to complete their line to Lowell, which would give them, in connection with the Boston and Maine, an independent route to the Merrimack, and in conjunction with the Lowell and Nashua a connection with northern roads. About eleven miles are graded and ready for the ties, but the corporation has become involved in difficulties which may defer the completion of its road beyond the time announced. It is expected that the Mystic Valley, when completed, will be operated by the Boston and Maine. The seventeen miles of this road are wholly in the county.

The Northwestern Railway is a project to connect the state improvement, usually called the South Boston Flats, with the railways converging upon the Hoosac Tunnel, thereby giving them much needed facilities for their business in cattle and grain. The road will be short, and will probably enter the Fitchburg tracks at Stony Brook Station. At the time we are writing, rival interests are exerting a powerful influence to defeat the objects this connection has in view. The line as projected passes through Newton into Weston.

The Billerica and Bedford Railroad Company was organized in 1877, better to accommodate the central and southern portions of Billerica and Bedford. It was eight miles long, with a gauge

of only two feet. In the autumn of 1877 it was opened for travel, but has not proved a successful financial venture.

Street Railways.—These are so numerous as to forbid more than a brief summary. They have largely and advantageously replaced other methods of travel, being in many instances operated in connection with the steam railways of the county.

The principal lines operating within the county are the Union and the Middlesex companies. These corporations daily convey great numbers of people into and out of the city of Boston, thus affording to a large suburban population an easy and expeditious mode of reaching their business, and of returning to their homes after the labor of the day is over.

The Union Street Railway Company operates lines from Boston to Cambridge, Watertown, Arlington, and Somerville, with numerous side lines in the city of Cambridge. It is the most extensive railway of its class in the county, having thirty-four miles of track over which it transported, in 1878, 7,555,094 passengers.

The Middlesex Railroad Company operates the Malden and Melrose line, completed only to Malden; the Medford and Charlestown line, formerly extending to Medford, but since the revocation of its location in Medford having its terminus near the summit of Winter Hill; a line from Somerville through the Bunker Hill District by both bridges into Boston, with lateral routes in the district.

The Lowell Horse Railroad Company operates lines from Belvidere and Pawtucket Falls to the Bleachery, on Middlesex and branch streets, and the Centralville Branch.

The North Woburn Street Railroad Company operates the line extending from the Boston and Lowell Railroad at Woburn Centre to North Woburn.

The Waltham and Newton Street Railroad, three miles long, connects Waltham with West Newton.

The Stoneham Street Railroad Company operates a line two and a half miles long, extending from the Boston and Maine Railway in Melrose to Stoneham Centre.

The official returns of the number of passengers carried during the year 1878 by these roads is as follows: Lowell, 609,496; Middlesex, 4,717,715; North Woburn, 44,566; Stoneham, 128,460; Union, 7,555,094; Waltham and Newton, 90,804. Total number of persons transported, 13,152,135.

TOWNS IN MIDDLESEX COUNTY.

ACTON.

BY REV. FRANKLIN P. WOOD.



ACTON is situated twenty-four miles northeast of Boston, and is bounded on the north by Littleton and Westford, on the east by Carlisle and Concord, on the south by Sudbury, Maynard, and Stow, and on the west by Boxborough and Littleton. Area, 12,795 acres. Valuation in 1875: real estate,

\$974,485; personal estate,

\$261,771; total, \$1,235,256. Population by the last census, 1,708. The climate of the town is pre-eminently healthful. The principal occupation of the people is farming; and the soil, though naturally stony, is strong, and when properly improved is well fitted for agriculture. This town has very little waste land, as the unimproved hills are covered with valuable forests and sweet pastures. The tidy, well-to-do look of the farmers' buildings, scattered over the town, are the surest evidences of the thrift of this portion of our population.

There are several very pretty and thriving villages in the town. In the north part there is a pleasant collection of houses in the vicinage of Nagog Pond, a handsome sheet of water containing about six hundred acres, partly situated in Littleton and partly in Acton, which has been recently stocked with black bass by Acton. In the east part of the town is a growing village called Ellsworth. The Nashoba Brook flows through the eastern section of Acton, and at this village a profitable use is made of its unfailing water-power by Wetherbee's mills. As this stream has for a tributary Nagog Brook, and the Nagog Pond as a reservoir, the water privilege here is of great value. Here is also a station on the Framingham and Lowell, and the Boston, Acton, and Nashua rail-

roads. The new state-prison in Concord is in the vicinity of this village.

At the centre of the town there is a village of unsurpassed beauty. It has a broad common, bordered with neat residences and adorned with well-kept rows of wide-spreading trees; and in its midst is a stately monument of granite, nearly seventy-five feet high, erected in 1851 over the ashes of the three Acton men who fell on the memorable 19th of April, 1775. Near this is the commodious Town Hall, of a tasteful architectural design. The village has one substantial and comfortable church.

In the west and south parts of the town, on the Fitchburg Railroad, are the two largest and most busy villages. The largest village is South Acton, having more than five hundred inhabitants. Here is also an excellent water-power, having Fort Pond (a beautiful sheet of water in Littleton and Acton) as a reservoir. This is utilized by the mills of C. A. Harrington. In this village there is a Universalist Church, recently built, and it has many elegant residences.

West Acton is one and one half miles northwest from South Acton, and has a population of about four hundred people. Enoch Hall & Son have a manufactory of wooden ware which employs quite a number of hands, and a considerable quantity of cigars are manufactured here. The village has a Baptist and a Universalist church, both of which are well kept, and is further adorned by many pleasant residences.

In the southeast part of the town are the extensive works of the American Powder Company, upon the Assabet Brook, which flows through the southeastern corner of Acton. Acton has four post-offices, — South Acton, West Acton, Acton, and Ellsworth, — and is accommodated by three railroads, the Fitchburg, through the south and west,

and the Framingham and Lowell, and the Boston, Acton, and Nashua through the north and east.

From sundry entries in the oldest record-book of the town of Acton, it appears that the inhabitants of "Concord Village," or "New Grant," petitioned the town of Concord to be set off as a separate township, under the name of Acton, and that at a town-meeting holden on the 4th of March, 1733-34, the town of Concord set off the above-named territory, together with "Willard's Farms," so called, as the inhabitants desired. From the same record it also appears that the inhabitants of the said territory petitioned the Great and General Court for leave to set up, as a separate township; and that on the 27th of June, 1735, the requisite leave was given, and John Heald, one of the principal inhabitants, was authorized to call a town-meeting for the choice of officers, who were to stand until the annual meeting in March; and that, in accord with this authority, a town-meeting was called, on the 21st of July, 1735, and the officers requisite to the proper management of town affairs were chosen, and Acton took her place, as an independent township, with the noble sisterhood of towns which was then comprised in the County of Middlesex.

As is indicated by the above extracts from the old record, Acton became a separate township, under the sanction of the General Court, July 21, 1735; but previously to that time its territory had been at least twice wholly, or in part, the subject of legislation. Through the influence of Rev. John Eliot, a township of land four miles square was granted to the Christian Indians, living in this vicinity. The name of this township was Nashoba, and nearly all of its territory is now within the limits of Littleton; but that some of it was supposed to be within the present limits of Acton seems evident to us, from the fact that when this territory was granted to Concord, about the year 1680, the inhabitants of that town were particular to take deeds from the few Christian Indians who were then living, that their title to the land might be perfect.

As is intimated above, about the year 1680 the territory now comprised in Acton, and a small portion of that which was set off from Acton in 1780, and is now comprised in the town of Carlisle, was granted to the town of Concord, and was a part of that town for more than fifty years. The year 1680 probably indicates, very nearly, the time of the first English settlements within the limits of

this town. For more than fifty years there was a gradual increase of population, until, in 1735, when the town was incorporated, there may have been from three to four hundred inhabitants.

The principal plea put forward by the people of this town for an act of incorporation was the great distance of its inhabitants from any place of public worship; and the conditions under which the people were permitted to organize as a town were, that within three years they should erect a suitable house of worship and call and provide for the honorable support of "a learned, orthodox minister of good conversation." This being the case, the first thing which occupied the attention of the people of the town was the location of the "Meeting-House." It was necessary that the meeting-house should be located very soon, whether it was built immediately or not, for its location would determine to a great extent the position of the roads which were to be constructed. In the early history of the town roads seemed made to serve only two purposes: namely, to afford the farmers a facility for going to market with their produce, and to provide the people "a way to meeting;" but the latter purpose of roads seems to have been the more important of the two, for, just as in the Roman Empire all the roads led towards Rome, so in Acton all the first roads led towards the "Meeting-house place." But, though it was of the highest importance that the location of the meeting-house should be fixed upon immediately, it proved to be, in this case, a vexed question. Only a few months after the incorporation of the town a town-meeting was holden to determine the location of the meeting-house, and it was voted to have it in the "centre," that is, in the centre of the territorial limits of the town; but it was thought afterwards that the centre of territory would not be the centre of population, and the former vote was reconsidered. A number of meetings were held without a conclusion; but at length a decision was reached and the location was fixed upon a "Knoll," which is now adorned by a large and beautiful school-house, near the centre of the town.

As we have indicated above, there was an immediate necessity for settling the location of the house which did not exist for its erection; indeed, had the house been erected immediately, it would have been of comparatively little service, as it would have been inaccessible, at certain seasons of the year, to a large portion of the town; hence we need not be surprised that it was nearly three years from the time

of the location of the house to the time when it was in a condition to be used for sacred purposes. During all this time the people were literally preparing the ways of the Lord, so that, when his house should be built, they could go up to worship him with their families.

CIVIL HISTORY.

Until very near the period of the Revolution there is nothing in the town records which seems to be very noteworthy as regards the civil history. As we have perused the record, however, we have been impressed with the apparent unanimity and good sense with which the town managed its own affairs. The early inhabitants of Acton evidently were people who watched their own interests very carefully, and paid little attention to others' concerns, so long as they did not interfere with their own. The last entry in the records of March meetings for nearly seventy-five years is, "That swine shall run at large the present year;" and the first entry in the records of May meetings, until 1768, is that of a vote not to choose a deputy. The town had a representative in the General Court in 1768, but did not send another until 1774, when it was again represented, and in 1775 and 1776; it then remained without a member until the state constitution was adopted in 1780. In 1781, 1786, 1788, the town sent no representative, but, since the last-named date, has been represented in the popular branch, excepting in the years 1819, 1820, 1822, and 1847.

In another place we speak of the military history of the town in the Revolution, which is exceedingly honorable; but a study of the records shows that the civil history at the same epoch is no less honorable. We cannot forbear inserting here some extracts from the records, which indicate not only the patriotic spirit but the good judgment and far-reaching wisdom of the people of Acton at that time, though in doing so we must throw out of our sketch, for the lack of space, other matter of much historical interest. At a meeting in January, 1768, the town voted "to comply with the proposals, sent to the town by the town of Boston, relating to the encouragement of manufactures among ourselves, and not purchasing superfluities from abroad." And in September of that year a delegate was chosen to sit in a convention to be holden in Boston.

March 5, 1770, the following votes were passed:

"*Voted*, That we will use our utmost endeavors to encourage and support the body of merchants and traders, in

their salutary endeavors to retrieve this Province out of its present distresses; to whom the town owe their thanks for the constitutional and spirited measures, pursued by them, for the good of this Province.

"*Voted*, That from this time, we will have no social or commercial connection with those who at this time do refuse to contribute to the release of this abused country; especially those who import British goods contrary to the agreement of the body of merchants in Boston, and elsewhere; that we will not afford them our custom, but treat them with the utmost contempt and all who countenance them.

"*Voted*, That we will use our utmost endeavors to prevent the consumption of all foreign superfluities, and that we will use our utmost endeavors to promote and encourage our own manufactures.

"*Voted*, That the town clerk transmit a copy of these votes of the town to the Committee of Inspection at Boston."

In December, 1772, a committee of nine of the principal men of the town was appointed to consider the rights of the colony and the violation of said rights, and draft such votes as they thought proper. In January the following report of this committee was accepted and adopted:—

"Taking into serious consideration the alarming circumstances of this Province, relating to the violation of our charter rights and privileges, (as we apprehend) by the British administration, we are of opinion, That the rights of the colonists, natural, ecclesiastical, and civil are well stated by the town of Boston. And it is our opinion that the taxing of us without our consent, the making the Governor of the Province and the Judges of the Supreme Court independent of the people and dependent on the Crown, out of money extorted from us, and many other instances of encroachments upon our said charter rights, are intolerable grievances and have a direct tendency to overthrow our happy constitution, and bring us into a state of abject slavery. But we have a gracious sovereign, who is the Father of America as well as Great Britain; and, as the man in whom we have had no confidence is removed from before the Throne, and another, in whom we hope to have reason to put confidence, placed in his stead, we hope that our petitions will be forwarded and heard and all our grievances redressed.

"*Voted*, also, That, as we have no member in the House of Representatives, we earnestly recommend it to the Representative Body of this Province, that you, gentlemen, inspect, with a jealous eye, our charter rights and privileges, and that you use every constitutional method to obtain the redress of all our grievances; and that you strenuously endeavor, in such ways, as you, in your wisdom, think fit, that the Hon. Judges of the Supreme Court may have their support, as formerly, agreeable to the charter of this Province.

"*Voted*, That the sincere thanks of the town be given to the inhabitants of the town of Boston, for their spirited endeavors to preserve our rights and privileges inviolate, when threatened with destruction."

In March, 1774, resolutions were passed with

reference to paying duty on tea belonging to the East India Company, but these resolutions were not recorded.

In August, 1774, three of the principal citizens of the town were appointed delegates to a county convention to be holden in Concord the 30th of that month. In October of the same year two of the three delegates referred to above were chosen to sit in a provincial congress which was to assemble at Concord soon, and at the same meeting a committee of correspondence was appointed. In December of the same year £25 was voted for the use of the province, and a vote passed to indemnify the assessors for not making returns to the British government; it was also voted to join the association of the Continental Congress, and a committee was appointed to see that all inhabitants above sixteen years of age signed their compliance, and that the names of those who did not sign should be reported to the committee of correspondence.

In November, 1774, the town raised a company of minute-men, and voted to pay them each eight pence every time they met for drill. In 1775 Josiah Hayward was twice chosen a delegate to the Provincial Congress at Cambridge. In June, 1776, the following instructions were given to Mark White, the representative of the town in the General Court:—

"Sir,—Our not being favored with the resolution of the Hon. House of Representatives, calling upon the several towns in this colony to express their minds, with respect to the important question of American Independence, is the occasion of our not expressing our minds sooner. But we now cheerfully embrace this opportunity to instruct you, on that important question.

"The subverting our Constitution; the many injuries and unheard-of barbarities which the colonies have received from Great Britain, confirm us in the opinion that the present age will be deficient in their duty to God, their posterity and themselves, if they do not establish an American Republic. This is the only form of government we wish to see established. But we mean not to dictate. We freely submit this interesting affair to the wisdom of the Continental Congress who, we trust, are guided and directed by the Supreme Governor of the world; and we instruct you, Sir, to give them the strongest assurance that if they should declare America to be a Free and Independent Republic, your constituents will support and defend the measure with their lives and fortunes."

The foregoing instructions were given June 14, three weeks before the Declaration of Independence was signed, and an apology is given for not presenting similar instructions sooner.

In October, 1776, when the town was consulted as to whether the executive and legislative branches of the provincial government should not frame a constitution for the state, the town passed the following resolutions, showing most conclusively that the people of Acton in those days thought for themselves:—

"Resolved, That as this state is at present destitute of an established form of government, it is necessary one should be immediately formed and established."

"Resolved, That the supreme Legislature, in that capacity are by no means a body proper to form and establish a constitution, for the following reason, viz: Because a constitution properly formed, has a system of principles established to secure subjects in the possession of their rights and privileges, against any encroachments of the Legislative, part; and it is our opinion that the same body which has the right to form a constitution has the right to alter it; and we conceive that a constitution, alterable by the Supreme Legislative power is no security to the subjects against the encroachments of that power, on our rights and privileges.

"Resolved, That the town thinks it expedient that a convention be chosen by the inhabitants of the several towns and districts in this state, being free to form and establish a constitution for the state.

"Resolved, That the Hon. Assembly of this state be desired to recommend to the inhabitants of the state, to choose a convention for the above purpose, as soon as possible.

"Resolved, That the convention publish their proposed constitution, before they establish it, for the inspection and remarks of the inhabitants of this state.

At a meeting in February, 1778, "The Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union" were read twice and adopted.

In May, 1778, a constitution for the state, formed by the General Court, was laid before the town for approval, and was emphatically rejected.

April 28, 1780, the present constitution was laid before the town and read; the meeting was adjourned until May 15, that there might be time to consider it; on that day it was considered, and there was another adjournment until May 29, when it was approved by a majority of more than two thirds.

No one can read the above extracts without experiencing a feeling of the greatest surprise that there should have been, not only such patriotism, but such independent statesmanship and such a high order of intellectual talent among a people

whose laborious toil and hand-to-hand conflict for the means of subsistence apparently left them little time for thought upon the important and complicated subjects which they treated so well.

RELIGIOUS HISTORY.

We have spoken already of the location of the first meeting-house, and have mentioned the fact that it was nearly three years after it was located before it was so far completed as to be ready for occupancy; but when this house was finally occupied, it was so devoid of every element of architectural adornment that it would seem at the present time more like a barn than like a church. Its dimensions were forty-six by thirty-six feet, and twenty-one feet "between joyns," and had no steeple. Until about twenty years after it was built, the middle of the house was occupied by what were called the "body seats," and a sufficient space on each side of the house next to the walls was allotted to pews and was called the "pew ground." Nearly all the "pew ground" was given to the citizens of the town who paid the highest rate, with the condition that they should erect pews upon it and plaster up to the girth within a specified time. The part of the pew ground which was not assigned in the manner above indicated was the subject of frequent action by the town for several years afterwards, and all of it was finally disposed of to the highest bidders, excepting the room for one pew, which was voted to the minister and his heirs. The body seats and also the seats in the gallery were free; but at certain intervals a committee was appointed "to seat the meeting-house," according to the age and pay of all the inhabitants, the women being seated on the one side of the house and the men on the other; there were also two sets of stairs leading into the gallery known as "the men's stairs" and the "women's stairs." We noticed one vote to this effect: "The committee were instructed to seat the negroes in the hind seat of the side gallery."

This meeting-house was used by the town for all the purposes for which it was constructed, until 1807, when the second meeting-house was constructed, at an expense of more than \$13,000, and, for the times, was a very elegant structure. These were the only houses of worship which were built by the town. The second meeting-house was destroyed by fire in November, 1862.

After the meeting-house was sufficiently fin-

ished to be occupied (it was not called finished until ten years later), of course the next thing to be desired was the settlement of "a learned, orthodox minister of good conversation." To this end the town sought advice of neighboring ministers, and had a day of fasting and prayer for divine guidance, and in May, 1738, united in giving a call to Mr. John Swift of Framingham. We have no record of the organization of a church, though undoubtedly one had been organized previous to that time.

Mr. Swift was offered, as an inducement to settle in Acton, an equivalent of £117 settlement and £70 salary, though nominally the settlement and salary were nearly twice those sums, and his salary was to rise and fall with the value of broadstuffs; and we are happy to be able to publish the fact that, however other towns may have done during this period, this town was true to her agreement.

Mr. Swift graduated from Cambridge in 1733, and was twenty-five years of age when he began his labors in Acton. He was ordained November 8, 1738, and died thirty-seven years and one day afterwards, November 9, 1775. He was an earnest, practical minister, and was evidently much beloved by his people. As was the custom with ministers in those times, he received scholars into his family to be fitted for college. In one year he presented five young men at Cambridge for examination, and they were all admitted. Rev. Mr. Swift lived to see the opening struggles of the Revolution, and it may have been owing largely to his influence that the people of Acton were prepared to take such an honorable part in that long conflict.

January 8, 1777, the church in Acton invited Rev. Moses Adams of Framingham to become their second pastor, and on the 15th of the same month the choice was confirmed by the town. In looking over the records relating to this transaction, the extreme deliberation and caution of the church are very noticeable. The deacons were instructed to seek the advice of the president of the college and the neighboring ministers, and to engage four candidates to preach four successive Sabbaths; of these four doubtless Mr. Adams was preferred, and on the 29th of August it was voted "to hear Rev. Moses Adams eight Sabbaths more on probation," and it was voted again, December 20, to hear him four Sabbaths more; and then, after a solemn fast, and public services conducted by neighboring ministers, Mr. Adams was called.

The invitation to Mr. Adams was accompanied

by an offer of £200 settlement and £80 salary in lawful money, according to silver at 6s. 8d. per ounce; it was also voted to provide him with firewood the first year after his settlement. The Rev. Mr. Adams, like Rev. Mr. Swift, was a native of Framingham, where he was born October 16, 1749, and graduated at Cambridge in 1771. He was very much beloved by all his people, and their treatment of him throughout his long ministry was most honorable. In consequence of the heavy draft upon the town, on account of the war, there was a delay in the payment of his settlement, and in 1783 they were delinquent in the payment of his salary to the amount of £123; but they made up his settlement in full in buildings and land, and acceded to a proposition made by Mr. Adams with reference to his salary, and the most perfect harmony seems to have subsisted between pastor and people through the whole of this pastorate of forty-two years.

The next and last minister, settled by the town, was Mr. Marshall Shedd, of Newton, Mass.

Mr. Shedd, in preaching as a candidate, seems to have aroused the enthusiasm of the inhabitants of the town to the highest pitch, so that they voted him a settlement of five hundred dollars and soon increased it by subscription to seven hundred dollars and a salary of six hundred dollars, which for those times, considering the amount of the settlement and the purchasing power of money, was a very generous offer; and, for several years after Mr. Shedd's ordination, his ministry was acceptable and useful. But at length the religious agitations and controversies which had resulted in the division of churches and congregations in other towns began to arise in Acton, and Mr. Shedd labored in vain to harmonize them. He appeared to be too liberal to please some and not liberal enough to suit others; and the result was, that, Providence opening to him, as he thought, a more hopeful field for himself and his family in what was then the "new settlements" in Northern New York, he decided to enter it, and, in May, 1830, the corporation, which was now called a parish, concurred with the church in granting Mr. Shedd's request that his connection with them might be dissolved, and in the same month that action was confirmed by an ecclesiastical council.

This may be said to close the religious history of the town, so far as the town, in a corporate capacity, had any part in the maintenance of religious institutions; but, as a part of the history

of the people of the town, we insert the following sketches of the religious churches and incorporated societies which now exist.

The Congregational Church.—We mention this church first, because nearly all the members of the old church united with it. This church was organized by a council, March 13, 1832. The first pastor, Rev. James Trask Woodbury, was ordained and installed August 29, 1832. After preaching twenty years he was dismissed, at his own request, June 23, 1852, and was afterwards settled in Milford, Massachusetts, where he died January 15, 1861, aged fifty-eight years. Rev. Benjamin Dodge, of Wilton, Maine, was his successor. He was installed October 28, 1852, and dismissed April 17, 1855.

Until September, 1855, the church was supplied by Rev. Messrs. Alvord and Francis Horton. Rev. Charles Rockwell then commenced his labors as a stated supply. On his leaving, in July, 1856, Rev. Martin Moore, of Boston, and others supplied the pulpit until January, 1857, when Rev. Joseph Garland was hired for two years.

From January, 1859, to May of the same year the pulpit was supplied by various clergymen. Rev. Alpha Morton was then engaged for four years successively, resigning May 1, 1863, to accept an engagement with the church at West Auburn, Maine. Rev. George Coleman was ordained and installed November 12, 1863, and was dismissed in May, 1869. The present pastor, Rev. Franklin P. Wood, was ordained in this church July 24, 1871, and was installed as pastor October 10, 1872.

The pastorate of Rev. James Trask Woodbury was, relatively to the others, so long, and Mr. Woodbury was so much interested in the history of the town, and did so much to give an extended publicity to its honorable features, that we cannot resist the inclination to give to him more than a passing notice. He was a member of the house of representatives in 1851-52, and it was very largely through the influence of his eloquence that the massive monument which adorns the Common at Acton Centre was erected.

Mr. Woodbury did invaluable service in the cause of temperance, and made an abiding impression upon all the people of the town. During Mr. Woodbury's pastorate two houses of worship were erected. The following is a description of the present house, as found in the church records in Mr. Woodbury's handwriting:—

"1847, January 1.—The new meeting house erected on the spot where stood the former one was duly dedicated to Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, December 16, 1846, Wednesday, at one o'clock P. M. House 75 feet by 50, with a basement story of stone, with 82 pews. Cost about \$6,000, exclusive of the fresco painting of the interior, and the cushions, carpets, lamps, clock, and communion table and chairs, Bible and hymn books, which all cost near \$700, and were all absolute gifts to the Church, and the house, not to be put on to the pews. The building committee were Dr. J. M. Miles, Samuel Hosmer, 2d, Simon Tuttle, John P. Buttrick, and Col. W. C. Faulkner, and they did their duty faithfully and are entitled to the lasting gratitude of this Church."

More than six hundred different persons have been members of this church.

Besides the Congregational Church and Society at Acton Centre, there is an unincorporated Congregational Society at South Acton, worshipping in a chapel, under the pastoral care of Rev. N. Thompson. This enterprise was begun in 1876, and gives promise of success.

Universalists.—We make the following extracts from an able sermon, preached by Rev. I. C. Knowlton, at the dedication of the new meeting-house at South Acton:—

"The first Universalist sermons were preached in Acton by Rev. Hosea Ballou, as early as 1814 or 1815. January 19, 1816, the First Universalist Society of Acton was organized, consisting of eleven members. In 1821 and 1822 Rev. Dr. Benjamin Whittemore preached one half the Sabbaths in Acton in halls, school-houses, and private residences. January 27, 1821, the First Universalist Society of Acton was legally incorporated. It consisted of fifty paying members; two years after of sixty-one, and eventually of over eighty paying members. In 1833 Rev. Joseph Wright became pastor of this society, and, as a result of his labors, December 17, 1833, a church of thirty-nine members was formed. October 4, 1834, the Boston Association of Universalists met at Acton.

"During the next six years the religious services were in the First Parish Church, and well attended. June 29, 1836, Rev. Isaac Brown became the resident minister of the society, and continued in this relation three years. July 4, 1837, Rev. Isaac Brown was formally installed as pastor of this church with appropriate services.

"In 1842 an attempt was made to resuscitate the First Parish by uniting all the elements in affiliating with the Evangelical Church. [At about this time there was a Methodist church organized and there was Methodist preaching for a few years. About 1850 our interest there (at Acton Centre) peacefully expired."

From 1850 to 1858 there was no regular Universalist preaching in Acton. In 1858 halls were provided in South and West Acton, and Rev. J. M. Usher preached in these two places for a period of six years. In 1864 Rev. Edwin Davis became the resident pastor of the parishes at South and West Acton, and continued in that relation until March, 1870.

In January, 1871, Rev. W. W. Hayward became pastor of both these societies, and continued until April, 1872. The next pastor was Rev. N. P. Smith, who began his ministrations in April, 1873, and ended them early in 1874. The present pastor, Rev. I. C. Knowlton, assumed his charge in October, 1875.

In 1868 the West Acton society built, furnished, and paid for a very pretty and pleasant meeting-house, which it has used and greatly enjoyed ever since.

In 1861 the South Acton society moved into Exchange Hall, a large and handsome auditorium, where it worshipped for seventeen years.

In the spring of 1876 a church of more than thirty members was organized at West Acton.

February 21, 1878, a handsome and completely furnished church edifice was dedicated, with appropriate services, at South Acton. We regret that our space does not enable us to give a full description of this church, that the reader may mark the contrast between it and the "first meeting-house."

Baptists.—The Baptist Church is located at West Acton. It was organized July 10, 1846, with a membership of twenty-three persons. The present membership is one hundred and seven. Since the organization of the church one hundred and nineteen have been added to it by baptism and the profession of their faith. During this period the church has enjoyed five special seasons of revival. This church has had two meeting-houses; the first was dedicated July 19, 1847, and was burned July 2, 1853. The present house was dedicated September 19, 1854. It is a well-planned edifice, adapted to its purpose in every respect, and an ornament to the village.

The following is a list of the pastors of this church and the length of their pastorates:—

Rev. Horace Richardson,¹ seven years; Rev. W. H. Watson, seven years; Rev. Jacob Tuck,² three years; Rev. Walter Rice, three years; Rev. W. K. Davey, five years; Rev. J. C. Boomer, four years; Rev. J. R. Haskins, now in his second year.

EDUCATION.

The first attempt to secure a grant of money from the town for educational purposes was in 1740, five years after the town was organized, but the town voted not to erect schools for reading and writing. The next year, however, at the March meeting, it was voted that a reading, writing, and moving school be kept for six months. It is uncertain whether such a school was kept, as in the May meeting it was propounded "how they will order the schools and support the same," and the article was dismissed. But in 1743, at a special meeting in December, a grant of £18, old tenor, was procured for a reading and writing school, and the town was divided into three parts. This division continued until 1751, when the districts were increased to six, and in 1771 another was added; for a few years, from 1790–1800, there seem to have been five districts, and then there were four for about thirty years, when the present division into six districts was brought about.

During the period that there were only four districts, the inhabitants of the southeast part of the town received their school money from the town, and united with certain inhabitants of Concord and Sudbury, and had a school in a house which was located just across the Sudbury line. This was called "the School of the Three Friends." At this time, also, the north and east districts were one.

As we have seen, the town took no decided action in relation to schools until about ten years after its incorporation; but from this we are not to infer that the inhabitants of the town were destitute of schools. The first schoolmasters were, with few exceptions, residents of the town, and they undoubtedly had private schools before they were employed by the town. It was more than a quarter of a century after the first appropriation for schools before there was any town appropriation for school-houses; and at that time (1771) there were four school-houses which were private

property. As individuals had sufficient enterprise to build houses for the education of their children before the town assumed that work, we may suppose they had sufficient enterprise to erect schools before the town, in a corporate capacity, provided for that want.

The first appropriations for the support of schools were very small, being sometimes only £12. But the range of studies to be taught was extremely narrow, and the wages of teachers correspondingly low. The schools were called "Reading and Writing Schools," and, until the present century, nothing but the simplest rudiments of knowledge were taught in the schools. We have said the wages of teachers were low. A master in the winter received but little more per week than a day-laborer, and the head of a "woman's school" but little more than a servant-girl. As late as 1760 an order was drawn to pay a master fifteen shillings for keeping school two weeks and a half, and another order drawn for his board to the amount of half that sum. One of the most aged residents of the town related a short time since that when she was a girl the lady who taught their school in the summer had \$1.00 per week for her services, and her mother received \$1.00 per week for boarding her.

It was undoubtedly the case that the grant of the town for schools was considerably supplemented by individual donations for private schools. For many years such a school was supported in the autumn at the centre of the town, and the late President Asa D. Smith, of Dartmouth College, was one of the teachers of that school.

The appropriations for schools have been gradually increased by the town until they are now sufficient to procure an average yearly school instruction of nearly eight months. The town has in the three principal villages graded schools, though, on account of the peculiar division of the town into somewhat isolated villages, no high school has been established. This want is supplemented, as far as possible, by giving a considerable latitude to the range of studies allowed in the grammar schools, and by the enterprise of individuals in sending their children to academies and high schools in other towns. During the period of a little more than a century four styles of school-houses have been erected in this town. In 1771 seven houses were built or bought, costing about \$80 each; from 1870 to 1875 six were built or repaired, costing from \$3,000 to \$8,000 each.

¹ Deceased.

² Deceased.

Every district in the town is provided with a comfortable and handsome school-house.

The following are some of the names of natives of Acton who have received a college education: Nathan Davis, John Swift, Asa Piper, Solomon Adams, Daniel Brooks, Thomas Noyes, Luther Wright, William Emerson Faulkner, Moses Adams, Josiah Adams, Luther Faulkner, Jonathian E. Scott, Joseph Adams, John B. Cutting, Henry Durant, Josiah W. Brown, William G. T. Shedd, James Fletcher, George S. Parker, Henry L. Parker, Henry Skinner, Ephraim Hapgood, Julian A. Mead.

MILITARY HISTORY.

Under the date of March 21, 1744, it is recorded that the town voted to procure powder and bullets as a town stock: under a later date is the record of an order for money to replenish the town's stock of ammunition. These records show that the town was, in some sense, a military organization from the very beginning of its history.

The first war in which this town had any important part was "the French and Indian War" (1756-63). Just what part the inhabitants of this town had in that war it is impossible to determine, because of the lack of any record. There is a tradition that Captain Gershom Davis led out a company from Acton in 1759, and that Captain J. Robbins led another company four years later, near the close of the war. If these reports are correct, we may suppose that Acton had a company, raised by voluntary enlistments, in the service during nearly the whole period of the war; for, if the town was thus represented during the latter part of it, we may suppose it was similarly represented during the earlier part.

The next war in which the men of Acton had a prominent part was that of the Revolution. The records show, as we have seen, that, as early as 1770, the citizens of this town began to feel serious concern as to the result of the conflict which had begun to arise between the interests of the Province of Massachusetts and the British ministry, and the later records, which we cite in another place, show that this concern grew rather than diminished in the minds of the people of this town, and the result was, that in the winter of 1774-75 the town had three military companies regularly enrolled. Two of these were militia companies, and the third was a company composed of young men who were the pride of the town, under the command of Captain Isaac Davis,

a young man in the flush of early manhood, being only thirty years of age, courageous and beloved. This company was paid by the town for drilling twice a week, and was to be ready for duty upon a moment's notice, and was known as the company of minute-men.

Week after week, during those long winter months, these young men met, in some barn it may be, and practised the art of war, to be ready to stand in the breach and do honor to their town if the awful arbitrament of arms should come, but probably having little thought that a tilt at arms with the troops of King George was really imminent. But in the morning of April 19, 1775, before the dawn of day, and hours before the British troops entered Concord, a horseman, whose name is to us unknown, rode at full speed up to the house of Captain Robbins, the commissioned officer of Acton who lived nearest to Concord, and the commander of a militia company, and with a heavy club, as it seemed to those within, struck the corner of the house and cried at the top of his voice, "Captain Robbins! Captain Robbins! Up! up! the Regulars are coming to Concord. Quick as possible alarm Acton!" In a very few minutes Captain Robbins's son was on horseback, and hastened to the house of Captain Davis, who lived a mile and a half away, with the thrilling message, so mysteriously given. Captain Davis's children were all sick, and he seemed to have a presentiment that if he went to Concord he would never return alive; but, nothing daunted, he bestirred himself so energetically that when the sun was but a little more than an hour high he had his company together and was on the march for Concord, the fifer, Luther Blanchard, playing, as tradition says, the tune of the White Cockade. Davis reached the vicinage of the old North Bridge at about nine o'clock, and led his men to the left of the line of provincial troops (he was the youngest captain), which were marshalled on the heights overlooking that spot. At this point we can do no better than to refer to the inscription upon the stately monument which was erected in 1851 on Acton Common, by the state of Massachusetts and the town of Acton, over the remains of the three citizen soldiers of Acton who fell on that memorable day.

A detailed account of the Concord Fight will find a place most naturally in the annals of the town where it occurred. We attempt no description of this historic event, except so far as is neces-



INSCRIPTION.

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the Town of Acton, co-operating to perpetuate the fame of their glorious deeds of patriotism, have erected this monument in honor of Capt. ISAAC DAVIS, and private ABNER HOSMER and JAMES HAYWARD, citizen soldiers of Acton, and Provincial Minute Men, who fell in Concord fight, the 19th day of April, A. D. 1775. On the morning of that eventful day, the Provincial officers held a council of war near the old North Bridge in Concord; and as they separated, Davis exclaimed, "I have a man that is afraid to go!" and immediately marched his company from the left to the right of the line, and led in the first organized attack upon the troops of George III. In that memorable war which, by the help of God made the thirteen colonies independent of Great Britain, and gave position to the United States of America.

Acton, April 19th, 1885.

Davis Monument.

sary to bring out the honorable part which the men of Acton had in the achievements of that occasion. The occasion of the immediate advance of the provincial troops was the apparent design of the royalist soldiers to take up the planks of the bridge and thus cut them off from the village, which, from the appearance of smoke in that direction, they thought might be in flames.

The time for action had come, but who would take the post of danger? This was to take a step which had been long talked about and threatened, but which never had been taken. It was to cease to be mere remonstrants and become actual rebels. It was to expose one's self not simply to the peril of the battle-field, but to the ignominy of the scaffold. Colonel Robinson, Major Buttrick, Captain Davis, and the Acton minute-men led the provincial soldiers as they assumed this position.

The principal facts of the fight at the Bridge are these, as given by Josiah Adams in his Acton Centennial Address, delivered in 1885: 1. Two or three shots from the enemy, followed by a volley, by which Luther Blanchard, a fifer in Captain Davis's company, was wounded; 2. A general fire from the Americans, by order of Major Buttrick,

by which one of the enemy was killed and several were wounded; 3. A return of the fire, which killed Captain Davis and Abner Hosmer of his company, and wounded others. When Captain Davis was killed he was in the act of taking aim, as he carried a gun as well as a sword. (He was a gunsmith by trade, and fitted bayonets to the guns of his men. Some suppose the Acton company was the only one present at the Concord Fight that had bayonets).

At this point we insert a deposition of the wife of Captain Davis, which was taken with others in 1835, to substantiate Acton's claim, as regards the part her citizens had in the historical event which we are now considering:—

"I, Hannah Leighton of Acton, testify that I am *eighty-nine* years of age. Isaac Davis, who was killed in the Concord Fight in 1775, was my husband. He was then thirty years of age. We had four children,—the youngest about fifteen months old. They were all unwell when he left me in the morning, some of them with the canker-rash. The alarm was given early in the morning, and my husband lost no time in making ready to go to Concord with his company. A considerable number of them came to the house and made their cartridges there. The sun was from one to two hours high when they marched for Concord.

"My husband said but little that morning. He seemed serious and thoughtful, but never seemed to hesitate as to the course of his duty. As he led the company from the house he turned himself round, and seemed to have something to communicate. He only said, 'Take good care of the children,' and was soon out of sight. In the afternoon he was brought home a corpse. He was placed in my bedroom till the funeral. His countenance was pleasant, and seemed but little altered. The bodies of Abner Hosmer, one of the company, and of James Hayward, one of the militia company, who was killed in Lexington in the afternoon, were brought to the house, where the funeral of the three was attended together."

In setting forth what we believe to be the just claims of the town of Acton, as regards her part in the critical contest of the Revolution, we wish to say nothing in disparagement of the valor of the citizens of other towns: before the eventful 19th of April was over the royal troops learned that the valor of none of the yeomen of old Middlesex was to be despised. But whatever body of men voluntarily assumed the post of greatest danger on that

occasion was entitled to the highest meed of praise; and as Acton, in the person of her sons, took that position, apparently as a volunteer, simple justice demands that she should receive the honor which is her due; and her claims are so well established and so generally conceded, that we have no doubt the final verdict of history will be just to her. Acton soldiers were not only active at the Old North Bridge, but joined in the pursuit of the British to Cambridge; and at Lexington, James Hayward, a member of Lieutenant Hunt's militia company, was killed while in the act of firing at a British soldier. The ball which killed him passed through his powder-horn, — a relic which is now held in the town. Acton had a most honorable part in the struggle of the Revolution, from the beginning to the end. We have a roll of one hundred and eighty names of men who had some part in the struggles of that war, and there are probably thirty or forty more names which are lost. One member of Captain Davis's company, Thomas Thorp, went through the whole war. He stood near Davis when he was shot, and some of his blood fell upon his clothes; and he used to say that wherever he went during the whole war he seemed to see that blood urging him to do his duty. The town not only sent her sons to battle, but bought clothing and beef for the army, to the full amount of her proportion, and sent all the provisions she could spare to Boston when that town was in distress.

As we have studied the old records of this town covering this period, we have been reminded of the spirit of Sparta among the states of Greece, and have been led to exclaim, "If Acton was not *the* Sparta of Middlesex, she was a Sparta in every respect!"

The War of 1812, as is well known, was very unpopular throughout New England; but near the beginning of the war eight or ten Acton men enlisted into the army, and in 1814 the military company called the "Davis Blues" was ordered into service as a body, and was despatched to Boston to assist in the defence of that place against an apprehended attack.

At this point we quote from the letter of Mr. John C. Park, a native of Acton, and a grandson of Rev. Mr. Adams: "I well remember the commotion in Acton, on the day when the Blues met to take up their march to Boston. We boys were wild with excitement; but when the large doors of the meeting-house were thrown open, and it was understood that the company would have

prayers offered for them, we were sobered at once. I thought the prayer was very earnest and appropriate, and was indignant, when, afterwards, among the gathered knots of men in front of the porch, I heard some criticising it as being too much tinged with the good old minister's anti-war sentiments. In a few days the fifer returned and gave glowing accounts of their enthusiastic reception, and the march of the Blues through Boston. It seems that at every street corner the men and boys would cheer, and the drum and the fife were expected to respond with a triple roll and salute. The poor fifer was so exhausted with his untiring efforts to pipe shrill for the honor of his corps and the town, that he was taken with spitting of blood and had to return home. This, I believe, was the only blood shed during the campaign." It is needless to state, what is well known, that the enemy kept aloof from Boston; otherwise, doubtless, the "Davis Blues" would have given as good an account of themselves as did the minute-men thirty years before. This company, the "Davis Blues," was a very fine one, and for many years was the pride of the town. Two of its members, who went to Boston, Captain John Fletcher and Abel Forbush, are still living.

We come now to a brief statement of Acton's part in the war of the Rebellion. There was in Acton, prior to this war, a military company called the "Davis Guards," under the command of Captain Daniel Tuttle.

As the clouds thickened over the Southern horizon, this company was called together quite frequently to drill, though few, if any of its members, thought their services would be really called for. But in the evening of April 16, 1861, the order came for Captain Tuttle to report with his company at the regimental headquarters in Lowell the next morning at seven o'clock. The order was merely a telegram, without any particulars respecting the equipment of the men. Messengers were at once sent in all directions to notify the men to be at the armory the next morning at four o'clock (some of the men were twenty miles away). Captain Tuttle then hastened to Lowell for further instructions, and was so expeditious in his movements, that he made the journey to Lowell and back, made all his private arrangements, and had nearly all his men at the armory the next morning at four o'clock, ready to start for the seat of war. It was a dark, cold, and rainy morning. The bells were rung at half past three o'clock, and the citizens

met in large numbers to see their soldier brothers off. They all assembled, and the minister, Rev. A. Morton, offered prayer to Almighty God for his blessing upon the soldiers, and their safe return. Said the Acton Sentinel of that date: "At the appointed time forty-five men in full uniform responded to the call, and departed for Lowell amid the cheers of the assembled friends. The captain of the company, though a Breckinridge Democrat, will be found true to the Union, as was the commander of the minute-men almost eighty-six years ago. God speed the right!"

The company was at the place of rendezvous in Lowell before the appointed hour. It is thought by some that the Acton company, leaving their armory at five o'clock on the morning of April 17, was probably the first really to start for the seat of war; and had their place of rendezvous been Boston instead of Lowell, this honor would have been conceded.

A detailed account of the service of the Old Sixth regiment doubtless appears in this work, in its proper place, and any reference to it by us would be a repetition. We will simply say, that in passing through Baltimore every window of the car which bore the Acton company was broken by missiles thrown by the mob, and one bullet passed through it. During the whole campaign the Acton company (Co. C) shirked no hardship and evaded no danger, and were a credit to the town in every respect.

That the reader may have some idea of the patriotic feeling which pervaded the town at this time, we give a few extracts from one of many letters which were sent to the captain of the "Davis Guards" after he left home.

Under date of April 21, Hon. John Fletcher, Jr., wrote: "Our citizens are alive with enthusiasm and praise of the company, and of the readiness with which they responded to the call to march. . . . Acton gets compliments from all sources, on account of the Guards. I was in Lowell Thursday, and heard many speak in their praise. Many in town who have not been favorable to the military are wide awake and ready to vote for any appropriation that may be needed for the company and their families. Tell the Guards not to borrow a moment's trouble with reference to the wants of their families, as we are to have a town-meeting on Saturday especially for the purpose of making an appropriation, as a contingent fund, to be applied, as needed, for the comfort of

their families. . . . We keep the flag flying from the monument, and intend to until the Guards return. Rev. Mr. Morton made allusion to the company in his morning prayer, which brought tears from his own and most of his hearers' eyes. The Guards have the prayers and best wishes of all. Tell the boys to keep up good courage, and take good aim when in sight of the enemy. God bless you all."

When the "Davis Guards" returned they had a grand reception, and they and their families were given a public dinner at the town-hall.

It must suffice to say, with reference to the whole matter, that the spirit which characterized the people of this town at the outbreak of the Rebellion continued with them until the end of the war.

Acton furnished one hundred and ninety-five men for the military service, and thirty over all demands. Twenty of these were commissioned officers. The amount of money raised and expended for war purposes, exclusive of state aid, was \$13,072; the amount expended to aid soldiers' families, which has been refunded, \$8,737.03.

Acton has inaugurated and participated in several celebrations, which have been occasions of rare interest. April 19, 1825, she united with Concord in celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the Concord Fight. In this celebration the Acton military under the command of Colonel W. E. Faulkner was a great credit to the town.

July 21, 1835, the town celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of its history. A valuable historical address was delivered by Josiah Adams; quite a number of the members of Captain Davis's Company were present; there was a grand dinner, and a most successful celebration in every respect.

In November, 1851, the massive monument which stands on Acton Common was dedicated with most interesting services, which were listened to and witnessed by a great throng of people. Governor Boutwell delivered the address, and Rev. John Pierpont contributed a poem, and there were all the elements of a most interesting celebration.

April 19, 1875, Acton united with Concord and Lexington in the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the Concord Fight and the Battle of Lexington. Both Concord and Lexington extended to Acton most cordial invitations to participate in the celebrations in the respective towns, and Acton was represented in both. She contributed

largely to the brilliant pageant at Concord by sending a fine company of minute-men, under the command of Captain A. C. Handley. Speeches by Luther Conant, prepared for the Lexington celebration, and by Rev. Franklin P. Wood, prepared for the Concord celebration, are in the published exercises of the two towns, as representations of Acton sentiment respecting the important events which were celebrated on that day.

July 4, 1876, this town observed the one hundredth national anniversary by a historical address at the Town Hall by Rev. Franklin P. Wood, by the reading of the Declaration of Independence, and other appropriate exercises.

This simple statement of public celebrations shows that this town has not only been distinguished for her achievements, but has been sufficiently aware of their importance to have the memory of them preserved.

Our space permits us to refer to only two natives of Acton who have been distinguished for literary attainments.

Rev. William G. T. Shedd, D.D., born June 21, 1820; graduated at the University of Vermont in 1839. at Andover Seminary in 1843; pastor at

Brandon, Vermont, 1843 - 1845; professor of English Literature in University of Vermont, 1845 - 1852; professor of Sacred Rhetoric and Pastoral Theology in Auburn Seminary, 1852 - 1854; professor of Ecclesiastical History and Pastoral Theology in Andover Seminary, 1854 - 1862; co-pastor of Brick Church, New York, 1862 - 1863; professor of Sacred Literature in Union Seminary, New York, 1863 - 1874; professor of Systematic Theology in Union Seminary since 1874. His publications are: History of Christian Doctrine, Theological Essays, Literary Essays, Homiletics and Pastoral Theology, Sermons to the Natural Man, Translation of Guericke's Church History, Translation of Theremin's Rhetoric.

Rev. James Fletcher, A. M., was born September 5, 1823, prepared for college at New Ipswich, N. H., graduated at Dartmouth College in 1843, and at Andover in 1846; he was pastor of the Maple Street Church, Danvers, Mass., for fifteen years; principal of the Danvers High School, five years; principal of the Lawrence Academy, Groton, seven years; and is now principal of the Burr and Burton Seminary, at Manchester, Vermont.

ARLINGTON.

BY WILLIAM R. CUTTER.



ARLINGTON was formerly the town of West Cambridge, the name having been changed by legislative act April 13, 1867. The westerly or Second Parish in Cambridge was incorporated as a town by the name of West Cambridge, February 27, 1807.

The ancient or aboriginal name of the locality was Menotomy, from the name of the river which for a long period was the boundary line between the old First and Second Parishes in Cambridge, and afterward between the towns of West Cambridge and Cambridge, which river in the earliest times, and even to a comparatively recent period, was known as the Menotomy River.

The stream is now usually called the Alewife Brook.

Farms were granted to inhabitants of Cambridge in the territory now embraced in Arlington in 1635. A highway to Menotomy from the present Old Cambridge existed prior to 1636. In the proprietors' records of Cambridge mention is made of the "new lots next Menotomy" as early as 1638. A road was laid out from the Watertown line to Cooke's mill at Menotomy in 1638.

This mill, probably erected in 1637, or the year previous, was the first in the place now Arlington, and the earliest in the old town, with the exception of a windmill mentioned in Paige's *History of Cambridge*. Colonel George Cooke, its owner, who is styled "Captain," was slain in Ireland in the wars, in 1652. He had one dwelling-house with

mill and outhouses, and twenty acres of land here in 1642. He had also the grant of a farm of six hundred acres from the town in the vicinity of his mill, whose ancient dam still remains in the mill-pond of Samuel A. Fowle, and was in use till the present century.

A road from Woburn, "leading to Cambridge-mill and town," was laid out in 1643. In 1664 John Adams bought of Mr. Joseph Cooke, then of England, and brother of Colonel George Cooke, thirteen acres, meadow and upland, lying by 'Notomy River, and abutting on the highway leading from Cambridge to Concord, east. Adams also, in 1664, had a farm of 117 acres, by him purchased of Golden Moore, and laid out on the "waste lands" in the limits of what is now Arlington, with allowance for the "great road" or highway that leads to Concord. This John Adams was a millwright, and resided in the old Adams house that was standing near the present centre railway-station till a recent date. He died here in 1706, aged about eighty-five.

In 1665 "Capt. Cooke's mill-lane" is mentioned in a deed from John Brown, then of Marlborough, to Robert Wilson, the former conveying his dwelling-house and barn, with six acres of land, showing that he was one of the early residents of this district. The Wilsons occupied this property for over a century afterward. The mill-lane led from the mill-gate to the Concord road, and is now called Water Street, and was a portion of the road to the Watertown line laid out in 1638. In 1724 the road leading to Watertown was removed from the northerly to the southerly side of the land reserved for a burying-place; in which probably there were no interments before 1732, and very few before 1736, the date of the earliest gravestones.

The inhabitants of this district furnished some dozen soldiers in the Indian war of 1675. A tax-list for 1688 contains the names of twenty-three tax-payers in that year. In 1693 Cambridge granted the Menotomy people land upon their common in that part of the town, near the highway, for the accommodation of a school-house.

In 1703 several persons, residents of Menotomy, and worshipping at Cambridge Old Parish, were granted liberty "for the erecting a conveniency—against the college fence, northward of our meeting-house—for the standing of their horses on Sabbath days."

In 1725 the people of Cambridge on the westerly side of Menotomy River, desiring better accommodation for public worship, petitioned the town,

unsuccessfully, to consent that they might become a separate precinct. The request was renewed in 1728, and granted in 1732, when, after several petitions to the General Court on the subject, the order for a new precinct in Cambridge was issued, December 27, 1732, and the section by legislative act set off as a distinct precinct.

The first meeting of the freeholders and inhabitants of the Cambridge Northwest or Second Precinct, as this part of Cambridge was now called, was held January 29, 1732–33, at the school-house in the said precinct, when a precinct clerk was chosen and sworn, and a committee was chosen to assist in calling meetings. At a second meeting, in March following, the other precinct officers were chosen, and it was voted to desire "our neighbors in the adjacent part of Charlestown to join with us in settling the gospel ministry among us."

The land which had been reserved out of the commons for a burying-place was the spot selected as the most convenient place for a meeting-house to stand, and near the northeasterly corner of that land. A sum was voted for building the house, which was to have a suitable belfry, and a building committee of five was chosen. A committee was chosen also to provide for a reading and writing school in the precinct.

October 8, 1733, several Charlestown inhabitants entered into agreement to assist in building the meeting-house, and for settling and supporting preaching in the precinct. April 1, previous, Thomas Osborn was baptized by Rev. John Hancock of Lexington, who records this as "the first child baptized in the congregation at the school-house at Menotomy."

In 1734 the first meeting-house was built, and it stood just seventy years. It first had eighteen pews, one being the ministerial pew, which was next to the pulpit stairs; no others were then allowed. A Mr. Smith was preaching here in 1734, and a gift of fifty pounds from various individuals was made toward building the meeting-house during this year. February 1, 1735, this meeting-house was opened and consecrated.

Attempts were made to settle several gentlemen as ministers, but unsuccessfully till the choice of the Rev. Samuel Cooke, May 21st, 1739, who accepted their invitation and took part in the organization of a church in the precinct September 9, 1739, and September 12, following, was ordained pastor of this church and congregation.

The church thus gathered contained eighty-three

original members, including the pastor, eighty of whom were from the Cambridge church, and three had belonged to other churches. The Rev. John Hancock of Lexington had charge of the exercises of organization.

The Rev. Samuel Cooke, the first minister of the Second Precinct in Cambridge, was a native of Hadley, and a graduate of Harvard College in 1735. At the ordination of Mr. Cooke the Rev. Ebenezer Turell of Medford preached a sermon, which was printed.

After Mr. Cooke's settlement nothing particularly eventful happened in the precinct for many years. He was an able preacher, and his sermons and papers contain much that is interesting and valuable. He was a good penman and a careful record-keeper. He preached on many public occasions in other places. A number of his discourses were published.

In the year 1740 there was a large mortality in the precinct, the number of deaths reaching twenty-six.

In 1758 Captain Thomas Adams and company served eight months in the French War, and returned from the service with the loss of only one man, who died in a fit.

In 1762 the Second Parish in Cambridge, with certain inhabitants of Charlestown, was incorporated into a district, generally called Menotomy, which included all the territory in the two towns on the westerly side of the Menotomy River.

In 1764 occurred in the precinct the death of Hannah Robbins, a dwarf, at the age of twenty-seven years; who from about fifteen months old continued the same in stature and understanding to the day of her death, and had the actions of a child of that age.

An important part of the battle of April 19, 1775, took place in this precinct. The people of this part of the town were almost without exception patriotic. A company of minute-men was raised previous to April 6, 1775, in Menotomy, which under its captain, Benjamin Locke, was afterward in service during the siege of Boston, and on whose roll, under date of October 6, 1775, were fifty-three names.

The British passed through the present town of Arlington on their way to Concord on the night of April 18, 1775. Their progress was stealthy, and no attempt was made to molest any one except members of the Provincial Committees of Safety and Supplies, at Wetherby's tavern, some of whom

were spending the night, intending to meet at Woburn on the 19th. The British, having information of the presence of these persons, halted opposite the house and proceeded to search the premises. The members, without dressing themselves, escaped by the back way into the fields.

At midday on the 19th the British reinforcement under Lord Percy made its appearance on the main street in Menotomy, on the march to Lexington. The wagon-train of the British, becoming separated from this body of troops, was captured in front of the meeting-house in this precinct by a party, mostly exempts, or men too old to go into active service. The papers of the time say the body of the enemy guarding the stores were twelve in number. The party who made the capture posted themselves behind a stone-wall, and fired on the train when it came up. They killed one—some accounts say two—of the British, wounded several, and took six prisoners; shooting five horses, and taking possession of all the arms, stores, and provisions, without loss on our side. One of the killed was said to be a lieutenant, who went with the convoy for his recreation and to view the country. The wagons were drawn to the hollow, to the east of the present railway station, and the traces of the skirmish on the road were obliterated.

The passage of the British through Menotomy, at about five o'clock in the afternoon, during their retreat from Lexington and Concord, was through an incessant fire. On the descent from the high grounds to the plain the fire was brisk. Here a musket-ball struck the pin out of the hair of Dr. Joseph Warren's earlock, and the militia were so close on the rear of the enemy, that Dr. Eliaphlet Downer of Roxbury killed one of them in single combat with the bayonet.

A body of men, principally from Danvers, entered a walled enclosure and piled bundles of shingles to form a breastwork near the house of Jason Russell, where they were surrounded by the British and many were killed. Some, when overpowered by the British, sought ineffectually a shelter in this house. Few, save some in the cellar, escaped death. The balls poured through the windows of the house, making havoc of the glass. Daniel Townsend of Lynnfield leaped through an end window, carrying the sash and all with him, and fell dead instantly outside. It is difficult, in our limited space, to convey an idea of the severity of the engagement at this spot. Russell, the owner of the house, was here killed, and his body, with eleven others

slain by the British, was afterwards interred in a common grave in the precinct burying-ground. The British, galled by their losses, were determined that all who fired on them from the houses on the line of march should be put to death.

The destruction of property caused by the British during their retreat through Menotomy was considerable. Damage was done to the meeting-house and school-house, and houses were plundered and some fired. Bullets were shot into many of them. The pursuit of the provincials, however, was too close for the British to effect much. Mrs. Hannah Adama was driven from her bed by them, and forced to take shelter with her new-born child in an outhouse. Jabez Wyman and Jason Winship were killed while drinking at Cooper's tavern. Old Captain Samuel Whittemore was badly wounded by the foe, and though shot, bayoneted, and left for dead, recovered, and lived full eighteen years afterward. Two men, Samuel Frost and Seth Russell, were missing from Menotomy after the battle, being made prisoners by the British, and confined on a war-vessel at Boston until exchanged, June 6, 1775. The battle continued until the enemy reached Bunker Hill in Charlestown, and it became so dark as to render the flashes of the muskets visible.

The militia company of this district, under William Adams, captain, marched at the request of General Washington on the taking possession of Dorchester Heights, March 4, 1776. The muster-roll of the company contained forty-nine names, and the term of service was five days. Other men from Menotomy served in the army during the Revolution. The precinct in 1778 voted "to assess the money that Captain Locke hired to pay the men that went to Ticonderoga."

June 4, 1783, the Rev. Samuel Cooke, pastor of the church, died, aged seventy-five. His epitaph in the precinct burying-ground speaks of him as one "in whom were united the social friend, the man of science, the eminent and faithful clergyman whose praise was in all the churches." The precinct paid his funeral expenses.

An extended notice of his death in the papers of the time says he was of superior powers of mind and distinguished literary accomplishments, diligent in study, catholic in principle, and apt to teach; a judicious preacher, a wise counsellor, and agreeable and edifying in conversation; an invariable friend to his country and the rights of mankind.

Lawsuits with the Baptists are mentioned in

1785. After an unsuccessful trial of two ministers, the precinct chose Rev. Thaddeus Fiske for their pastor, who accepted the invitation and was ordained the second minister of the parish, April 23, 1788. In 1809 he delivered a discourse on the anniversary of his twenty-one years' settlement, and another, April 23, 1828, at the close of his forty years' ministry, both of which were printed. He graduated at Harvard in 1785, received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Columbia College in 1821, and at the time of his death, November 14, 1855, aged ninety-three, was the oldest clergyman in Massachusetts. The parish was feeble at the time of his settlement, but when he left it had attained a considerable degree of prosperity.

In 1793 liberty was given to set a number of trees around the meeting-house. In 1796 money was subscribed to purchase a bass-viol for the house of worship.

A factory for making cotton and wool cards was established in the precinct in 1799, originating with the invention of an ingenious machine for that purpose, about 1797, by Amos Whittemore of this place. The card-factory did much to enlarge the precinct. The removal of the business to New York, about 1812, had a depressing influence here which lasted for several years.

About 1827 Gershom and Henry Whittemore, sons of the inventor, commenced business in West Cambridge, having purchased machines of their uncle in New York. Their factory was destroyed by fire in 1862.

There were two school-houses in this parish in 1800. October 10, 1803, the precinct voted to build a new meeting-house. The old house (erected 1734) was sold at auction in 1804. It is now a dwelling-house, standing about a mile from its first site. The new meeting-house was raised in July, 1804, and dedicated March 20, 1805. It was torn down in 1840. The third edifice was burned January 1, 1856. The fourth edifice is the one now standing on the site of all its predecessors.

The parish was incorporated as a town by the name of West Cambridge, February 27, 1807: the act had force June 1, 1807. The old religious society (organized 1732) thus became the first parish in West Cambridge. A tower-clock was procured for their meeting-house in 1808. The first stove and funnel in the house was authorized in 1820. The ministers of this church and society have been ten in number, as follows: Samuel Cooke, 1739-1783; Thaddeus Fiske, 1788-1828;

Frederick H. Hedge, 1829-1835; David Damon, 1835-1843; William Ware, 1845-1846; James F. Brown, 1848-1853; Samuel A. Smith, 1854-1865; Charles C. Salter, 1866-1869; George W. Cutter, 1870-1876; William J. Parrot, 1878.

In 1808 the 4th of July was celebrated in the town by a salute, a procession with military escort, an oration, and a repast with toasts and music accompanied by the discharge of cannon. The oration on this occasion, by William Nichols, Jr., of Westford, was printed.

Two persons in the place — Anna Winship and Thomas Williams — died, each at the age of one hundred and one years; the former February 2, 1806, and the latter February 5, 1809. It is remarkable also that Mary, the mother of the centenarian, Thomas Williams, died here February 17, 1772, at the age of one hundred and two years. John Adams, whose boyhood was spent here,



West Cambridge in 1817.

and whose father was a native here, died, after a long residence at Ashburnham, in this state, at Harford, Pennsylvania, February 26, 1849, at the great age of one hundred and four years, his faculties being wonderfully preserved to the last.

During 1809-10 trouble occurred in the town about the location of the Middlesex Turnpike. In the year 1810 there was a great volunteer muster in West Cambridge, which combined all the attractions the militia could present in a sham military, naval, and Indian battle at Spy Pond. In 1811 there was another exciting volunteer muster, which comprised a mock battle that resulted in the capture of a fort erected for the occasion in the upper part of the town, near the old Baptist Meeting-House.

The first printed town report was issued in 1811. In 1813 the second inauguration of President

Madison was celebrated in this town with considerable display.

In 1814 the town made provision for its safety in case the British should attack Boston, as was at that time feared. In 1816 the town provided itself with fire implements, ladders, hooks, etc.

In 1820 the town purchased a fire-engine, and in 1824 provided for the inoculation of the inhabitants with the cow-pox.

The part of Charlestown which had hitherto been a part of the district of Menotomy was annexed to West Cambridge February 25, 1842. In consequence of this annexation a large addition was made to the William Cutter School Fund of the town, established in 1836.

In 1843 the town purchased the lot on Medford Street for a new burying-ground, since known as Mount Pleasant Cemetery.

On the stone erected in this yard to the Rev. David Damon, D. D., eight years the minister of the First Congregational Society in West Cambridge, who was seized with apoplexy at a funeral service, and died on the following Sunday, June 25, 1843, is inscribed the statement: "His body is the first interred in this cemetery, which was consecrated by him a few days before his death."

In this yard is also an inscription to William Fletcher, who died February 26, 1853, aged eighty-three years, stating: "He was the first man that ever carried ice into Boston market for merchandise."

The Lexington and West Cambridge Railroad Company was incorporated in 1845, and the several streets and avenues in the town were regularly named in 1846.

Isaac Hill, the well-known politician and governor of New Hampshire, published a sketch of West Cambridge in the "Farmers' Monthly Visitor" for April 30, 1847. He originated in this town, and a kinsman, John Hill, who in 1847 had 20,000 tons of ice for sale, first receives his attention. Mr. Hill was an experienced ice-cutter, and in 1844, when Boston Harbor was frozen over, he superintended the cutting of a channel through the ice, seven miles in length, to the open roadstead for the passage of the Cunard steamer. He had also carried on at West Cambridge, in connection with his father and brothers, a market-garden and fruit-farm on a portion of the land which had been owned by the Hill family for two centuries. This was on land which in Governor Hill's boyhood was poor coarse sand and gravel along the shore of Spy Pond. There had been sufficient good land

in the old parish of Menotomy for all the purposes of the occupying farmers. The increase of families enlarged the area of territorial occupation, and brought the larger portion of the sandy sterile plains and the rocky, hard ridges around them to the highest point of production. The water surface of the ponds, by the business of ice-cutting, was made even more valuable than the best lands adjacent. Capacious ice-houses, covering some acres, had already been built at Spy Pond, in which a stock of ice could be preserved sufficient for a year in advance. The business commenced with Fresh Pond, and numerous teams were then employed to transport this ice to Boston and the wharves on Charles River. About the time of the commencement of the Lowell Railroad the ice business suggested a railway to Fresh Pond for the cheaper and quicker transport of that article. Out of this Fresh Pond Railway grew the Fitchburg Railroad, and, branching off in another direction along the shore of Spy Pond, a track extended through the village of West Cambridge to the centre of Lexington. By this branch of the Fitchburg Railroad the ice of Spy Pond was brought as near the wharves of Boston, in point of expense, as if it had been cut from a pond on Boston Common.

The depot for this railroad at West Cambridge usurped the place of some of the venerable elms that stood before the door of the ancient Adams House. The course of the railroad toward Lexington had rendered it necessary to cut off the westerly end of this old house, which was one of the earliest erected in the limits of the town, and was the same which had been occupied by John Adams, one of the first settlers in this district.

The house was built of wood, and bricked up between the inside and outside finishing. On that part of the building which remained the bullet-holes through the outside clapboards could be seen, which were made when the house was riddled during the passage of the British troops through Menotomy on their retreat from Lexington and Concord, April 19, 1775. Many bullets that had lodged in the bricks were taken out as the house was being torn down. It had its fancy-work eaving directly below the roofing, and its front-door capping was in imitation of the Corinthian style. Governor Hill probably never saw the entire demolition of this house of his ancestors, for his death occurred March 22, 1851. The old house stood at least one hundred and thirty years before it became a target for the soldiers of

the mother country. The same old mansion, after such a riddling, stood seventy-one years longer, till 1846, before it was mutilated for the benefit of the railroad.

The generations succeeding each other on the various estates in the town are agricultural in character; all, from the first, have been taught to labor with their own hands. Many have gone forth from them carrying their habits of thrift and industry into all the states of New England and many states of the Union. Nevertheless, much of the land continues in the ownership of the same families and names as those who first settled here. They never have been a people to be carried away by any enthusiastic madness or uncommon revival of religion. From their position, they have always labored more hours than the people living farther inland, who would not think of rising at two o'clock in the morning to supply milk, vegetables, meal, or meat for the daily food of the people of a city half a dozen miles distant. In former years the education of hard work in early youth, perhaps, left too little time for improvement in the more scholastic accomplishments; but the increasing wealth of the community has enabled their children to receive better opportunities in this respect than their fathers enjoyed.

A large share of the permanent inhabitants have become so interwoven by marriage that they are nearly all of blood relation. A remarkable feature of these races has been the numerous instances of longevity, due in part to their uniform living and their outdoor occupation.

From these statements of thirty years ago we make the attempt to bring our record to the present time.

June 24, 1848, a monument was erected over the grave of the Revolutionary heroes in the old burying-ground. The expense of its erection was \$460.67, of which the voluntary contributions of inhabitants were \$360.67, and the donation of Hon. P. C. Brooks, of Medford, \$100. It is a plain obelisk of New Hampshire granite about nineteen feet in height, encircled by a stone and iron fence, having inserted in the main shaft this inscription on a marble tablet:—

"Erected by the Inhabitants of West Cambridge, A. D. 1848, over the common grave of Jason Russell, Jason Winship, Jabez Wyman, and nine others, who were slain in this Town by the British Troops on their retreat from the Battles of Lexington and Concord, April 19, 1775. Being among the first to lay down their lives in the struggle for American Independence."

The grave was opened and the remains of the twelve occupants disinterred and placed in a stone vault, now under the monument, April 22, 1848.

In 1851 a new almshouse was erected. A former almshouse was built about 1817.

The town was visited by the great tornado — remembered for its immense velocity and power — August 22, 1851. Its path through West Cambridge was marked with the greatest destruction. Men, animals, and other objects were carried up into the air, houses unroofed, turned around, or destroyed. The estimated damage done to property by the tornado in this town amounted to \$23,606. Its course was from west to east, and it crossed the Mystic River and entered Medford with unabated force.

In 1852 the present town-house was built. In 1854 the West Cambridge Gaslight Company was incorporated. In 1856 the town voted to furnish a clock to be placed in the tower of the meeting-house about to be built by the First Congregational Parish.

In 1857 the West Cambridge Horse Railroad Company was incorporated. In 1859 the town first paid the expense of keeping the streets lighted with gas. March 18, 1859, the southerly part of the town was annexed to Belmont. The town had also lost a small piece of its territory by annexation to Winchester, April 30, 1850.

In 1860 the West Cambridge Five Cents Savings Bank was incorporated. In 1861 the town took a patriotic stand in the War of the Rebellion. At a town-meeting, April 29, the sum of \$10,000 was appropriated for the support of those families whose husbands, fathers, or brothers belonging to this town had enlisted, or might thereafter enlist, in the military service of their country. This action was largely instigated by a public meeting in the town-hall on Sunday evening, April 21, 1861, at which the inhabitants of West Cambridge and many from Belmont had assembled, and passed resolutions referring to the distracted condition of the country, and applauding those young men of the town who had been the first to enlist in a military corps. A company of infantry had been raised, numbering eighty-two men, under Albert S. Ingalls, of West Cambridge, as captain, which, at the end of several weeks, went to Brooklyn, N. Y., — the quota of Massachusetts being full, — with the expectation of joining a regiment. They were disappointed, and returned; but thirty-two members of this company, with their captain, immediately

revisited New York and were incorporated into the 40th, or Mozart, Regiment of New York Volunteers. Four citizens of the town were connected with the 5th regiment of Massachusetts militia, and accompanied that regiment into immediate service.

At a town-meeting July 22, 1862, resolves were passed tendering the kindest sympathy of the town to Major Albert S. Ingalls, then in hospital at Annapolis, Maryland, who had recently lost a limb on the field of battle before Richmond; and also of greeting to Lieutenant Francis Gould, Lieutenant John Locke, Lieutenant Charles H. Graves, and others, "our friends and neighbors, now resting on their laurels near the field of battle before Richmond." Major Albert S. Ingalls, of the 40th New York regiment, lost a leg from a wound received in battle before Richmond, June 30, 1862, and died in hospital at Annapolis, August 11, 1862.

A public meeting was held in the town February 22, 1862, in response to the proclamation of the President of the United States, to listen to the reading of Washington's Farewell Address. The town filled quotas of thirty-three, fifty-four, and twenty-six men for three years' and for nine months' United States service in 1862. July 1, 1863, a draft of forty-four men from the town was made. The ten who were accepted commuted by paying \$300 each. Sixty-four men were furnished for the war in February and March, 1864, the cost being defrayed by subscription by the citizens of the town.

The town-hall was illuminated on the evening of April 3, 1865, in honor of the news of the capture of Richmond. From July 18, 1864, to March 1, 1865, the number of men called for the war was fifty-three; but the town exceeded the call, and furnished sixty-four.

The following summary shows the amounts contributed by the town during the war: —

Paid by the town for bounties	\$26,386.00
" citizens' collections	25,156.10
" " individually	7,500.00
" State Aid	13,016.63
Collected by the Ladies' Soldiers' Aid Society	4,314.26
	<hr/> \$75,372.99

In 1864 the town voted to establish a high school, and purchased of the proprietors of the Cotting Academy their building, furniture, and land for that purpose.

The name of the town was changed from West Cambridge to Arlington, April 13, 1867. A preliminary celebration of the change of name was held May 1, 1867; and June 17, 1867, a grand celebration in honor of the event occurred, in which

the governor of the state, the legislature, and many distinguished persons participated. A large procession of guests and visiting military, with the local masonic organizations, the soldiers of 1812, and of the late war, the children of the public schools, with a representation of trades and a cavalcade, passed through the principal streets, and afterward partook of collations,—the prominent guests in a tent on Pleasant Street, and the children of the schools in a tent on the Common. Speeches were made by Governor Bullock, Hon. Charles Sumner, Richard H. Dana, General Foster, Commodore Rodgers, and others. Mr. J. T. Trowbridge of Arlington, well known as an author, wrote a poem for the occasion. The exercises closed with a regatta of Harvard students on the lake.

Charles Sumner's remarks on this occasion were partly as follows:—

"In coming here to take part in this interesting celebration, I am not insensible to the kindness of good friends among you, through whom the invitation was received. But I confess a neighborly interest in your festival. Born in Boston, and educated in Cambridge, I am one of your neighbors. Accept, then, if you please, the sympathies of a neighbor on this occasion.

"Yours is not a large town, nor has it any considerable history. But what it wants in size and history, it makes up in beauty. Yours is a beautiful town. I know nothing among the exquisite surroundings of Boston more charming than these slopes and meadows, with the background of hills and the gleam of water. The elements of beauty are all here. Hills are always beautiful; so is water. I remember hearing Mrs. Fanny Kemble say more than once that water in a landscape is 'like eyes in the human countenance,' without which the countenance is lifeless. But you have water in abundance, gleaming, shining, sparkling, in your landscape. The water-nymphs might find a home here. You have gardens also, beautiful to the eye and beautiful in their nourishing and luscious supplies. Surely it may be said of those who live here, that their lines have fallen in a pleasant place.

"I go far when I suggest that you are without a history. West Cambridge was a part of that historic Cambridge which was so early famous in our country, the seat of learning and the home of patriotism. The honor of Cambridge is yours."

After allusion to the times of the Revolution, Mr. Sumner continued:—

"Many years ago, when I first read the account

of this period by one of the early biographers of Washington, Rev. Dr. Bancroft of Worcester, the father of our distinguished historian, I was struck by the statement that 'in case of attack and defeat, the Welsh Mountains in Cambridge and the rear of the lines in Roxbury were appointed as places of rendezvous.' 'The Welsh Mountains' are the hills which skirt your peaceful valley. Since then I have never looked upon these hills, even at a distance,—I have never thought of them,—without feeling that they are monumental. They testify to that perfect prudence which made our commander-in-chief so great. In those hours, when undisciplined patriots were preparing for conflict with the trained soldiers of England, the careful eye of Washington calmly surveyed the whole horizon, and selected your hills as the breastwork behind which he was to retrieve the day. The hills still stand, firm and everlasting as when he looked upon them, but smiling now with fertility and peace."

In 1871-72 the Arlington Water-Works were constructed; cost of construction to the town, over \$300,000. In 1872 the Arlington Public Library was established, to which was transferred the Juvenile Library, which had been in existence since 1835. About this time a weekly newspaper was started, called the Arlington Advocate. In 1872, also, the steeples of two meeting-houses in the place were rebuilt, which had been destroyed by a gale in 1871. The town erected the large brick Russell School-House during 1872-73, at a cost of \$57,911.04, to replace the former one, which was burned.

An association, mostly of persons doing business in Boston, purchased several hundred acres of land on Arlington Heights, in 1872, with a view to build up a village as a place of residence for themselves and others. Under the auspices of the association, notwithstanding an enormous depreciation in value of real estate, about sixty houses have now been built, many of them after the best models of exterior beauty and interior comfort. The village numbers some two hundred and fifty inhabitants. The principal highway, eighty feet in width, called Park Avenue, built by the association, from the Lexington and Arlington Railroad to the top of the hill, was, in 1874, extended by the county commissioners to Belmont, and made a county road. The Heights, formerly known as Circle Hill, are noted for the magnificent prospect, from the summit, of the city and harbor of Boston, and the numerous towns and cities adjoining.

The town made preparation for the celebration of the Centennial Anniversary of the battle of the 19th of April, 1775. The day in 1875 was accordingly observed by the citizens, and delegates endeavored to attend celebrations elsewhere. The throngs passing through the place on the way to the towns of Lexington and Concord were immense.

In 1875 the town received a bequest of \$25,000 from Nathan Pratt, Esq., for a public library, the high school, and the poor widows' fund.

In 1877 the town voted to erect stones to mark localities of interest connected with the Battle of April 19, 1775, and several, with appropriate inscriptions, were erected.

The stream flowing through the town from Lexington into Mystic Pond has been the seat of a number of mill-privileges which are interesting for their antiquity. The oldest one was established about 1637 by Captain George Cooke, whose successors, since his death in 1652, were his daughters in England till 1670; John Rolfe, from 1670 to 1681; John Rolfe, Jr., 1681 to 1685; William Cutter, 1685 to 1725; Cutter's four sons, 1725 to 1731 and 1732; Cutters two sons, 1732 to 1756; John Cutter (a son) and Jonathan Cutter (a grandson), 1756 to 1768; Ammi Cutter (a grandson), 1768 to 1795; Ephraim Cutter (son of Ammi), 1795 to 1841; Benjamin and Samuel L. Cutter (sons of Ephraim), 1841 to 1850; and Benjamin Cutter alone in 1850, the premises being now occupied by his son-in-law, Samuel A. Fowle.

The privilege of the late Cyrus Cutter may possibly date its origin to a liberty granted to the Widow Rolfe in 1681, "to make a dam above the old mill-pond to keep water in," to accommodate the mill with water. This liberty was used by her son-in-law, William Cutter, who made a dam at that place in 1703, to raise a pond for his saw-mill. It was the property of William Cutter till 1725; John Cutter, 1718 to 1776; John Cutter, Jr., 1743 to 1790; Stephen Cutter and his wife Mary, 1790 to 1835; Eli Robbins, 1835 to 1836; Cyrus Cutter, 1836.

The privilege at the saw-factory originated with Abner Stearns after 1805. His successors have been John Tufts, 1808 to 1817; Ezra Trull, 1817 to 1831; Cyrus Cutter, 1831 to 1832; Welch and Griffiths, saw-makers, 1832.

The privilege next above, where Abner Stearns erected a factory in 1811, was sold by Stearns in 1832 to James Schouler, calico-printer, of Lynn.

The privilege now used by J. C. Hobbs, ma-

chinist, was established by Ichabod Fessenden, where he was about to erect a mill, in 1816.

The privilege of Theodore Schwamb was where Gershom Cutter, who died in 1807, had erected a mill for turning and grinding edged-tools, afterward his son Aaron Cutter's mill, before 1817.

The privilege of Charles Schwamb was that which the heirs of Gershom Cutter, who died in 1777, quitclaimed to their brother, Stephen Cutter, in 1778. The property was Stephen Cutter's till he sold it to Ichabod Fessenden in 1795. Fessenden sold to John Perry and Stephen Locke in 1809, who carried it on for some years.

In 1837 there were manufactured in this town 500 pairs of boots and 31,000 pairs of shoes. Two mills were pulverizing drugs, medicines, and dye-stuffs. There was one dyeing and calico-printing establishment, one saw-factory, one wool-card manufactory, and one turning and sawing mill; chairs and cabinet ware were also manufactured in the place.

The earliest mention of a school-house here is in 1693, and in 1733 provision was made for a reading and writing school in the precinct. The public school of that date was kept near the meeting-house, on the land which was left for a burying-place. In 1767 it was decided to keep four women's schools in the precinct. In the next year it was voted to keep a grammar school fourteen weeks at the school-house, the remainder of the school-money to be applied to the support of the women's schools. A new school-house was built in 1769, and the old one sold, which had stood probably since 1746. A committee of three in 1774 was added to the standing committee of the parish "to regulate the school." It was voted that this committee receive the money granted for the schools, and employ "a schoolmaster and schoolmistresses to keep the school or schools, and pay them therefor," — the first step taken toward having a general school committee. In 1792 the schools were divided into three wards, and a committee of nine was chosen to take the charge and regulate said schools. In 1807 the town was divided into four school districts, named the South, West, Middle, and Eastern Districts, the number of families in the town being one hundred and sixty-four. Four and a half months schooling for the year was adopted. The selectmen alone acted as the school committee till 1822.

In 1810 the middle or central school-house was removed from its site west of the meeting-house

to the watercourse in the burying-ground, where it remained till 1841. In 1827 the town first chose a general school committee of three persons. Prudential school committeemen were chosen from 1827 till 1861. In 1836 was constituted the William Cutter School Fund of \$5,000, the income of which was applied to the support of public schools in the town. This was the gift of an humble, childless man, who, from unselfish motives, in order to benefit the schools of his native town, by will, dated March 17, 1823, gave his whole estate, after the death of his wife, as a trust fund for that purpose. In 1835 a legacy of \$100 from Dr. Ebenezer Learned of Hopkinton, N. H., was left to the town for the purpose of establishing a juvenile library for the free use of the children of the public schools of West Cambridge. This library was increased by donations from various sources, and in 1837 the town voted that \$30 annually be appropriated to this library, on condition that each family have the privilege of taking books free. The town increased this appropriation to \$100 in 1860. Dr. Timothy Wellington left a legacy of \$100 to benefit the Juvenile Library in 1854. It was established as the Arlington Public Library in 1872.

In 1838 a new school district was formed from the old Centre and Eastern Districts, and called the Union District. In 1842 the income of the Cutter School Fund was expended on the South School, the Union School, and the Northwest School. In 1843 district school libraries were established in the town. In 1849 a new school-house in the East District was erected, and in 1850 the Union School District was divided. The Union Grammar

School District was formed, and the Union District divided into three primary school districts in 1852. A school-house for the Centre District was first erected on Medford Street in 1860, and called the Russell School-House. In 1862 the schools of the town were the Northwest grammar, intermediate, and primary schools; the Russell grammar, intermediate, and primary schools; and the East District School. In 1863 the first Cutter School-House was erected. The town lost this house by fire in 1866, and also the Russell School-House in 1872. In 1865 a superintendent of schools was appointed. Judge William E. Parmenter has served continuously, since 1856, as one of the school committee.

The old-time military organization in Menotomy was a train-band, of which Ephraim Frost was captain, William Cutler lieutenant, and Daniel Brown ensign in 1766. The existence of the training band is mentioned in 1777. About 1807 the militia company in the town was commanded by Captain David Hill. Besides the "old standing militia," the military of West Cambridge at this period was the "Light Horse Company," commanded by Thomas Russell; the "Minute-Men" existing at the time of the Embargo scare in 1808; the "Light Infantry," organized in 1811; the "Exempts," in 1814.

There is a Baptist society in the place which has had an existence of nearly a century, a Universalist society, an Orthodox Congregational society, Episcopalian, Methodist, and Roman Catholic societies, beside the Unitarian society, which has been already mentioned as the first.

ASHBY.

BY FRANCIS TINKER.



ASHBY contains 12,283½ acres, and forms the northwestern extremity of Middlesex County. It is distant forty-two miles from Boston, and has for its bounds on the north New Ipswich and Mason, in the state of New Hampshire, on the east Townsend and Lunenburg, on the south Fitchburg, on the west Ashburnham,—the dividing line between Ashby and the last-named town passing over the summit of Watatic Mountain, 1,847 feet above the level of the sea. Mr. John Fitch, one of the early settlers of the town, and who was active in securing the incorporation of both Fitchburg and Ashby, always claimed the honor of giving its name to Ashby, because, as he said, "it was a short name, and he liked it." In the mother country Ashby is a favorite name, being borne by no less than fourteen towns or boroughs.

Ashby is well watered by small streams issuing from or near the base of Watatic Mountain. Locke, Trapfall, and Willard brooks flow easterly, and unite in Townsend, forming the Squannacook. The Souhegan takes its rise in the Watatic Pond, and runs through the northwest part of the town, furnishing several valuable mill-seats. The scenery presents a pleasing variety of hill and vale, marked by meandering streams.

Jones Hill, a little west of the centre of the town, is wild and rocky on its south side, but on the north is easy of ascent. Its cave, or "Indian House," as it is often called, is an object of some curiosity, while from the summit of Watatic and Nemoset all of Eastern Massachusetts spreads itself before the eye like a magnificent panorama. The waters of Great and Little Watatic, Neejepojesus, Waushachum, and other ponds and reservoirs mirror their picturesque surroundings. Rivers and brooks, like silvery bands, wind here and there; and a hundred spires, rising through the leafy shades, present a scene of unsurpassed beauty.

The population of Ashby in 1875 was 962, of

which number 76 were between seventy and eighty, 14 between eighty and ninety, and 8 exceeded ninety years of age,—thus attesting the healthfulness of the place. The inhabitants are noted for their industry, frugality, and hospitality. In 1837 the women and children manufactured 59,989 palm-leaf hats, valued at \$7,751.50; and in 1875 they gathered from the pastures 29,103 quarts of blueberries, returning them \$2,501; and this probably is not in excess of their annual crop of berries. The majority of the citizens are engaged in agricultural pursuits, cultivating 2,955 acres of land. The soil is strong, and well repays the husbandman for his toil. In 1839 the town received from the state \$171.45 as bounty money for its wheat crop, which was awarded to sixty-nine persons; in 1840, \$159.20; in 1841, \$95.20; and wheat continues to be raised, but in less quantity than formerly. In 1875 the number of farms containing over ten acres was 167, producing 2,523 tons of hay, 11,905 bushels of potatoes, 2,523 bushels of Indian corn, 1,134 bushels of oats, and about the same quantity of barley, with other grains and vegetables in like proportion. From its orchards the same year were gathered 12,222 bushels of merchantable apples, the remainder yielding 12,729 gallons of cider. The number of milch cows is 585. The dairies yielded 23,394 pounds of butter and 83,628 gallons of milk, valued at \$20,284. This does not include what was used for home consumption. With a total valuation of \$485,423, the aggregate amount of all the domestic and agricultural products of the town, as given in the state census of 1875, was \$138,396. Its manufactories consist of a tub and pail mill, which sends annually to market some \$12,500 worth of merchandise. One saw and grist mill disposes of lumber and meal to the amount of \$10,000 yearly; three other saw-mills furnish more or less lumber; and there are also one rope-walk, three blacksmiths' shops, a wheelwright shop, besides several carpenters' and painters' shops. Two stores abundantly supply the wants of her citizens.

The town has two churches, with settled pastors:

Rev. G. S. Shaw over the first parish, and Rev. F. E. Mills over the second. It has nine schools, and raises for their support \$1,642.69. The whole number of pupils recorded as belonging to the several schools is 218, with an average attendance of 196, thus giving her scholars the first rank in the commonwealth for punctuality, — an honor of which they may well be proud.

Ashby, prior to its incorporation, formed a part of Townsend, Fitchburg, and Ashburnham, and its history is merged in that of the several towns from which it was taken. The date of its first settlement is veiled in some obscurity. Townsend was incorporated in 1732, and the first record of any survey of that portion of territory afterwards set off bears date April, 1736, and was recorded in the "Proprietors' Book," December 4, of the same year, in a deed to Amos Whitney.¹ In 1739 John Fitch settled in the south part of the town, on territory at that time belonging to Lunenburg, and Thomas Colman in the north part of the town some years later. A family or two may have made their homes here by the year 1745. Nothing worthy of note occurred till the attack by the Indians, July 5, 1748, on Fitch's Garrison, which was situated on the farm now owned and occupied by Paul Gates, upon the rise of land near the turn of the road leading from Ashby to Ashburnham, and on the old road from Lunenburg to Northfield and the Connecticut valley. The petition of the chief actor and sufferer to his majesty's governor and council contains the only authentic record of that sad event.

"To the Honorable Spencer Phips, Governor-in-chief of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, in New England, for the time being; to the Honorable, His Majesty's Council, and House of Representatives in General Court assembled :

"John Fitch humbly shows that in the year A. D. 1739 he purchased about one hundred and twenty acres of land, about seven uniles and a half above Lunenburg meeting-house, and about three miles and a half above any of the inhabitants, on the road leading from Lunenburg to Northfield, and there by industry built him a house, and improved so much land as to raise provision for his growing family, and some to spare; whereby he entertained and refreshed travellers; and being a carpenter was furnished with such tools necessary for that business; and being distant from neighbors, was obliged to keep the chief of his tools,

and live within himself, and had husbandry utensils and household stuff, and that upon the war breaking out, although he had no near neighbors to join with him in a garrison, yet divers of the inhabitants of Lunenburg, knowing the great security that a garrison at his place might be, urged him to build one; and many of the inhabitants assisted and helped him in it, after which, the several officers appointed over the soldiers and scouts, ordered a quota to that garrison, and it was a place of resort and refreshment to town scouts and for large scouts from Northfield, Townsend, Ashuelot and other places. And your petitioner received and entertained them, and in the year A. D. 1748, the scouts from Lunenburg and Townsend were ordered to meet there once every week; and he had four soldiers allowed to keep said garrison, and on the 5th day of July, in the same year, by reason of bodily infirmity, there were but two soldiers with him, although others with the scouts were to come that day. On that day before noon, and before the scouts came, the Indian enemy appeared and shot down one soldier¹ upon being discovered, and immediately drove him and the other soldier into the garrison, and after besieging the same about one hour and a half, they killed the other soldier through the port hole in the flanker; and then your petitioner was left alone with his wife and five children, soon after which he surrendered and became a prisoner with his said family, and the enemy took and carried away such things as they pleased, and burnt the house and garrison with the rest, and then we entered into a melancholy captivity with one small child on the mother's breast, and two more became sucking children in the way for want of provisions, which with other hardships brought my dear wife into a bad state of health and languishment, and in our return, being by New York, Rhode Island, and Providence, there in December last she departed this life, and when I with my five children arrived at this province, we were objects of charity for food and raiment, which some charitable people bestowed upon us. Yet your petitioner's family are dispersed by reason of poverty, and must so remain unless some charitable help may some way or other be bestowed, for your petitioner is utterly unable to put himself again into suitable circumstances,

¹ The name of the first soldier killed was Zacheus Blodgett, and on the 7th of April, 1749, the house of representatives passed an order that wages due him be paid to his brethren and sisters. The name of the other soldier killed was Jennings.

¹ Whitney sold in 1749 to James Locke

and to bring home his dispersed and melancholy family, having his substance burnt as aforesaid, and fences also; and your petitioner begs leave to inform you that he is utterly unable to build, furnish and fence, and maintain his dispersed family, two children being a continual charge since our captivity, one being under the doctor's care ever since; your petitioner also lost his only gun worth thirty pounds, and an ox at the same time, and his stock of cattle are chiefly gone, having no hay last year, and is under very pitiable circumstances and humbly begs relief in some way or other, as this Honorable Court shall think best, and as in duty bound shall ever pray."

On the margin of the petition is this entry:—

"December 10, 1749. Half his stock of cattle containing ten head of well-grown cattle and all his swine, no tools of any sort, no household utensils but one porridge pot, writings and accounts."

The petition bears the following indorsement:—

"In the House of Representatives April 9, 1750. Received and ordered that there be allowed out of the Public Treasury to the petitioner, or his order, eight pounds, in consideration of his sufferings, within mentioned, and to enable him to resettle himself and family on his plantation. Sent up for concurrence.

"THOMAS HUBBARD, *Speaker pro tem.*

"In Council April 9, 1750. Read and concurred.

"SAMUEL HOLBROOK, *Depl. Sec.*

"Consented to

"S. PHIPPS."

The following petitions show that the Indians were in considerable force, and that some, at least, did not withdraw at once after the destruction of Fitch's little garrison.

"To His Excellency, William Shirley, Esq., Governor, with the Honorable, the Council of the Province of Massachusetts Bay assembled:—

"The petition of the inhabitants of Lunenburg and Leominster humbly sheweth that—Whereas the Indian enemy have very lately been among us in considerable numbers and with unusual boldness, and have destroyed one of our garrison, killing and captivating the inhabitants, and we have no more than ten soldiers allowed by the government for our protection (who are all in Lunenburg), and though in Leominster we have a small scout of your inhabitants, the circumstances of this town are so weak and exposed that the commanding

officers can hardly think it prudent to send them into the woods; so that we are sordid to look upon ourselves in a very hazardous, as well as distressed case to such a degree that we cannot many of us labor on our farms or abide in our houses with tolerable safety; but ourselves and families must be in danger of suffering much, either by penury or the direct insults of a cruel and barbarous nation, or both of them.

"It is, therefore, may it please your Excellency and Honors, our humble and earnest *prayer* that you would grant us for our protection such a number of soldiers as in your great wisdom and *fatherly* compassion you shall deem requisite for the preservation of our estates, our liberties and our lives. Such kindness and tender care in your Excellency and Honors we shall ever with the sincerest gratitude remember; and your petitioners shall ever pray."

This petition is dated July 8, 1748, and signed by fifty-eight of the citizens of Lunenburg and Leominster.

Remonstrance of the Commissioned Officers and Selectmen of Lunenburg.

"The humble remonstrance of the Commissioned Officers and Selectmen of Lunenburg sheweth that on the fifth day of this instant July, the enemy beset and destroyed one of the outmost garrisons in the town aforesaid, killed two soldiers and captivated a family consisting of a man, his wife, and five children, and that on the seventh day of the month they discovered themselves in a bold, insulting manner three miles further into the town¹ than the garrison which they had destroyed, where they chased and shot at one of the inhabitants² who narrowly escaped their hands; since which, we have had undoubted signs of their being among us. Several of the garrisons built by order and directions of the General Court are already deserted for want of help; and several more garrisons of equal importance that were built at the cost and expense of particular men are deserted likewise. For three days in four, the last week, the inhabitants were necessarily rallied by alarms and hurried into the woods after the enemy; and this, we have just reason to conclude, will be the case, frequently to be called from our business, for almost daily the enemy are heard shooting in the woods above us, and to be thus frequently called from business

¹ As far as Pearl Hill in Fitchburg.

² Mr. David Goodridge.

in such a season must impoverish us, if the enemy should not destroy us; and what we greatly regret is, our enemies having a numerous herd of our cattle to support themselves with, and feast upon, among which they have repeatedly been heard shooting, from which we conclude that there may be great slaughter made among our cattle.

EDWARD HARTWELL,	} <i>Commissioned Officers.</i>
JONATHAN WILLARD,	
JOSIAM DODGE,	
JACOB GOULD,	
BENJ. BELLOWE,	} <i>Selectmen of Lunenburg.</i>
JONATHAN BRADSTREET,	
BENJ. GOODRIDGE,	
JOHN GRANT,	
BENJ. FOSTER,	

"July 12, 1748."

From this remonstrance, which is dated the 12th, seven days after the destruction of Fitch's little garrison, it appears that the Indians in some force were lingering in the vicinity, causing much anxiety and distress to the unprotected inhabitants in their scattered homes.

The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, dispelled the fears of Indian invasions, and the few deserted homes were repeopled. February 3, 1764, Fitchburg, after several ineffectual attempts, secured its incorporation, Mr. John Fitch being first on the committee. In September of the same year it was voted that "Two miles on the westerly line of said town, beginning at the northwest corner, and half a mile on the easterly line, beginning at the northeast corner on Townsend line, then running a straight line from one distance to the other, be set off to Mr. John Fitch and others, in order to make a town or parish among themselves"; and by the same vote they were exempted from the ministerial tax. Notwithstanding this act of generosity on the part of Fitchburg, it was three years before Ashby was able to enter the sisterhood of towns; though her people at once organized themselves into a religious society, and probably met for worship at the house of Peter Lawrence. The act for the incorporation of the town was passed by the house of representatives, March 4, 1767, by the council on the 5th, and was approved by the royal governor on the 6th. James Prescott, Esq., of Groton, was empowered to call the meeting for the municipal organization of the town, and drew his warrant, dated March 23, directed to John Bates, requiring him "in His Majesty's name," to notify and warn the inhabitants of Ashby, qualified by law to vote in town affairs, to assemble at the house

of Peter Lawrence on the 30th instant. From the records of that meeting, it appears that John Fitch was chosen moderator, James Locke, Jr., town clerk, James Locke, John Fitch, and John Jones, Jr., selectmen. The second meeting of the town, and the first under its own organization, was held at the house of Jonas Barrett. From the proceedings at this time it appears that the house of Peter Lawrence was fixed upon as the place where their civil and religious meetings were to be held. Twenty pounds were appropriated "to hire preaching," and a committee chosen to expend the same. Measures were also taken to secure a place to bury their dead.

The first valuation was made in 1768, and gives the names of forty-three of the fathers of the town, with a record of their estates. They were poor in this world's goods, but rich in manhood, and early identified themselves in the struggle which separated the colonies from the parent country. September 21, 1768, Lieutenant Amos Whitney, of Townsend, was chosen a delegate to the convention called by the inhabitants of Boston; and the selectmen were instructed to communicate to him the sentiments of the town.

They say, "As there is a prospect of some of His Majesty's troops arriving in this Province we judge it may be of importance, if they should arrive, that proper measures may be taken, that their order may be discovered before they are suffered to land, and the Province receive notice of the same; and if, upon discovery of the same, they appear to be manifest infringements of the natural rights of this people, or upon our Charter Rights, of this Province in particular, that all proper and prudent measures may be taken to defend and secure the Province." For the next few years the efforts of the citizens of Ashby were mainly directed to securing a place for public worship. In March, 1769, they resolved to build, and fixed the dimensions of their meeting-house, but it was not till June, 1771, that the structure was so far completed that a town-meeting was able to convene within its walls. In the month of March, 1772, arrangements were made for finishing the pews upon the lower floor of the house; then they provided for building their pulpit; and in 1774, for finishing all except the pew ground in the gallery. There remains no record of the dedication of this church, nor of the time when it was opened for religious services; but June 4, 1772, was, by a vote of the town, observed as a day of fasting and prayer, and

an invitation was extended to the following ministers, Daniel and Joseph Emerson, Mr. Dix, Mr. Farrar, and Mr. Payson, to be present, so that, from that day, probably, dates the consecration of the house. In 1770 the town secured from Mr. Jonathan Lawrence two and a half acres of land, and in 1771 received as a gift from Mr. Joseph Davis one acre and a half. These two grants of land include the cemetery in the rear of the First Church and the beautiful "commonage" in front. The first appropriation for education was made in 1778, and "four squadrons formed,"¹ each of which was to draw its proportion of what it paid, from the eight pounds assessed for that purpose. Thirty pounds were raised for the support of the gospel, showing of how much more importance, in the estimation of the people, was moral to intellectual culture. Not that education was underrated, or held in light esteem by those worthy men; but they believed that a correct moral principle, coupled with a deep sense of responsibility to the Great Moral Governor, was the corner-stone upon which our civil institutions should rest. Deeply imbued with this principle, they revered those rights which God had established, and held that no human legislation had power to abridge or destroy them. As they expressed it in their resolves, passed May 13, 1773, "It is a great duty, and of the utmost importance, that the colonies without distinction; and this Province in particular, stand firm for their privileges as well civil as religious, which are valuable beyond estimation."

Certain letters of Governor Hutchinson, written a few years previous to his friend Whately in England, having fallen into the hands of Franklin, were by him returned to Boston, and when made public, called forth the following response: "We are of opinion that said letters were written with a manifest design to undermine our happy constitution, and considering the manner in which they were written, and the matter they contain must be judged by every honest mind, to be greatly injurious to the good people of this Province, and are therefore utterly to be condemned and detested as really insidious." Again, when the citizens of Boston resolved that the tea of the East India Company should be sent back to the place from whence it came, their action was quickly responded to by the citizens of Ashby, and the message went back, "That it is the opinion of this town that the proceedings of the town of Boston, at their meeting in

November last, respecting the East India Company's tea, imported to, and intended for sale in America, is agreeable to reason, and the natural rights of this free people; and that the same appears to have been necessary at that time." July 11, the town ordered the selectmen to offer to all persons in town, for their signature, the "Solemn League and Covenant, to suspend all commercial intercourse with the mother country, and neither purchase, nor consume any merchandise imported from Great Britain, after the last day of August"; and the selectmen were instructed to act as a committee of inspection to see that the covenant was fully observed.

October 4, 1774, Captain Samuel Stone was chosen to represent the town in the Provincial Congress, which met at Concord and adjourned to Cambridge. In the warrant for this meeting, his majesty's name was omitted, and the call was made "By Virtue of our Charter Rights," thus ignoring the royal prerogative, and taking the first step towards independence. On the 13th of October the Provincial Congress advised the several constables and collectors throughout the province, having money in their hands payable to the order of Harrison Gray, to retain the same; on the 28th, Henry Gardner of Stow was named as treasurer and receiver-general by this congress. December 29 the town instructed the constables to pay the amount in their hands to Henry Gardner, and that his receipt should discharge them from any obligation to the town. June 16, of this year, they instructed the selectmen to procure thirty hogsheads of salt for the use of the town. Their stock of ammunition and arms was also replenished, and when the crisis came they were able to lend to their neighbors.

February 24, 1775, in accordance with the recommendation of the Continental Congress, the Solemn League and Covenant was dissolved, and the resolution, passed September 30, in respect to the importation and exportation of any goods from or to any of the ports of Great Britain, was adopted, and a committee of inspection chosen. On the morning of the 19th of April, the alarm caused by the attack on the militia at Lexington must have been given at Ashby at about nine o'clock in the morning. The labors of the day had been commenced; but these were left, or committed to more youthful hands, as with hasty adieus seventy-seven stalwart freemen from this little town shouldered their muskets and hurried towards the scene of

¹ Schools were then called squadrons.

action. The distance from the place where hostilities were in progress prevented, however, their engaging in the memorable strife of that day.

The minute-men, under the command of Captain Samuel Stone, numbered forty-six; the militia, under Captain John Jones, thirty.¹ Their time of service was short, varying from five to thirty days. April 23, the Provincial Congress resolved to raise 13,600 troops from Massachusetts; and, to promote rapid enlistments, those who raised companies or regiments were promised commissions. It was under this arrangement that Captain Wyman's company was raised. Of its twenty-four members from Ashby, eight were from Captain Stone's company and four from Captain Jones'. Second-Lieutenant Thomas Cummings and ten men were from Westford; while others were gathered from different towns. Captain Abijah Wyman was born in Lancaster. He enlisted in the service of George III. under Captain Reed, marched for Halifax April 18, 1762, and returned the 28th of November following. He settled in Ashby March 15, 1768, and was a wealthy and respected citizen.

First-Lieutenant Isaac Brown was chosen one of the selectmen March, 1775, an office which he had previously filled, and he appears to have been an honored and valued citizen. He was severely wounded in the battle of Bunker Hill. His company formed a part of Colonel William Prescott's regiment, and must have been stationed where the strife was fiercest. John Gibson of Fitchburg and Jacob Bascom of Westford were killed. Amos Wheeler of Ashby was wounded, and died the 21st of June. Benjamin Bigelow of Ashby and Oliver Stevens of Townsend were wounded and captured, and died in the hands of the enemy. Ezekiel Bigelow was severely wounded. Mr. John Lawrence of Ashby, in Captain Gilbert's company, was killed. Mr. John Mead also fell on that day.

Forty-three of the citizens of Ashby participated in the siege of Boston and the organization of the little army of Washington. Seven of her townsmen joined in the terrible campaign in Canada, and passed through sufferings unparalleled in modern warfare. They probably marched with Arnold through the wilderness of Maine, for Lieutenant Brown states in his return, made October 3, that John Campbell was detached from the company

September 7, and given a command at Quebec. At a meeting of the town held the 1st of July, 1776, it was "*Voted*, That if the Honorable Congress for the Safety of the Colonies should declare them independent of the Kingdom of Great Britain, the Inhabitants of Ashby will solemnly engage with their lives and fortunes to support them in that measure." In this month (July) fourteen men enlisted for five months, and served at or near Ticonderoga. Ezekiel Bigelow and William Walker fell in this campaign. Three men enlisted for three months, and served at or around Boston.

In September, eight men enlisted under Captain Thomas Warren, and were on duty at New York. In December, seven more enlisted for three months, and served at the same place. In some one of the engagements occurring there, Mr. Simon Patch was wounded, and died on his way home. August 2, 1777, five men were drafted to serve three months at the westward, and on the 14th of the same month, by an additional draft, five more were required to report for duty, for three months, at or near Bennington. On the 30th of September following, in compliance with an order from General Prescott, seventeen men were detached from the militia company, to serve for thirty days after they arrived at the camp of General Gates, and marched the next morning, October 1. The company-roll, on file at the State Department, reads: "James Hosley of Townsend, Capt.; Asa Kendall of Ashby, 1st Lient." And, after enumerating the remaining officers, it continues,—"Privates: William Prescott, Esq., formerly Col.; Henry Woods, Esq., formerly Major; Samuel Stone, Major in the Militia." The heroic Prescott, in thus shouldering a musket and marching as a private, under the orders of a militia captain, through the forests of Vermont to Saratoga, stands revealed as a true patriot. The year 1778 opens with a call for eight men to serve as a guard at Cambridge, who were promptly furnished March 26. May 18, three men enlisted for nine months, to serve in the Continental army. In September, five men are found on duty at Providence and one at Tiverton, Rhode Island. October 20, five men were detached from the militia and ordered to the frontier, distant 180 miles. In the year 1780 the town paid six men for six months' service in the Continental army in rye, at one dollar per bushel, and seven men were paid £12 each for the same time. June 30, 1781, three men enlisted to serve for six months after they should arrive at West Point; and July 2, ten

¹ A copy of the muster-roll of both companies is in my possession, with the time of service and the amount paid to each man.

more for the same length of time, whose place of service is nowhere designated. This completes the number of those who entered the army for short periods of time. The names of some of them are of frequent occurrence, serving some part of almost every year. In addition to these oft-repeated calls, the town was required to fill her quota of three years' men for the Continental army. In 1777, six men were enlisted for three years, and one during the war. In 1778, seven for three years and one during the war; eleven of these were citizens of Ashby. This statement was made under oath by the selectmen and a committee of the town.

In 1781 two were enlisted, one of whom caused them much trouble and expense. In 1782, four men were enlisted, five of these last two calls being non-residents. This closes the record of enlistments by the town, and shows that every possible effort was put forth to redeem the solemn pledge made July 1, 1776. The first town war-rate, made in 1778 to cover the liabilities it had incurred, was £1,245 14s. 7d. This did not meet its obligations, and the people were forced to make a second, in the same year, of £934. Those who had done service for the town were credited against their tax with the amount of their dues. Requisitions were made for many articles, which the town found it extremely difficult to procure, and which the state was rigorously forced to exact, as the records of the time show.¹ Their state tax for current expenses, between 1777 and 1778, rose from £97 3s. 4d. to £228 18s. 6d., and taxes for other purposes were ordered by the state. They early chose a committee to care for the families of the soldiers, and for a Mr. Nurse, who enlisted for the war, they built a very comfortable house, for the times. In politics they were united. In 1780 and 1781 John Hancock received every vote cast for governor, and in 1782 they "voted to pass over so much of the article in the warrant as related to the choice of governor and senators." After the close of the war the history of Ashby flowed smoothly on; a ripple only was caused by Shays' Rebellion of 1786. Three of her citizens were all that were willing to furnish the honor they had won in their country's service by taking part

in that wild outbreak, and we will shield their names in consideration of their former loyalty. Men who stood with Prescott on Bunker Hill, and marched with him to Saratoga, could not lift their arms against their country, but promptly responded to the call of the state. In 1788 came from Billerica, to reside in Ashby, Thomas Ditson, Sally his wife, Thomas, Joseph, William, and Nancy, their children. This is the same honest countryman who went from Billerica early in the spring of 1775 to Boston to buy a gun, and was tarred and feathered, fastened to a chair, mounted on a cart, and drawn through the streets surrounded by a party of officers of the 47th regiment.¹

In 1797 the town chose a committee and instructed them to procure two horses and a wagon, to be under Captain Kendall's direction to go to Concord, also to provide at their own discretion (to be paid by the town) bread, meat, and cider; also one pint of rum per man, for the militia, both foot and troop, who are obliged to muster at Concord on the 26th of September, instant. May 5th, 1800, Stephen Patch was chosen to represent the town in the state legislature. He was re-elected in 1803, but declined to serve, and by a vote was excused, whereupon they passed their usual vote not to send, and the General Court imposed a fine upon the town for its neglect.

This year the selectmen were instructed to petition the General Court of the Commonwealth for liberty to establish a lottery to enable them to build a road to Rindge south of Watatic Mountain (where the present road now runs). Soldiers were required in 1803, for the town voted to refund to Captain Stephen Patch the money he had advanced to induce them to enlist. In 1809 the old meeting-house, which had cost their fathers so many years of toil to erect, was taken down, and the church in which the First Society now worships took its place.

In 1813 John Lock, Esq., was chosen representative and instructed by the town "to assist in procuring the repeal of the law made in 1811 for the general pay of the representatives out of the public chest," also to secure an alteration in the law respecting the laying out of highways. The year 1814 finds the town voting "that the men

¹ "CONCORD, October 7th 10th, 1778.

"Then received of Mr. Asa Walker, one of the Selectmen of Ashby, Fourteen Pair of Shoes, Fourteen Pair of Stockings, Twenty-Eight shirts, agreeable to a Resolve of the General Court of the 17th of June last.

"JOSEPH HOMER, Agent for Middlesex."

¹ In 1780 the town voted "to give 77 dollars of the currency now in use for one silver dollar," and July 11, 1781, ordered "that the constables and collectors receive the new emitted money, one dollar for £12, for the rates due the town as was assessed."

who were detached from the militia company, and had joined the forces, shall be paid five dollars per month in addition to what they receive from the State, excepting Benjamin Sheldon, who was detached and did not join the army; but John Manning who went in his room, we agree to pay five dollars per month, while in the service."

The news of the declaration of peace after the last war with England was hailed with delight, and the selectmen drew their order on the treasurer for twenty-six dollars to pay for sugar and rum used upon the Common on that joyous occasion. In 1817 the town by vote gave to the town of Fitzwilliam, in New Hampshire, fifty dollars on account of the loss of their church by lightning.

From 1811 to 1835 it appears from the records that the office of constable was sold at auction, and the person who would pay the highest price received the votes, the town realizing by the sale from two to thirty dollars yearly. In 1834 the town "advised the selectmen not to approbate any person to retail distilled spirits." In 1837 Ashby received her share of the surplus revenue. It was all invested for the benefit of public schools, but the principal was subsequently used for other purposes. In 1842 the town instructed the selectmen not to grant approbation to any innholder or other persons to sell spirituous or fermented liquors. The same year it raised one hundred and thirty-five dollars to enable the several school districts, to establish libraries (receiving an equal amount from the state). May 4, 1846, the town received three hundred dollars from Lewis Gould, Esq., on the condition that it should put a clock with three faces upon the Old Meeting-House, so called, the same to be kept in repair by the town. The gift was accepted, and the thanks of the town presented to Mr. Gould; and though he has long since passed away, the citizens of Ashby, as they lift their eyes to note the passing hour, read upon the dial the donor's name. The following year the town received a communication from Mr. Gould, stating that he had placed one hundred dollars in the hands of Dr. Alfred Hitchcock for the purpose of erecting a monument in memory of John Fitch, and the two soldiers, Blodgett and Jennings, who were killed on the morning of July 5, 1748, before the surrender of Fitch's little garrison, provided that the same be placed near the centre of the Common: this was accepted, and a simple granite shaft erected bearing their names, to tell to those who come after, that

where they reap in joy their fathers sowed in tears.

On the breaking out of the Rebellion, at a legal meeting held May 1, 1861, the following action was taken by the town:—

"*Resolved*, That we pledge ourselves and our property to sustain the Constitution, the freedom and rights bequeathed to us by our fathers, and that we will defend them to the last.

"*Resolved*, That the town raise two thousand dollars, and that fifteen hundred dollars be loaned to the state and made payable to the order of the Governor of Massachusetts."

And at a meeting held July 22, 1862, it was

"*Resolved*, That in view of the sacrifices which men must now make, in being called from their business at this season, and in view of the perils and hardships they are called to undergo, it is just and proper that additional pecuniary inducements should be offered to those who shall enlist to constitute the quota from this town."

In consequence of this vote the treasurer was ordered to pay one hundred dollars to each volunteer for the town when he should be mustered into the service of the United States, and by a subsequent vote in 1864, the bounty was increased to one hundred and twenty-five dollars. April 3, 1865, "*Voted*, That the selectmen be authorized to procure recruits in number sufficient to make the surplus credited to the town fifteen." The number of soldiers furnished by the town was one hundred and nine. John Mayo, Eliab Churchill, and David Wares fell at Lookout Mountain, Albert Davis at Fredericksburg, Daniel Dailey and Amos Eastman at Antietam, while disease in camp and hospital carried off twelve or more.¹ Far from home and friends they sleep "on Fame's eternal camping ground." Lieutenant Henry S. Hitchcock was severely wounded at Petersburg, Sanders at Fredericksburg, Wares in the battle of the Wilderness, Morgan and Ferguson at Dallas, Georgia, and Davis in some one of the many engagements during the war.

On the 4th of September, 1867, the town commemorated its hundredth birthday with appropriate exercises. Rev. C. W. Wood of North Bridgewater gave the address, and more than a thousand guests

¹ Henry Rice died from cruelty and neglect in the prison of Andersonville. Daniel D. Wiley at Baltimore, Albert Shattuck at sea, Lyman W. Holt, John Gilson, and Benjamin H. Buelow at New Orleans, Daniel Coffe and James Sullivan, in Louisiana, John R. Wilder at Baton Rouge, Morton Gilson and John Sawin at home, from disease contracted in the army. George A. Hitchcock passed five months of suffering at Andersonville, and one or two others thirty days.

partook of the hospitalities provided for the occasion.

July 4, 1876, the centennial of the nation was remembered; a sketch of Ashby's Revolutionary history was given, and a collation served in a grove owned by Amos Wheeler when he fell at Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775, a little over a century before.

The Orthodox Congregational Church was organized June 12, 1776. In those dark and trying days the fathers of the town looked up, and entered into covenant with Him who "looseth the bands of kings" and "leadeth princes away spoiled." The first pastor of the church was Rev. Samuel Whitman. He was ordained and installed August, 1778, and dismissed in 1783. He was succeeded by the Rev. Cornelius Waters, of Goffstown, N. H., June 14, 1797, whose pastorate closed February 15, 1816. Owing to difference in religious opinions, the church withdrew from the town in 1818, and for a year and a half worshipped in the house of Jonathan Blood. Its first meeting-house (now the academy building) was dedicated December 18, 1820, when the Rev. John M. Putnam was ordained and installed the same day; his pastorate lasted about five years. The Rev. A. B. Camp was ordained and installed January, 1827, and dismissed March 28, 1832. His successor, Rev. Orsamus Tinker, was installed January 1, 1834. The present house of worship was erected in 1835, and dedicated January 1, 1836. This pastorate was closed by the death of the pastor, October 13, 1838, in the thirty-seventh year of his age. Rev. Charles W. Wood was ordained and installed October 30, 1839, and dismissed January 7, 1858, his pastorate extending over a period of eighteen years and two months. Rev. James M. Bell was

ordained and installed July 12, 1858, and dismissed June 21, 1864.

Rev. Horace Parker was installed May 23, 1865, and dismissed February 4, 1870.

Rev. J. M. Bacon was installed November 4, 1870, and his labors were closed by death March 5, 1873.

Rev. G. F. Walker was installed June 11, 1873, and dismissed November 18, 1875.

Rev. F. E. Mills, the present pastor, was ordained and installed November 13, 1878.

Unitarian Church.—Rev. E. L. Bascom was installed January 2, 1821, over the church and congregation worshipping in the house erected by the town in 1809. Mr. Bascom retained his relation with his people until his death, though unable for the last few years of his life to perform the active duties of his office. He died in 1841. His colleague and successor, the Rev. Reuben Bates, was installed May 13, 1835, and dismissed August 14, 1845.

Rev. W. P. Huntington was installed January 14, 1846, and dismissed November 20 of the same year.

Rev. T. P. Doggett, stated supply, commenced his labors February 24, 1847, and closed them April 23, 1853. Rev. J. S. Brown supplied the desk from April 1, 1855, to April 27, 1857. Rev. N. Gage commenced his ministerial work June 5, 1858, and death closed it May 7, 1861. Rev. Charles Bugbee was called November 1, 1861, to supply the place thus made vacant; but July 7, 1865, he too passed away, leaving a mourning people. Rev. William T. Phelan followed as a supply for two years. April 16, 1868, the present pastor, Rev. G. S. Shaw, commenced his ministry.

ASHLAND.

BY W. F. ELLIS, ASSISTED BY ELIAS GROUT.



THE town of Ashland, Mass., is situated in the southwesterly part of Middlesex County: the centre of the town, or railroad depot, being in North Latitude $42^{\circ} 15\frac{1}{2}'$, and $23' 29''$ west of the meridian of the State House at Boston.

The town is bounded north by Southborough and Framingham, east by Framingham and Sherborn, south by Holliston and Hopkinton, and west by Hopkinton and Southborough. It is four miles in length from east to west, three miles wide from north to south, and contains twelve and five eighths square miles.

Ashland was incorporated March 16, 1846, being set off from Framingham, Hopkinton, and Holliston; about one fifth part of the new town was taken from Holliston, and the remainder, in nearly equal parts, from the other two towns. The centre of Ashland is four miles from Hopkinton, the same distance from Framingham, and five miles from Holliston. The name of the village previous to its incorporation was Unionville. It will be seen that the location was such as to make the formation of the new town both a matter of convenience and necessity.

The history of its people previous to the act of incorporation will for the most part be found in the annals of the mother towns, yet there are a few points in the early settlement of the place that deserve a passing notice. A branch of the Nipmuck tribe of Indians lived on Magunco Hill, which is situated about one mile west of the village. Here Eliot had a band of Praying Indians, and this territory was included as a part of Natick settlement. The colonial legislature from time to time made various grants of land to distinguished individuals for services rendered. A person named Russell appears to have received the first of these grants west of Waushakum Pond, including the present town-farm.

In 1662 the Hon. William Crown received a grant of land which is described as follows: "Laid out in the year 1662 by me underwritten, and exactly measured as to rules of art, the 500 acres of land granted unto Hon. Wm. Crown at a place near the Cold Spring near unto the road which leadeth from Sudbury on to Connecticut (known as the Conn. Path) on the south side of a branch of Sudbury River, being about nine miles from the town of Sudbury at a place called by the Indians Magunco hill, at the south side of said hill: and from thence upon a line N. E. point 300 r. butting on a branch of Sudbury River: and from thence upon a line S. S. E. point by the river side 360 r. and from thence a circular line by the said river and a brook 160 r. a line from said brook a W. N. W. point 240 r. by meadow, and from thence a line upon a S. S. W. point 150 r. and from thence a line upon a W. N. W. point 134 r. ending where we begun." This grant would cover almost the entire village of Ashland. Crown never lived on this land, but in 1678-79 sold it, with 131 acres more, to Colonel Savill Simpson, cordwainer, of Boston. He probably built and lived in a house on the south side of Union Street, opposite the former residence of Mr. Benjamin Homer. Simpson built a grist-mill just above the railroad bridge (near the residence of Charles Alden). Colonel John Jones succeeded to his mill property and lands on the north of Union Street between 1725 and 1730, he having married a daughter of Savill Simpson. Jones built a grist-mill, saw-mill, and fulling-mill all on the north side of the road, and near where the grist-mill of the Dwight Print Company now stands. Colonel Jones was of the 3d Massachusetts regiment, and held a commission as justice of the peace from George II. Isaac Dench became possessed of the land on the south side of Union Street. He lived in the old "Mansion House," so called.

The grandfather of Benjamin Homer and another had planned to build another mill, near the railroad bridge, below the emery-mills; but Isaac

Dench, hearing of it, went slyly to work in mid-winter and began laying his mud-sill for a new dam at the site of the present emery-mills dam, thus cutting off the elder Homer from building his mill below. This mill, erected by Dench, was bought by Major Calvin Shepard, who moved from Natick and built a paper-mill on the site about the year 1828. It was destroyed by fire, and rebuilt by Calvin Shepard, Jr. The manufacture of paper not proving successful, the property passed into the hands of Lee Claflin, who sold it in 1856 to Charles Alden. He established the manufacture of emery, which was of great service to the country during the war, and a source of considerable profit to Mr. Alden.

The Connecticut Path, referred to in the description of Crown's grant, was the track or path made by Hooker and his followers, consisting of one hundred and sixty persons and about the same number of cattle. Hooker and his party started from Watertown for the Connecticut River, in 1635: they came up through what is now Saxtonville, in Framingham, crossing Cochituate Brook at the old Colonel Brown place, and then following nearly the line of the present road to South Framingham; then their route turned to the south, in the direction of Sherborn, the object being to avoid Farm Pond, Waushakum Pond, and the low swampy land lying between the two, which would have been impassable for their cattle; following the road to Sherborn, they crossed what has ever since been known as Beaver Dam Brook, on a beaver dam; thence, past the Reuben Cozzens place in Sherborn, to the road near the house of the late Timothy Twiehell; thence, past the house of William Eames, in what is now Ashland, the Holliston Poor Farm, and following the old road to the vicinity of Cold Spring Brook, which they crossed at the ford-way near the Main Street Bridge, they entered upon and crossed Crown's grant.

We will now return to the grist-mill and fulling-mill built by Colonel John Jones, which deserve more attention than the rest, for around this spot cluster the early enterprises which developed into a village and a town. In 1811 this property was sold to a party of gentlemen who were incorporated into a stock company under the title of the Middlesex Manufacturing Company. On account of the war of 1812 a factory was not erected in time to be in operation before 1815: connected with this factory building was a store first kept by Mr.

Homer Tilton. The weaving of cloth did not commence until about 1820. The cotton-gin had not come into so general use in the cotton states as to make the article cheap, and the manufacturing business, being still in its infancy, was little understood, consequently amid all these embarrassments the enterprise was unsuccessful. The property was sold October 1, 1827, to Jonathan W. Trull, Oliver Eldridge, Edward Eldridge, and Isaac Danforth, for \$15,000. The Middlesex Union Factory Company was incorporated February 2, 1828. Mr. James Jackson, who had been connected with the first company for several years, was the agent of the new company.

Mr. Jackson was quite successful, buying up the shares from time to time as he found means and opportunity, until he became the company, and acquired a competence. He sold the factory about 1852, and it was destroyed by fire in 1854. Mr. Jackson was a very prominent man in all efforts to promote the welfare of the community. He was the first representative to the legislature from the new towns, representing them in 1851 and in 1852. He died November, 1864. His widow and son still live upon the old homestead.

Under the energetic and skilful management of Mr. James Jackson, mechanics, artisans, and strangers of varied tastes soon gathered here, working in the factory, or at their various trades out of it; so population increased. A singing-school and Sunday-school were established in 1828, the latter being in charge of a Mr. Barton, who now kept the store connected with the factory. The school-house for this district was old, and situated on the road to Hopkinton, a mile away. After a not unusual controversy in such cases, it was decided to build a new house and locate it on the site of the present town-hall. This was in 1832. The Factory Company added, by permission, a second story to be used as a chapel for religious worship, — thus carrying out a custom, and following the example of the Puritan fathers, of connecting the church and the school-house with every new enterprise, to insure its success.

The Boston and Albany Railroad, which passes through the centre of the town (twenty-four and one fourth miles from Boston by the road) traversing it from east to west a distance of four miles, was built to this place and opened for travel September 20, 1834, and a formal opening of the road was celebrated at that time. Hon. Calvin Shepard, Jr., received the president and directors, with

an appropriate speech of welcome. A large concourse of people from the place and surrounding towns assembled to witness the novel sight. Military companies were present, and a salute of artillery was given on the arrival of the train. The assembled multitude were addressed from the upper balcony of Captain Stone's hotel by Governor John Davis and ex-Governor Levi Lincoln. The hotel was new, and first opened for that occasion.

At that time there were not more than twelve or fifteen dwelling-houses in sight from the depot, which is located in the centre of the town. New streets were laid out to make the depot accessible from other places, particularly Hopkinton, and on these new buildings sprang up quite rapidly. James Jackson, Michael Homer, and Captain John Stone's farms embraced most of the land on which the village stands. They very soon found that their land was worth far more for other purposes than for farming, and began to sell it in small parcels for building-sites.

The next event of public importance was the establishment of a post-office in January, 1835, with Matthew Metcalf, Esq., as postmaster,—the Hon. William Jackson of Newton, then representative in Congress from the Ninth Massachusetts District, kindly giving his aid and influence in favor of the measure.

The influences resulting from the establishment of a Sabbath-school in 1828, and the building of a chapel for religious worship in 1832, now commenced to yield their legitimate fruit, and resulted in the formation of the Unionville Evangelical Society, February 17, 1835. Preaching was first commenced in April, 1834, by Rev. James McIntire of the senior class in Andover Theological Seminary, in accordance with a resolve of the inhabitants "statedly to have preaching and gospel ordinances," passed at a meeting held Fast Day eve, April 3, 1834. The number of inhabitants within the circle that would be reached and accommodated by these "ordinances" was given at that time as four hundred and fifty. In the spring of 1835 they commenced to build the Congregational Meeting-House, and it was dedicated January 21, 1836. At the same time Rev. James McIntire was ordained as pastor of the church and society. He was from Maryland, and was a remarkably genial and sympathetic man, one whom everybody loved. He remained about two years, when his wife died, and he asked a dismissal, which was granted. He returned to his native state, where he still lives

in the enjoyment of that ease and quiet which his advanced age demands. He took an active part in 1861 in keeping his state in the Union. At a semi-centennial celebration of the Sabbath-school held here last September (1878) Mr. McIntire returned by invitation, after an absence of some forty years, and was warmly welcomed by all who had previously known him. He was succeeded by Rev. Joseph Haven, Jr., who came from Andover Seminary to the society, and remained with them seven years. He was ordained in November, 1839, and was a man of rare talent as a writer, thorough and exhaustive in the treatment of every subject he took up. He outgrew the limited field which had seemed to him at first sufficient, and after two brief settlements in larger places finally found his "sphere" as Professor of Mental Philosophy in Chicago Theological University, which place he held at the time of his death.

During his ministry the Baptist society was formed, and quite a number of those who had always worked with the First Church withdrew and united with that whose creed was more in harmony with their views. Mr. Haven took a strong interest in the formation of the new town, which occurred near the close of his ministry. A vigorous opposition was made to the act by Hopkinton, and it was only carried through by the most faithful and vigilant watchfulness of its friends. A week or two afterwards Mr. Haven preached a sermon to the people of the new town one Sunday evening, in which he recounted all the advantages they expected to reap from their new condition, pictured vividly how they had to plan by night and by day to meet the machinations of the enemy, and wound up by saying, "It will make no difference with any one of you whether you die in Ashland or in a place called by some other name, but it will make a difference whether you wake in heaven or hell." Rev. C. L. Mills was settled over the society at the time Mr. Haven left. He was succeeded in 1849 by Rev. William M. Thayer, who was pastor in every sense of the word for seven years. He endeavored to educate the people to the discharge of all their duties as Christians, as townsmen, as husbands and wives, fathers and mothers, or as neighbors and friends. He made it his duty to be familiar with the character, the wants, and the feelings of his parishioners, and in quiet and discreet ways to regulate and correct whatever he found to be wrong in morals or opposed to the spiritual welfare of the people. He gained the respect of both

religious societies, and was chosen by the town to represent them in the legislature of 1855.

His voice failing him, he was dismissed, at his own request, in 1856, and afterwards became noted for his labors as a temperance advocate. He now resides in Franklin, Mass. Rev. T. F. Clary followed Mr. Thayer, and remained until the spring of 1859, when he was dismissed at the desire of the society. Rev. Horace Parker supplied the pulpit for two years,—1860 and 1861,—and many were added to the church during his ministry. Rev. A. H. Currier was ordained in December, 1862, and remained till 1865. He was a man whose presence and influence were felt throughout the town; quiet and unassuming, scholarly and gentlemanly to a remarkable degree. By unremitting study he prepared himself to fill a much larger field, and being invited to the Second Congregational Church in Lynn, he accepted the invitation, and still remains in that city.

Rev. George G. Phipps supplied, in 1866 and 1867, to the acceptance of the people. Marshall M. Cutter was settled in December, 1868, and continued with the society until 1873. Mr. Cutter was a very social man, and endeared himself much to the young people and to the singers, being very fond of music. He was dismissed at his own request. Then Rev. E. P. Tenney supplied the pulpit until June, 1876, at or about which time he was chosen President of Colorado College,—a position which he now holds. He was succeeded by Rev. Thomas Morong, the present pastor, who, after supplying the pulpit about two years, was settled over the society in June, 1878. Two other societies have been organized in town since the Unionville Evangelical Society began. (The name was changed to "First Parish in Ashland" in 1848.) Each new society formed drew from it to a considerable extent, so that, on the whole, it has just about held its own position, having nearly the same number of communicants now as thirty years ago.

The Baptist society was formed November 8, 1843. Its members for the most part, up to this time, had attended the Congregational Church, a few going to the Baptist Church in Framingham Centre. Their first pastor was the Rev. Zenas P. Wilde, who was settled March 2, 1845. Then followed: Rev. Benjamin F. Bronson, December 17, 1846; Rev. Henry Day, March 1, 1851; Rev. N. Medbury, 1853; Rev. Kilburn Holt, June 3, 1856; Rev. W. W. Ames, February 26, 1860; Rev. D.

F. Lamson, April 20, 1861; Rev. B. B. Moody, April 22, 1866; Rev. George B. Potter, May, 1868; Rev. W. B. Maul, January, 1871; Rev. John L. Meeson, October 5, 1873; Rev. N. B. Wilson, November 1, 1875.

Mr. Wilson left in the spring of 1878, and the society is without any permanent minister at the present time. The meeting-house was built in 1849–50, and is the largest and best in town. Among those ministers whose influence was felt and appreciated by the whole town may be named B. F. Bronson, Henry Day, D. F. Lamson, and George B. Potter.

Mr. Lamson was the contemporary of Mr. Currier, and was a courteous and dignified citizen, as well as minister, always ready for any mental effort, and, whatever might be the occasion, if called upon, acquitting himself with honor, and meeting the expectations of those who heard him. He had frequent occasion to address the citizens of the town during the Rebellion, and was held as a firm and hopeful patriot. He is now settled in the city of Worcester.

The Rev. George B. Potter was in the army during the war. His health was poor when he came to Ashland; he grew worse, his disease terminating in consumption, and he died November 22, 1870, and is buried in Wildwood Cemetery, his being the only case of a minister settled in the town whose remains rest within its borders.

There had been quite a number of persons in the town connected with both the religious societies, who had not been in full sympathy with them, but who connected themselves therewith for the time being because they desired to worship somewhere. The larger part of this class had been connected with the Congregational society. They petitioned the Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Association for a minister, and Rev. George W. Mansfield was appointed pastor April 1, 1868. April 28, Rev. L. R. Thayer, D. D., Presiding Elder, organized the society; July 6, the building committee was appointed, Charles Alden, chairman; March 3, 1869, the church was dedicated free of debt; it cost \$16,000; April 4, 1871, Rev. A. O. Hamilton was appointed preacher in charge. The succeeding pastors are: 1873, Rev. Lorus Crowell; 1874, Rev. Henry Lummis; 1877, Rev. John R. Cushing, who still remains. Both Mr. Lummis and Mr. Cushing have manifested an active interest in the cause of education in the town, serving efficiently on the school committee.

A Catholic Church was built on Esty Street in 1874. Father Ryan was the first priest; he was succeeded by Father Cullen, the present incumbent. Thus we behold a little town of 2,200 inhabitants struggling to maintain four religious societies, — all necessarily weak.

Having traced the various religious societies from their organization to the present time, we will take up the municipal organization and government of the town.

The warrant for the first town-meeting was directed to William Seaver, and issued by Major Calvin Shepard, a justice of the peace. It was held on Monday, the 31st of March, 1846. Daniel Eames was chosen moderator; C. F. W. Parkhurst, town clerk; Calvin Shepard, Jr., Josiah Burnam, Dexter Rockwood, Andrew Allard, and Albert Ellis, selectmen; William F. Ellis, Daniel Eames, and Simeon N. Cutler, assessors; William Eames, Calvin Dyer, and William Seaver, overseers of the poor; Benjamin Homer, town treasurer; Rev. Joseph Haven, Zenas P. Wild, and William F. Ellis, superintending school committee. The town granted \$350 for support of schools, \$750 for support of paupers, and \$500 for repair of highways.

In starting a new town the people found themselves somewhat in the condition of a young married couple, — they needed many things with which to "keep house." New roads were to be built to make it convenient for some districts of the town to reach the new centre, changes were to be made in school districts, and some new school-houses built. They were without a town-farm for the poor, or a town-hall in which to transact public business. The fire-engine was removed by the town of Hopkinton, and another had to be purchased to supply its place. They had no suitable place for the burial of their dead; no hearse, or house for it. To supply all these things required quite an outlay of money. The town met these wants as fast as possible, supplying the most pressing first. The second story of the school-house, which had been used as a chapel, was purchased by the town of Mr. Jackson, and used by it for its meetings. A new road leading to Holliston, and also one to Southborough, which the county commissioners had been petitioned by private individuals to lay out, were ordered by them to be built. A new school-house was built the first year in District No. 2, and the next year one in No. 6. The poor were "farmed out" to different individ-

uals, but always to those who would treat them in a kind and humane manner. In 1855, after having considered the matter for several years through committees, and having held many town-meetings to deliberate upon the subject, the town voted to build the present town-hall, being driven to that action by the absolute necessity of making further provision for the wants of the centre school district. The building was finished late in the year, at a cost of about \$10,000.

Schools. — The building of the town-house led to a system of graded schools at the Centre. The town was at first divided into seven school districts, by families, and not territorially, so that the town never contained any legal school districts. All the districts except No. 1 have been small, the attendance varying from fifteen to forty scholars. Since it was incorporated the town has built new school-houses in every district but No. 4. One district was abolished by setting it to others, in 1854, leaving six. The central district furnishes about twice as many scholars as all the rest.

In 1867 the high school was started, in charge of Mr. J. O. Norris, and has not been interrupted since. A. J. George is the present principal. The school numbers forty pupils, and is accomplishing all that its friends can expect or reasonably desire. Among those who have had charge of the schools for many years may be named, C. F. W. Parkhurst, Elias Grout, William F. Ellis, and Luther E. Leland. The present yearly expenditure for schools is \$4,300, against \$800 in 1847.

Cemeteries. — The first burial-place in the town was a piece of private ground containing one half acre situated on the north side of Union Street, opposite the old mansion where Isaac Dench lived, who was buried in this private yard, as was also Colonel John Jones, senior and junior, former owners. It came by descent from Jones into the hands of Dr. Jeremy Stimson, a daughter of whom married Captain John Stone, whose family still reside upon the farm. Many of the early settlers were buried in this yard by the courtesy of the owners, Mr. Stimson building for himself a tomb. It has been used but little for many years. About twenty-five years ago Dr. Stimson of Dedham, one of the heirs, made a proposition to the town to deed the land to them if they would enclose it with a substantial wall, to preserve it from desecration. The town accepted his offer, and built the wall.

The want of some suitable place to bury the

dead was sensibly felt at the time the Congregational Church was built in 1835. The parish had three fourths of an acre of land east of their meeting-house which was not needed in connection with the house. The town of Hopkinton bought enough land to make up two acres, and enclosed it, making truly a churchyard. This was laid out in lots, and used by all connected with the parish who desired, whether they lived in town (Hopkinton) or not. After the formation of the new town, they bought out the ownership of the parish in the land, and it was used by the town up to the year 1869, when it was found to be no longer adequate to the demands upon it. No new lots could be obtained. Besides, the feeling sprang up that the heart of a growing village was not just the place to bury the dead. A committee was chosen by the town, with instructions to purchase some suitable spot out of the village large enough to meet the requirements of the town in future years. The committee consisted of Warren Whitney, Henry Cutler, Willard R. Eames, Charles Alden, and Alvah Metcalf. They purchased a lot of Charles Alden containing twenty-three acres, situated about one mile southeast of the village, at the junction of Cold Spring Brook with Sudbury River, and near the "Connecticut Path," mentioned in our early history. It borders on the river for some fifty rods. The land at the time of the purchase was covered with wood, about one half of which has been removed. The ground rises from the river fifty to seventy-five feet, commanding a view of the whole village when not obstructed by the foliage. A small stream of pure cold water supplied by springs from the hill runs through the grounds, furnishing water to an artificial pond, and by means of a ram the water is carried to a high level plateau, supplying a fountain and furnishing water for flowers in their season. The place was publicly consecrated June 24, 1870. An address suitable to the occasion was delivered by the Rev. Elias Nason of Billerica, who resided in the village in his early days. Probably no cemetery in the whole state possesses more natural beauty, or adaptation to the uses for which it has been set apart, than Wildwood.

Water-Power.—The Sudbury River, which runs the whole length of the town, furnishes quite an amount of water-power, which has been well utilized in the past. At the extreme western end of the town is a woollen mill, owned and occupied by Taft and Aldrich, who manufacture satinets, employing

about forty hands. The yearly value of goods made is \$75,000. There is a fall of thirty feet at their mill. At this place, very many years ago, was a mill for making iron from the ore, and it has since gone by the name of "the Old Forge." About one mile down the stream is the site of the old paper-mill, built by David Bigelow and brothers in 1818, where they manufactured paper by hand successfully for many years. It then passed through various hands till a few years ago, when the mill was burned. The dam still remains, and the privilege, with the dwelling-house and land connected, is now owned by the Dwight Print Company. The next on the stream is a box and planing mill, one mile west of the village, owned and occupied by Alvah Metcalf. Value of yearly manufactures about \$7,800. In the village is the water-power, heretofore alluded to, on which was the cotton-factory of the Middlesex Company. This privilege was purchased in 1868 by the Dwight Print Company, together with the land and buildings belonging thereto. They purchased some adjoining lands, so that they now have connected with the works one hundred and sixty-three acres. The company intended, at the time of purchase, to use the water for washing and bleaching purposes, and to erect mills for printing cotton cloth, to be operated by steam. The inducements to locate here were the purity of the water and the peculiar location of the ground,—there being some four to five acres (enough to place all their buildings on), hard and dry land, so situated that a turnout track could be laid from the railroad up the street, passing directly in front of all their buildings. The company, in 1869, proceeded to erect six substantial buildings, besides a machine-shop. The company also built ten double dwelling-houses for the accommodation of their help, and own eight others, besides two stores and a grist-mill. Upon all this property it expended \$425,000. Before all these improvements were completed work was suspended and never resumed. The erection of these works and the expenditure of so much money gave a great impetus to the growth of the town. Real estate rose in value very fast, but as that was a period of speculation and inflation everywhere, it did not reach a higher point here than in other places of the same relative size and situation. Mechanics, professional men, tradesmen, and others flocked into the town in anticipation of the business and population which the mills would bring. From 1868 to 1878 one hundred and three dwell-

ing-houses were erected in town, stores of various kinds were built, and a good deal of money expended by the people to reap the advantages of a business which they have never seen. One mile below the village was the emery-mill of Charles Alden, already spoken of. In 1867 Mr. Alden sold out to a stock company, in which he was a large owner, and the name of the Washington Mills Emery Company was adopted. The business was carried on by the company until September, 1878, when the mills were set on fire in the night and destroyed. They had been sold, about a year previous, to the city of Boston. A new mill had also been erected near the Washington Mills, and another company formed, called the Vitrified Wheel and Emery Company, operating under patents secured by Mr. Alden, and manufacturing emery-wheels, which are extensively used for polishing. After operating five or six years this company sold out to the city of Boston, and the mill was taken down in 1877. These mills were returned by the Industrial Census of Massachusetts for 1875 as doing a business of \$104,000 yearly.

At the eastern end of the town, near Framingham line, the privilege was first improved by the erection of an iron foundry, owned by Gilbert Marshall and his son-in-law, Richard Sears. The latter built a saw-mill about the year 1816, and afterwards sold to Calvin Bigelow, who built a grist-mill in 1818. The property then passed successively into possession of James Whittemore, William Greenwood, and finally to S. N. Cutler about the year 1838, who established with his sons the large grain business which has been done there. When Mr. Cutler purchased the property it consisted of a "custom" grist-mill, on the north side of the river. By "custom" grist-mill is meant one to which the farmers in the vicinity brought their grain to be ground, for which service the miller compensated himself by deducting two quarts from each bushel. In a few years Mr. Cutler declined to grind for the farmers, having commenced to buy corn at the West, which was shipped to Ashland depot, and then teamed by him to his mill, where, after being ground, it was again loaded up, and carried to customers in the neighboring towns and sold. The railroad was some little distance away on the south side of the river, and about twenty feet above it. In 1861 S. N. Cutler & Son built a new mill on the south side of the river. The cars from the West were now running directly to their doors, and they often had thirty or forty cars

on their tracks at a time. The grain was taken to the top of the mill by elevators, and after being ground was reloaded into cars and sent to many different places. This mill was burnt in December, 1867, rebuilt during the same winter, and was running again in the spring of 1868. In the fall of 1876 S. N. Cutler & Co. sold their water privilege, mill, and everything belonging thereto to the city of Boston, and it was taken down in 1877. On the Cold Spring Brook, about three miles from its junction with Sudbury River, was in former years a grist and saw mill occupied by Daniel Eames. There is a good fall here, but the quantity of water flowing in the stream in summer-time is small. The mills were suffered to go to decay, and the water privilege has not been utilized for about twenty years.

Having thus given a statement of the water-power of the town, it is pertinent to mention why so many of these privileges have been sold and the mills taken down. In 1872 the city of Boston obtained the passage of an act by the legislature to furnish an additional supply of pure water to the city of Boston.

This act gave the city the right to take the waters of Sudbury River from a point just below the Boston, Clinton, and Fitchburg Railroad bridge in Framingham to its source, together with all its tributaries, ponds, rivulets, and brooks, natural or artificial, with the right to erect dams on said river or any of its branches, and build storage basins thereon. The effects of this act were all unforeseen by the people of Ashland at the time of its passage. Could they have been known, we do not think the legislature would have passed the law in its present form.

The act alluded to makes careful and full provision for the compensation of the individuals whose property is taken, by the power which it confers. In carrying the law into effect the Boston Water Board decided to build a dam in Framingham (No. 2) about half a mile below the Ashland line, and erect a storage basin upon that portion of Sudbury River lying two miles above. By doing so they flow out the emery-works of Charles Alden, situated at the same point on the river as Cutler's elevator, the elevator and mills, the Vitrified Wheel and Emery Works, and the Washington Mills Emery Company. The city, besides, flows and seizes something like one hundred acres of valuable land, all of which property is forever stricken from the valuation of the town. Many of the workmen

had settled around these different works, and acquired little homesteads, which now are of small value when the business which gave them support is destroyed. About \$100,000 has been paid for damages, and about the same amount will be lost from the assessors' books.

Allusion has been made to the suspension of the Dwight Print Company, and the fact that they had never resumed work on their mills. By the time they were ready to do so the legislative act had been passed, and the company began seriously to consider the effect it would have upon them. As many of the articles used in bleaching and coloring by all print-mills are of a poisonous nature; and must of necessity float off into the stream, they did not venture to run the risk of finishing the mills, and of stocking them with machinery, to find themselves stopped by an injunction. In this juncture they brought an action against the city for damages sustained by an interference with their water-power. They failed to gain their cause, for the reason that while they might still use the water to turn their wheels, they had no right, under the common law, to poison it. Thus it will be seen that the operations of this act work only disaster to Ashland, striking a serious blow at its prosperity from which it will take many years to recover. The other manufactures of the town are principally boots and shoes. The value of boots and shoes made in 1875, as shown by the Massachusetts census, was \$898,000, giving employment to two hundred and forty-five males and thirty-two females, and having an invested capital of \$219,000. At the present time the industry is very much depressed.

*War Record.*¹—From the very beginning the town of Ashland did its part in the great work. The first appropriation of the \$12,468 which was expended in the four years, exclusive of state aid, was made June 29, 1861; and from the first call recruiting went on until one hundred and eighty-four men were furnished for the war,—a surplus of eleven over and above all demands. Fifteen are on record as having died prior to 1865, and fifteen more have deceased since the war closed. Of those who died in the war, six were killed in battle, four died by disease, and five died in rebel prisons; indeed, one of the four classed as dying of disease ought rather to be added to this latter class, as he was a paroled prisoner, and died from the effects of starvation after reaching the Union lines. These

men who died represent eleven different organizations, seeing their service principally in the armies of Virginia.

On the books of the town there are the names of one hundred and sixty-one individuals, who in person as volunteers, or in the other ways which the government accepted, represented the town. The one hundred and eighty-four represent the number of men actually mustered in on the different calls for troops, and as there were various enlistments, the town quota must be represented by fewer persons than are apparently on the muster-rolls. The history of the service of these men shows how much the smaller towns have in common with the larger ones. They served in every branch of the service,—infantry, cavalry, artillery, and the navy. They represent twenty-nine different organizations distributed among the various departments of military operations; Virginia had the lion's share of them, but North Carolina, Louisiana, the interior of the Confederacy during Sherman's march from Atlanta to the sea,—all these places were visited by soldiers from Ashland. Sixteen were wounded in battle; against the names of two of them it is recorded that they lost an arm for the cause, and one lost a leg. Nineteen of them served three years and more. Twenty-two are on record as serving two years, or nearly that time, being on duty until the close of the war. Nine served from 1864 until the close of the war. Twenty-eight are on record as veterans, or re-enlisted men.

The organizations into which volunteers from the town were most largely represented were the 11th, 16th, and 32d infantry, and the 2d cavalry of the three years' troops, and the 5th infantry of the nine months' troops. The latter regiment made an honorable record in North Carolina. The others formed a part of our noble Army of the Potomac. The 11th was in twenty-five battles, the 16th in fourteen, the 32d in twenty-one, and the 2d cavalry was in twenty-six engagements. To sum up, the town had soldiers in nineteen of the three years' regiments, in seven of the nine months', in two batteries of light artillery, and in one or two other organizations upon the land, and also in the navy. To name the battles summons a host of memories. Antietam, Cedar Mountain, Gettysburg, Fredericksburg, Cold Harbor, Spottsylvania, Petersburg, Five Forks, the battles of the Shenandoah Valley, of Sherman's campaign,—from all these the representatives of this town can

¹ Furnished by Rev. Marshall M. Cutter.

bring home to us personal experiences of deep and thrilling interest.

When the town was incorporated, in 1846, it probably contained 1,200 inhabitants, with a valuation of \$421,659. In 1850 the population was 1,304, with a valuation of \$407,121; in 1860 the population was 1,554, with a valuation of \$585,837; in 1870 the population was 2,186, with a valuation of \$1,288,732; in 1875 the population was 2,211, with a valuation of \$1,380,610.

Owing to the general depression of business and the removal of manufacturers, the town has lost since 1875 both in numbers and valuation; but it is well located, and convenient to a good line of railroad, and when prosperity shall come again, the enterprise and perseverance of her people will keep

Ashland in the line of progress with her sister communities.

During the years 1871 and 1872 the Hopkinton Railroad was built, extending from the depot of the Boston and Albany Railroad in Ashland through Hopkinton to Milford, where it unites with the Milford and Woonsocket Railroad, thus forming a direct line to Providence. The town subscribed and paid for \$10,000 of its stock. It will never receive a dollar therefor, but may obtain incidental advantages equal to the interest of its investment. It gives two ways instead of one by which to get coal and other products. The dividends must come in shape of the reduced price of these products.

AYER.

BY SAMUEL A. GREEN, M. D.



HE act incorporating Ayer was approved February 15, 1871. By its provisions that portion of the town of Shirley lying east of the Nashua River, and that part of Groton lying south of a straight line running easterly, from the point of junction of James' Brook with the Nashua River, to the point where the

southerly side of the county road, leading from Groton by the Ridge Hill Tavern to Littleton Old Common, intersects the line between Groton and Littleton near Spectacle Pond, were comprised in the new town.

The earliest name by which this southern portion of Groton was known was that given by the Indians, Nonacoicus, still preserved in the name of the brook, which, flowing from Sandy Pond through the town, supplies the water-power for its several manufactories. The name of this brook is now often contracted into Coicus or Caicus. Just south of the points where the Fitchburg and Stony Brook railroads cross this brook it has a fall, which furnishes a small but steady water-power that has been in constant use for more than a century.

At least one of the seven garrison-houses of

Groton in 1692 was situated within the present limits of Ayer,—that on the farm of Mr. Hezekiah Usher, the garrison of which consisted of Usher, Samuel Bennett, — Bennett, and three soldiers,—the smallest and probably the weakest of all the garrisons. From a reference to Usher's farm that is found in a paper at the State House it appears that it was situated at Nonacoicus. Usher's will also, which is on file in the Suffolk Probate Office, is dated August 17, 1689, at Nonacoicus, where he was undoubtedly living at that time. He married the widow of Leonard Hoar, President of Harvard College. She was a daughter of Lord Lisle, one of Cromwell's peers. Her union with Usher was not a happy one. She left him and went to England in the year 1687, and did not return until after his death, which took place at Lynn, July 11, 1697. In his will he alludes very plainly to his domestic troubles and bitterly blames his absent wife.

One of the earliest taverns in the old town of Groton was kept by a Mr. Peirce just before and during the Revolution. It appears by an almanac for the year 1773 that he kept a public house at that time, and his name is continued in the series of almanacs till 1784, when it is dropped. In the *Boston Gazette* of September 30, 1773, one George

Peirce advertises for sale at public vendue, November 8, "a valuable Farm in Groton, in the County of Middlesex, pleasantly situated on the great County Road, leading from Crown Point and No. 4 [Charlestown, N. H.] to Boston: Said Farm contains 172 acres of Upland and Meadow, with the bigger Part under improvement, with a large Dwelling House and Barn, and Outhouses, together with a good Grist Mill and Saw Mill, the latter new last Year, both in good Repair, and on a good Stream, and within a few Rods of the House. . . . Said House is situated very conveniently for a Tavern, and has been improved as such for Ten Years past, with a number of Conveniences, too many to enumerate." November 18 appears a notice adjourning the sale to December 1; and November 23, according to the record in the Middlesex Registry of Deeds, George Peirce conveyed some land to Abram Ansdén, which is described as lying "Easterly of my Dwelling House and Easterly of the Brook called Coicus Brook and Bounds Westerly by said Brook Northerly by Thomas Park's Land Easterly by the County Road leading to Lunenburg and Southerly by or near the path that leads by said Peirce's Mills so as to include the Barn and Yeard before the Barn."

The oldest house now known in the neighborhood used to be called the "old red house," though it has turned yellow with age. It was bought by the late Calvin Fletcher forty-five years ago, and was then reputed to be more than one hundred years old. It is now thought to be more than one hundred and fifty years old. As Mr. Fletcher once owned a saw-mill where Balch's grist-mill now stands, the "old red house" was doubtless the Peirce Tavern of 1773. The house of Mr. Gilson it is also said was once a tavern.

The next reliable antiquity of Ayer is the old brick house with a stone back, on Park Street, where Mrs. Lydia Stone now lives. The stone back of the house and the great elms which overshadow it are its most conspicuous features as seen by one entering the town from the north by the Worcester and Nashua Railroad. John (or James) Park, with his son John, both stone-masons, settled in South Groton as early as 1775, and built a stone arch for a dwelling in the bank back of this house. The only light came from the front. The son, John, subsequently built the brick and stone house which he afterwards sold to his brother-in-law, Nathaniel Stone. Near the southwest corner of the house a block of slatestone about thirty inches long by eight inches wide is inserted in the

brick wall, just below the chamber window. One end of the block is marked for a sundial, and on the other end are the initials of the builder, "J. P." and under these the date 1791. The same initials appear on the old slate milestones which still stand near the turning of the road towards Ayer at the south end of Groton Street.

This old Park house stands on the same spot where stood the house in which Colonel William Prescott, the hero of Bunker Hill, was born, February 20, 1726. His father, Benjamin Prescott, was born in Lancaster, January 4, 1695, and moved to Groton. Colonel William Prescott moved to Pepperell before his twenty-first year.

The earliest reference in the records to the settlement in the southern part of Groton, which afterwards was known as South Groton and Groton Junction, and subsequently became the nucleus and business centre of the town of Ayer, appears to be made in the vote of the town of Groton, passed in 1742, designating seven places where schools should be kept, one of which (either at Eleazer or John Gilson's) was probably in the southern part of the town. After 1758, says Butler, "one quarter part of the time, the grammar school was sometimes kept in the north part of the town, and sometimes in the south." In 1760 a school-house in the south part of the town was burned. Thirty years later a school census was taken which gave the number of children (boys under twenty-one and girls under eighteen years of age) in Jonas Stone's District (No. 12), as thirty-nine. A more accurate division into school districts was made in 1805, and revised in 1826, according to which revision District No. 12, the school-house in which was situated at the Junction, contained forty-three scholars, — not six per cent of the whole number in the town.

In 1844 there were on Main Street but four houses, and a small brick school-house (situated near where Wood's block now stands), in which were gathered, to attend a winter term of school, some sixteen children. At the date of incorporation the number of school children had increased to nearly six hundred, owing to the rapid growth and development of Groton Junction.

The Fitchburg Railroad was opened March 5, 1845; the Peterborough and Shirley, to West Townsend, in February, 1848; the Worcester and Nashua in 1855; and these were followed by the Stony Brook Railroad, now a branch of the Boston, Lowell, and Nashua. At the point of intersection

these four railroads grew up the enterprising ge of Groton Junction (at first called South ton), rapidly increasing in population, and by unequalled railroad connections speedily becoming a manufacturing town of considerable magnitude and importance. Here were situated the e works of the Ames Plough Company previous heir removal to Worcester.

Where Page's mill now stands there was, in 1845, one of much smaller capacity, only one story in height, built as an oil and batting mill, owned by Abel Morse, and long called Morse's mill. It was made into a grist-mill some years later, and passed into the hands of Mr. Whiting. On a road which led by the mill, and wound its way over the hill near where the Catholic Church now stands, and through the woods to Shirley, stood an old house. On Park Street there were four houses; on Main Street four, as mentioned above. Fletcher's saw-mill and the house opposite, with three or four others across the brook, in connection with those named, constituted the village of South Groton. A road from Harvard passed Balch's mill and the old brewery, and wound through the woods and over the rocks to Groton. Near this road, opposite the old steam-mill, the first railroad station was situated, and for ten years, or until the Worcester and Nashua Railroad was built, this was the station for all passengers from Groton, Harvard, and other places. The house now owned by Mr. John H. Sanderson was the old station building, which was removed when the new station was built.

Lumber, gravestones, and corn-meal were the earliest articles of manufacture in South Groton.

The post-office of South Groton was established the 1st of June, 1849, with Andrew B. Gardner as postmaster; Henry A. Wood was appointed August 11, 1853, George H. Brown December 30, 1861. The office was changed to Groton Junction March 1, 1862, with George H. Brown as postmaster; William H. Harlow was appointed December 5, 1862, George H. Brown January 15, 1863, William H. Harlow July 18, 1865. The office was changed to Ayer March 22, 1871. William H. Harlow, then appointed postmaster, was followed March 31, 1873, by Leonard A. Buck, the present incumbent, who was reappointed January 20, 1879, by President Hayes.

The first resident minister in South Groton was a Rev. Mr. Cooper of the Methodist Episcopal Church, who in 1849 or 1850 held meetings in a

small school-house near where the high school-house now stands. Rev. Anasa Sanderson (Baptist) held meetings occasionally in the same house. In 1853 Rev. J. M. Chick was settled over a Baptist Church, which held its meetings in a hall built, where the Union House now stands, by John Pingry, who lived near Sandy Pond, and who was afterwards one of the first deacons in that church. The Union society was organized about the same time, with David Fosdick, Jr., as pastor, and in 1854 and 1855 erected a church where the town-house now stands. Their new church, on Washington Street, was built in 1873. The church of the Baptist society was begun in 1855, and dedicated in 1856, with Rev. J. M. Chick as pastor. The Congregational society opened public meetings in Union Hall in 1862, on Merchants' Row, but their church was not built till several years after.

The first newspaper printed in Groton Junction was Number 9, Volume III. of the *Railroad Mercury*. It is dated January 2, 1854, and was issued at irregular intervals. It was begun in Groton in June, 1851, as a monthly sheet called *The Groton Mercury*, by George H. Brown. The publication of the *Railroad Mercury* as a weekly newspaper was begun at Groton Junction, September 15, 1859, by Brown Brothers, George H. Brown being the editor. In the first number the editor says: "Mr. H. A. Woods, trader, Messrs. J. and J. Hill, blacksmiths, and ourselves, were the first to establish business in this village. The population was then [1854] less than one hundred. It is now rising nine hundred and eighty, and daily on the increase." "We have many stores and shops of various descriptions. There are other branches still carried on in the place,—an extensive steam tannery, an iron furnace, two market houses, etc.; besides we have three churches [Baptist, Union, and Catholic] and a fourth [Orthodox] in contemplation. A fine new brick school-house has just been completed." At that time, by actual count, there were one hundred and forty-five houses at Groton Centre and one hundred and forty-six at Groton Junction.

In 1853 Martin & Co.'s works for the manufacture of ploughs and other agricultural implements were moved from Blackstone to Groton Junction. Ross's transparent soap was made here; J. M. Hollingsworth's paper-mills had just been built and put in operation, and six railroads centred at this point, running from thirty-eight to forty trains daily. The plough-works were purchased in 1856

by Nourse, Mason, & Co., afterwards the Ames Plough Company.

The publication of the *Public Spirit* newspaper was begun at Groton Junction by John H. Turner, May 13, 1869, and is still continued.

On the 15th of July, 1870, a fire broke out in the hotel stable of Mr. Samuel Reed, in the rear of Merchants' Row, and in a short time this and five other buildings on the Row were entirely consumed, and one residence partially. The railroad station caught fire several times, but was saved. This was something of a blow to the prosperity of the growing village, but it speedily recovered.

August 5, 1869, a communication appeared in the weekly *Public Spirit*, advocating the secession of Groton Junction from the parent town, on the ground that citizens had to go four miles to town-meeting, and that while the numerical majority of the voters of the town resided at the Junction, they did not receive a fair proportion of the offices in the government of the town. November 10, 1870, the same journal gives expression to a growing public desire to have this place set off and made a new town. A week later a correspondent advocating the retention of the old name for the proposed new town says: "Groton Junction is one of the most important railroad centres in the country. As such it is known far and wide. Its existence as a place of population and of business is owing to the fact of its being a railroad centre,—that it is Groton Junction;" and this was followed by other communications of the same tenor.

In December following the number of inhabitants in this village, as furnished by the census marshal, was 1,600. At a town-meeting held January 3, 1871, it was unanimously voted that there would be no opposition to the separation, and a committee of three, Henry A. Bancroft, Willard Torrey, and John Gilson, was appointed to meet a committee of the petitioners to arrange a boundary line, etc., and report at a town-meeting to be held in three weeks. At a meeting called by the citizens of this village, Peter Tarbell, R. B. Fletcher, and B. L. Howe were chosen to take the census of the proposed new town. They gave the following figures as their result: "Shirley, 90; Littleton, 31; and 1,890 in Groton Junction, which is a total of 2,003 inhabitants. The new town will then have more inhabitants to start with than any town adjoining it now has, with a much greater chance for growth. The valuation [less than

\$800,000] of the district to be set off is about one quarter that of the present town, and it is estimated that the new town will owe the old about \$10,000 toward the debt;" the new town taking nearly one half the inhabitants of the whole town of Groton.

As the committees could not agree on the question of boundary, a town-meeting held at the Centre January 18, 1871, voted to reserve all right to oppose any measures not consistent with the interests of the town; but two days later another town-meeting voted by a large majority to adopt the dividing line established by the committee of the petitioners.

January 20 a correspondent in the *Public Spirit* suggested the name "*Ayer*, as easy to spell and speak; not likely to be confounded with that of any other town in the state, associated in the mind of every one with the sweet strains of Robert Burns," and relieving citizens of the old town of their objections to the new town keeping the name of Groton Junction. At a meeting of the citizens held February 1 they unanimously voted that the name of the new town be Ayer; but this name did not suit all, and at a subsequent town-meeting held on the 7th a resolution was passed silencing all opposition.

In town-meeting the people of Shirley consented to the division, making the middle of the Nashua River the dividing line, on condition that the new town of Ayer pay to the town of Shirley \$500 as its share of the town debt, which condition was accepted in a town-meeting held February 8.

January 27 the hearing was had before a legislative committee, attended on the part of the new town by the committee (chosen to lay the case before them), and about thirty or forty petitioners. The committee on the part of the old town stated the different views respecting the boundary lines, showing the one agreed upon by the two committees to be different from that asked for by the petitioners.

On the 14th of February the act of incorporation was passed, and received the approving signature of the governor the succeeding day. By the provisions of the bill the 6th of March was assigned as the day for holding the first town-meeting. February 21 John Spaulding, justice of the peace, issued his warrant to Peter Tarbell "to notify and warn the inhabitants of the town of Ayer, qualified to vote in town affairs, to meet in Union Hall, in said town, on Monday, the sixth

day of March next at ten o'clock in the forenoon," to choose the town officers required by law.

At a town-meeting held at Groton Junction on the 14th it was voted to make a division of the town library. On the 15th and 16th a public levee was held for the purpose of raising funds for the benefit of the new town, the net proceeds of which amounted to \$225, and some \$300 additional were raised by private subscriptions.

At the first town-meeting held pursuant to the above-named warrant E. Dana Bancroft was chosen moderator, A. W. Felch, town clerk, and E. C. Willard, first selectman. The meeting then adjourned till the following morning, when Lewis Blood and O. K. Pierce were chosen the second and third selectmen; Dr. Gibson Smith, J. E. Fletcher, and Alfred Page, assessors; G. W. Stuart, treasurer; Nathaniel Holden, superintendent of roads, with Emerson Hazard and Alfred Page as assistants; Peter Tarbell, Emerson Hazard, and C. D. Reed, constables; and Charles Brown, E. H. Hayward, and Dr. B. H. Hartwell, school committee.

At the next town-meeting, April 3, \$7,000 were appropriated; \$3,000 for schools, \$500 for roads, \$3,500 for incidental expenses, — including \$100 for a town library. A committee of three, John Spaulding, Robert P. Woods, and B. F. Felch, was chosen to adjust, in connection with a committee from the old town, an equitable division of the property, debts, state and county taxes, etc., between the two towns. These committees agreed upon \$13,000 as the sum to be paid by Ayer to Groton, the latter town allowing \$700 for the Ayer portion of the public library.

The name of Ayer was given to the new town, not from the Scottish river (Ayr), "associated in the mind of every one with the sweet strains of Robert Burns," but in honor of Dr. James C. Ayer of Lowell, as appears from the following letter:

LOWELL, February 6, 1871.

"Abel Prescott, Esq., for the Committee of Petitioners, etc., Groton Junction, Mass.

"DEAR SIR: I have the honor to receive your favor of the 2d inst., informing me of the action of your fellow-citizens in the adoption of my name, 'Ayer,' as the name of your new town, with Mr. Felch's certificate as clerk of the meeting.

"I pray you, Sir, to convey to your fellow-citizens my appreciation and acknowledgment of the high honor they seek to confer upon me, and my sincere hope that the future will present no occasion to regret the choice which they have made.

"I should be insensible to the influences that govern men, if the partiality of your citizens did not awaken in me an interest in the well-being of 'Ayer,' and I assure you, Sir, that I shall wait with readiness to aid therein as opportunity or occasion may arise.

"With sentiments of personal esteem, I have the honor to remain,

"Your obedient servant,

"JAMES C. AYER."

Dr. Ayer stated to some members of the committee that when this matter was first opened to him by a resident of Groton Junction, he answered that he knew what was due from him in case such an honor should be conferred upon him while living. That he wished to define what sum he should give, to prevent rumor putting him in a false position in the future; that he had submitted a document to the committee to that end; but he protested in the beginning, and protested still, against either favor being as a consideration or trade, the one for the other.

September 26, 1871, Dr. Ayer forwarded to the selectmen of Ayer a letter expressing his desire that the town should choose three trustees to receive and invest the sum of ten thousand five hundred dollars, which he proposed to give to it, the interest to be devoted to "promoting the education of youth" in the town. This proposition not being entirely acceptable, October 21, 1871, he addressed another letter to E. Dana Bancroft, Esq., in which he submitted his "readiness to pay over the amount to the selectmen of Ayer, or any person authorized by them, upon call, for the benefit of the town, its schools, or whatever its people shall direct."

October 24, the town voted to accept the money, and authorized the selectmen to instruct the treasurer to receive it. November 7, Robert P. Woods, Lewis Blood, and H. C. Rolfe were chosen trustees to invest the money safely. In April, 1872, the treasurer was instructed to borrow the Ayer fund and pay it to the old town towards cancelling the debt.

This disposition of the fund was not satisfactory to all the citizens, a number of whom had suggested the building of a town-hall as the best disposition to be made of the gift.

Dr. Ayer readily accepted the proposition of a town-hall, and offered on the following conditions to build one, making use of the amount already given to the town, and paying the balance himself. His conditions, expressed in a letter dated June 11,

1872, were: "To restate my suggestions perhaps more clearly: you provide and prepare the land and foundation up to the level of the first story, including fence, stone walks, etc., according to the requirements of architects; I build the walls of the first story and a town-house above and upon them. The whole to be done in conformity with the requirements of the architects." Four years after the building was completed, and the new town-house was dedicated October 26, 1876.

On the night of Saturday, April 13, 1872, a fire occurred which destroyed between thirty-five and forty buildings, including the Unitarian Church, Union Hall building, a four-story brick block (the upper part of which was arranged for a hotel), a new engine-house belonging to the town, etc., involving a net loss over and above insurance of \$100,000 besides the loss of business for a time. This fire rendered houseless thirty or more families. A relief committee was appointed to solicit aid. The several families of the neighboring Harvard Shakers were among the first to offer aid by sending money and provisions, and by canceling bills due them from parties who suffered loss by the fire.

About seventy-five volumes of the town library were saved from the fire, and in a short time one hundred and thirty-five new ones were added, thus forming a nucleus for a new collection. May 15, the town voted to build a new brick school-house at a cost of \$12,000.

New buildings were immediately begun upon the burnt district; among them brick blocks by Messrs. Nutting, Page, Harvey A. Woods, Mead, Waters, Spaulding, and others.

April 27, 1872, the towns of Ayer, Groton, Pepperell, Townsend, Ashby, Shirley, Westford, Littleton, and Boxborough were constituted a judicial district under the name of the First District Court of Northern Middlesex.

At a town-meeting held in March, 1873, it was voted "that the taxes on all manufacturing capital, hereinafter invested in this town within five years, exceeding in value \$3,000 shall be abated for five years from this date, provided that said manufacturing capital shall apply only to buildings and machinery," and a committee of three, Peter Tarbell, G. C. Brock, and B. H. Hartwell, was appointed to advertise the facilities that exist in this place for the various manufacturing industries.

From the fortieth and forty-first annual reports of the Board of Education the relative position of

Ayer as compared with the other three hundred and forty-one towns of the state is as follows: In the amount of money appropriated for each child between five and fifteen years of age Ayer stood No. 160 in 1875-76, No. 227 in 1876-77. According to the percentage of taxable property appropriated for public schools, Ayer in 1875-76 was No. 161, in 1876-77 No. 189. According to the average attendance of children upon public schools, Ayer in 1875-76 was No. 29, in 1876-77 No. 62.

The following description of the town is mainly from the pen of the late Judge Bennett:—

The town of Ayer is in form a parallelogram, averaging about four miles long from east to west and about two miles wide from north to south. The Nashua River flows northerly along the western border. The land along the river is either of a high and dry soil, mostly of a fine gravel, and known as pine-plain land, or else, as just northwest of the village, it is made up of projecting granite ledges with intervals of sandy loam. In the extreme northwest James' Brook, from Groton, runs near the northern boundary for about a mile to its mouth at the very corner of the town. The principal stream in the town, the Nonacoicus, on which is the mill-pond, flows through a narrow sandy flat, commencing just west of the village, into the Nashua. On this flat, which it enters soon after leaving the mill, it has a sharply defined course, with a rapid current and a width of about twenty feet. It flows over a pebbly or sandy bottom. The northerly part of the town is hilly. The hills are high, and full of granite ledges. Most of them are covered with a growth of wood and timber. The southeast and south parts of the town are nearly level, the plain coming up to the foot of the abrupt hillsides.

The water-system of the town is constituted as follows: Besides the Nashua River and James' Brook, mentioned above, and a small brook running along the eastern border and across the southeast corner of the town, there is a continuous line of moving water sweeping around from the northern boundary to the village, and thence to the river. Up among the granite hills, in a perfectly wild and wooded country, and partly in Groton, lies Long Pond, a sheet of water covering many acres, and fed by springs. From this a clear, cold brook issues, and after a circuit of more than a mile falls into Sandy Pond. Sandy Pond is nearly circular, with a sandy shore and bottom, except on part of the northerly shore, where it is rocky. Here thou-

sands of tons of the finest ice are annually cut and housed. By a branch of the railroad running up to the pond this ice is shipped in every direction. No water is purer than that of Sandy Pond, and no ice is clearer or bluer. From Sandy Pond issues a very considerable stream already named, the Nonacoccus. Sweeping around near the Harvard line this stream receives two others,—one from Bear Hill Pond in Harvard, and Cold Brook from springs at the foot of Hell Pond, in Harvard, a clear basin without inlet or visible outlet, like Walden Pond in Concord. Now running westerly and northerly between raised gravel plains and over a stable bed, the stream near the general railroad station at the village is again interrupted and made to furnish water-power for a saw-mill, planing-mills, and other machinery. The Worcester and Nashua Railroad crosses the mill-pond about the middle, on an embankment having a suitable culvert over the channel. At the saw-mill the water is uniformly clear and cold,—many degrees colder than the Nashua River a mile off. The remainder of its course to the river has been already described.

The water of these brooks is purer than that of the Cochituate, but wells are in universal use. On

the plains these have to be sunk thirty to thirty-five feet to secure water for domestic purposes.

From statistics covering a period of twelve years, from 1860 to 1871 inclusive, and only the territory now embraced in the town of Ayer, it appears that the number of persons living in this district to one death from all causes was 72. In that period one person died of phthisis, or consumption, to 464 living; of typhoid, one to 4,980 living; and of pneumonia, one to 1,660 living. The estimated population in 1865 was 1,600. From 1865 to 1869 the deaths in Middlesex County from all causes were one to 49; in Ayer, one to 89. From phthisis, the deaths in the state were one to 279 living; in Ayer, one to 361. From typhoid, the deaths in the state were one to 1,082; in Ayer, one to 8,300. From pneumonia, the deaths in the state were one to 802; in Ayer, one to 1,383. From 1860 to 1871 the per cent of deaths in Ayer was 1.31, from 1865 to 1869 but 1.12. In the state the per cent of deaths for the last-named period was 1.96. So that Ayer is twenty-nine per cent healthier than the state as to consumption, and seven hundred per cent healthier than the state as to typhoid fever.

BEDFORD.

BY JOSIAH A. STEARNS.



THE section of country marked by the present limits of Bedford was very early settled. Some of its ancient estates are still occupied by descendants of their original owners.

More than one family have dwelt upon the same house-lot for two centuries, and the old mill, the original timbers of which remain, still grinds corn and prepares lumber, as it did before the war with King Philip.

A portion of this territory was known as Winthrop's Farms, and the remainder as Shawshine. The famous Shawshine trading-house was within its limits. If not when granted a part of Concord, Winthrop's Farms soon after became so;

and the Shawshine country had its name changed to Billerica.

An incident in locating the "Farms" has given to Bedford a monument of the past which it is hoped may be reverentially preserved through all coming time. The story is told by Governor Winthrop himself in a paragraph of his journal. The event occurred in 1639.

"The governor and deputy went to Concord to view some land for farms, and, going down the river about four miles, they made choice of a place for one thousand acres for each of them. They offered each other the first choice, but because the deputy's was first granted, and himself had store of land already, the governor yielded him the choice. So, at the place where the deputy's land was to begin, there were two great stones, which

they called the Two Brothers, in remembrance that they were brothers by their children's marriage, and did so brotherly agree, and for that a little creek near those stones was to part their lands. At the court in the fourth month after, two hundred acres were added to the governor's part."

Previous to the year 1729 the southern half of Bedford belonged to Concord, and the northern half belonged to Billerica.

The line between these two towns ran a little south of the present Main Street of Bedford village. No discontent of the people with their neighbors occasioned the separation. It was sought for simply to enlarge their religious privileges.

Roads were poor, conveniences for travel few, and from many of these settlers the meeting-houses were five or six miles away. Yet the Sabbath service was so sacred and essential to a New-Englander of that day, that even mothers would travel all the long distance on foot, with their babes in their arms, to hear the word of truth. For one or two winters they tried the experiment of hiring a preacher to officiate in their own neighborhood; but at length they sought to be incorporated as a separate town.

A petition dated May 1, 1728, was signed by the following persons, all from Concord: Joseph French, Joseph Dean, John Fassett, Samuel Merriam, Stephen Davis, Daniel Cheever, Thomas Woolley, Joseph Bacon, Benjamin Colburn, Nathaniel Merriam, Zachariah Stearns, Andrew Wadkins, Jonathan French, David Taylor, Daniel Davis, Richard Wheeler, and James Wheeler. To this petition Concord granted her consent at once; but Billerica released her townsmen with much reluctance.

The General Court now took the matter in hand. On the 29th of July, 1728, the subject was referred to an existing committee for investigation. Billerica had, through the agency of Jonathan Danforth, June 5, 1685, extinguished by purchase of the Wameseck Indians "all manner of Indian rights and claims to that parcel of land granted by the General Court to the town of Billerica." This was called the "Wameseck Purchase," and the committee referred to had been raised to view it.

The committee reported as follows: "After a full hearing of the pleas and allegations of all parties concerned therein, and mature consideration thereon, the committee are humbly of the opinion that the lands petitioned for, as well by the Billerica petitioners as those of Concord, and by a vote of

the town of Concord, set off to and joined with the petitioners of Billerica in making a distinct township, are well accommodated for that purpose. That therefore the said lands with the inhabitants thereof be set off and erected into a separate and distinct township."

By the act of incorporation of the Town of Bedford, passed on the 23d of September, 1729, the inhabitants were directed within three years to erect and finish a suitable house for public worship, and to procure and settle a minister, making due provision for his comfortable and honorable support; they were also directed to provide a school in which to instruct their youth in writing and reading. In conformity with a vote of the General Court, approved September 26, 1729, Jonathan Bacon was directed to assemble the inhabitants, to give effect to the act of incorporation; and in pursuance thereof the town met October 6, 1729, when the following officers were chosen: Samuel Fitch, Nathaniel Merriam, Jonathan Bacon, Nathaniel Page, Daniel Davis, selectmen; Samuel Fitch, town clerk; John Fassett, town treasurer.

On the 13th of October a second town-meeting was held, and the "Town excepted of the Meeting house as the former cominety had a greed with Joseph Fitch for four hundred and sixty pounds." Probably the house, when thus accepted, contained no pews and was quite unfinished; but a committee was chosen, consisting of Mr. Nathaniel Merriam, Lieutenant Job Lane, Mr. John Fassett, and Cornet Nathaniel Page, "to see the meeting-house perfected and finished." Forty pounds were raised to "maintain preaching amongst us," and fifty pounds were raised to "defray the charges that shall be or may arise in the town."

One more institution was essential to a well-organized town, and on the 23d of October, 1729, "the selectmen met and laid out a burying-place; and it was on the land that Mr. Israel Putnam gave to the town; and it is bounded by the highway that goes from the meeting-house to Woburn." The ground thus laid out proved unsatisfactory, and January 12, 1729-30, the selectmen thought it convenient to alter the burying-place, and laid it a little further northward.

At a town-meeting February 11, 1729-30, Mr. Nicholas Bowes was chosen to be the minister. The town agreed to give him £200 for a settlement, and to let him have sixteen acres of land at £8 per acre.

At the March meeting it was "Voted, That the

nen join with the committee to stake out so of the town's land as is convenient for the the town about the meeting-house, and for a ng place."

Rev. Bowes was ordained July 15, 1730, when church was organized. Rev. John Hancock, Exington, was moderator. Rev. Mr. Appleton, Cambridge, made the introductory prayer.

Another prime object of attention during the first twenty-four years of Bedford's history was the roads. Hearing the reports of committees, laying out new highways, widening paths into comfortable roads, changing the position of roads, receiving petitions in regard to them, greatly engrossed the attention of every town-meeting.

One condition of the incorporating act was that the town should establish a school. In 1732 the matter was agitated, and sums of money annually voted to maintain a school until 1742, when the town purchased the house of Mr. Benjamin Kidder, near the meeting-house, for the use of the school.

In 1752 the town decided to purchase its first bell, and voted to build a house for it.

September 25, 1754, the town concurred with the church in the dismissal of Rev. Mr. Bowes. He seems to have remained in town during the coming winter, and I find him credited £9 6s. 8d. for keeping school five months.

On the 17th of November, 1755, the town concurred with the church in the choice of the Rev. Nathaniel Sherman for their minister. His ordination was appointed on the 21st day of January, 1756. The church records say February 18, 1756; but these are not reliable, as they are only copies of Mr. Sherman's minutes after his dismissal. It is not known who officiated on the occasion.

On the 1st of March, 1759, Mr. Sherman was married to Miss Lydia Merriam, a daughter of one of his deacons.

Mr. Sherman's ministry of twelve years constituted a period principally of routine and quietness in town affairs. The making, changing, and repairing of roads had principally subsided. The schools continued to be objects of care, but the middle of the town was now possessed of a school-house.

Though the spirit of liberty had been steadily growing among the New England people, it had manifested itself, as yet, principally in resistance to governmental oppression. Slavery still existed in all parts of Massachusetts, and there were a

goodly number of slaves even in Bedford. Equal personal liberty for all men was an idea only by a very few even contemplated. Even if a man was willing to free his slave he could only do so by giving bonds that his freedman should not become a public charge. One case of this sort I quote from the Bedford town records:—

"March y^e 23d, 1761. — Col. John Lane gave a bond to Deacon Stephen Davis, town treasurer, to save and indemnify the town of Bedford from any charge that may arise by reason of his negro man being set free."

That the town took a lively interest in the military enterprises of this and previous periods of her history is evident, but it is much to be regretted that no authentic list of her soldiers, previous to the Revolution, can now be obtained.

Shattuck relates a very romantic story of Eleazer Davis, who probably went from this place a little before the town was set off, and was wounded in the famous "Lovewell's fight." This is his account: "Their wounds had become putrid and offensive, and they themselves nearly exhausted by hunger. Eleazer Davis, after being out fourteen days, came into Berwick. He was wounded in the abdomen, and the ball lodged in his body. He also had his right hand shot off. A tradition says that, arriving at a pond with Lieutenant Farwell, Davis pulled off one of his moccasins, cut it in strings, on which he fastened a hook, caught some fish, fried, and ate them. They refreshed him, but were injurious to Farwell, who died soon after. Josiah Jones, another of the four, was wounded with a ball which lodged in his body. After being out fourteen days, in hourly expectation of perishing, he arrived at Saco, emaciated and almost dead from the loss of blood, the putrefaction of his wounds, and the want of food. He subsisted on the spontaneous vegetables of the forest; and cranberries, which he had eaten, came out of the wounds he had received in his body. This is said to have been the case with Davis. He recovered, but became a cripple."

In 1755 the Rev. Mr. Bowes, Bedford's first minister, became chaplain of a regiment in the expedition to Fort Edward, and, without doubt, some of his parishioners joined him. In 1761 the town voted to abate the whole of the rates of those that went from this town in the country's service the summer past. In 1763 it voted to abate the rate of Josiah Davis, his son Paul lately deceased, and Joseph Wilson, their town

and highway rates, and all the other soldiers their highway rates.

The daughter of Hugh Maxwell says of her father, in a little work commemorative of his life: "Colonel Maxwell served five campaigns in the old French wars, was among those captured by the Indians under Montcalm at Fort Edward, and barely escaped with his life. Before the close of the war he had attained the rank of ensign."

In the mean time Mr. Sherman had received a call to another place. He asked a dismission of the church, and it was granted.

On the 4th of February, 1771, the town concurred with the church in the choice of Mr. Joseph Penniman of Braintree as minister, and agreed to give him £133 6s. 8d. as a settlement, and £66 13s. 4d. annually as a salary.

The town voted that the ordination of the Rev. Mr. Penniman be on the 22d of May, and that it should be religiously observed agreeable to the solemnity of the occasion, and that they were "determined, as much as in them lay, to prevent all Levity, Prophainness, Music, Dancing, and frolicking, and other disorders on s^d Day."

No sooner was Mr. Penniman fairly settled, than the war of the American Revolution began to absorb all thoughts. Town-meetings could scarcely transact any other than war business. On the first day of March, 1773, after solemn prayer, the town proceeded and made choice of Deacon Stephen Davis, John Reed, Esq., Mr. John Webber, Dr. Joseph Ballard, Mr. John Moore, Mr. Joseph Hartwell, and Mr. Hugh Maxwell, to be a committee to take our grievances under consideration, and to report at the next town-meeting. An adjournment was made to the 31st of May, when the committee reported a series of resolutions which, while professing the utmost loyalty to the crown, made known in language unmistakable the deep grievances of the distressed people.

Not long after occurred the destruction of tea in Boston harbor. In this transaction Bedford was represented. Major Thompson Maxwell gives the following account of his participation in the affair: "In 1773, I went with my team to Boston. I had loaded at John Hancock's warehouse and was about to leave town, when Mr. Hancock requested me to drive my team up into his yard, and ordered his servants to take care of it, and requested me to be on Long Wharf at two o'clock p. m., and informed me what was to be done. I went accordingly, joined the band under Captain Hewes; we mounted

the ships and made tea in a trice. This done, I took my team and went home as an honest man should."

Messrs. Moses Abbott, Thomas Page, Ebenezer Page, John Reed, Joseph Converse, and Edward Stearns were chosen as a committee of inspection. In March, 1775, it was voted to allow Dr. Joseph Ballard four shillings per day for twelve days at Cambridge, and four shillings for expenses at Concord. It was also voted to pay twenty-five minute-men one shilling per week, they to exercise four hours in a week; and two shillings were to be allowed to two officers, they to equip themselves according to the advice of congress.

The skill thus acquired was soon called into requisition at the memorable Concord Fight on the 19th of April. Thompson Maxwell thus speaks of it: "April, 1775, I again happened in Boston with my team; I left Boston the 18th, and got to my native town that night, and put up with my brother Wilson, who married my sister and who was captain of minute-men. Next morning early he had orders to march with his company to Concord; he requested me to go with him: I went well armed and joined in the fight; my brother Wilson was killed; next day I hired a man to drive my team home, and I never went home till after the Battle of Bunker Hill."

Tradition says that Maxwell, having some familiarity with camps, assured his brother that he had witnessed movements in Boston that indicated some speedy action on the part of the British army, and that he and Wilson sat talking excitedly upon the subject till one o'clock, when the messenger summoned them to the fight. Wilson rallied his men at the tavern, then kept by Jeremiah Fitch, Jr., in the house now owned by his granddaughter, Miss Fitch of Boston. The men partook of some slight refreshment. "It is a cold breakfast, boys," said Wilson, "but we'll give the British a hot one,—we'll have every dog of them before night." Before night Wilson was killed and Job Lane badly wounded.

On their arrival at Concord the first service of our men was in removing stores to places of greater safety. Even the standard-bearer laid down his flag, threw off his coat, and went to work. When the British soldiers first came in view, our men looked upon them from Concord Hill, and were perfectly dazzled by the sight,—their brilliant uniforms, their perfect discipline, and their burnished guns flashing in the sunlight charmed and awed

them into dumb astonishment, till some one broke the spell by a reminder that "we must spoil their fine uniforms before night." It was not long before every one was excitedly engaged in the fray. The homes, too, which the soldiers had left in haste, were full of excitement and activity. There women were busily engaged in providing food and despatching it to Concord. Their anxiety was raised to the highest pitch. One good lady said, "All day long the bells were ringing, the guns were firing, people were dashing back and forth on horseback, and all I could learn was that there had been an awful fight, ever so many killed, and I thought certain husband must be one of them."

One of our townsmen, while driving his load of wood with oxen and horse, met the soldiers at Lexington, and having quietly passed them, deliberately unyoked his team as though he were a farmer in the neighborhood, mounted his horse, and slowly repressed the troops till he was far enough to avoid suspicion, then struck into a run, and was at Concord in season to give them a welcome.

Immediately after the Battle of Lexington multitudes of soldiers went into camp at Cambridge. Tradition says the next day after the fight Thompson Maxwell sent his team home with a note to his wife asking for a few necessary articles, and informing her that he should be at home when the war was over. Here he remained till after the battle of Bunker Hill, of which he has given us a general account. He says: "When I left home I was a lieutenant of minute-men, under Captain Crosby. Next day after Concord Fight my company started to join us at Cambridge. I then took command agreeable to rank in my company under Captain Wilkinson. We were formed into regiments, my company in Colonel James Reed's regiment, and engaged for eight months. The next fight was that of Bunker Hill. On the 16th of June Colonel Reed was ordered to Charlestown Neck. About twelve o'clock the same day a number of our officers passed us and went on to Bunker Hill. General Ward, with the rest, returned and went to Cambridge.

"In the evening Colonel Prescott passed with his regiment. My brother, Hugh Maxwell, was the senior captain in this regiment; he stepped out and asked Colonel Reed and myself if we would come on to the hill that night. We did so; we went to Breed's Hill. We found Colonel Putnam there, with Colonel Prescott's command. Colonel Prescott requested my brother Hugh to lay out

the ground for the intrenchment. He did so. I set up the stakes after him. Colonel Prescott seemed to have the sole command. Colonel Reed and I returned to our command on the neck about eleven o'clock P. M. At day, in the morning, we again went to the hill, found Putnam and Prescott there: Prescott still appeared to have command; no other regiment was there but Prescott's through the night. Captain Maxwell, after day, suggested in my hearing to Colonel Prescott the propriety of running an intrenchment from the northeast angle of the night's work to a rail-fence, leading to Mystic River. Colonel Prescott approved, and it was done. I set up the stakes after my brother. About seven o'clock I saw Colonels Prescott and Putnam in conversation; immediately after, Putnam mounted his horse and went full speed towards Cambridge. Colonel Reed ordered his men to their commands; we returned and prepared for action. At eleven o'clock we received orders from Colonel Prescott to move on. We did so.

"We formed by order of Prescott down to the rail-fence, and part on the intrenchment. We got hay and wadded between the rails after doubling the fence by post and rails from another place. We remained there during the battle.

"After we had been there awhile I saw Captain Knowlton of Putnam's regiment come on with perhaps a hundred men, and form on a stone-wall that led from the rail-fence to the river. The men were formed from the river extending towards the rail-fence, and left a space, I should say, of sixty rods between us, which was manned by parts of regiments until Colonel Stark came and formed on the rail-fence. We were all drove from the hill. On our retreat we went in disorder, mixed up. As we passed the top of Bunker Hill, I there saw Putnam for the first time after he rode away in the morning.¹ (Putnam on horseback with his tent behind.) He had with him a very large body of men who were a little over the turn of the hill out of the rake of the enemy's shot. When we approached near, Putnam cried out, 'Halt, you damned cowards! halt, you damned cowards! Turn about and give them another shot.' I told Putnam it was in vain, for our ammunition was gone and men exhausted. He said, 'I don't mean you, it is them damned rascals I can't get up.'"

On the 17th of June a town-meeting was held to advise the person who should represent them in the

¹ It is, however, well established that Putnam was at the lines during the engagement. — Ed.

next General Court whether the honorable congress should declare them independent of Great Britain, and it was voted that, "We, the said inhabitants [of Bedford], will solemnly engage, with our lives and fortunes, to support them in the measure."

On the 4th of July, 1778, the town agreed to add to the bounty given to such as should enlist, £6 6s. 8d.; it also directed the treasurer to pay the money or give his notes, and if "a commissioner" enlisted to have the above said bounty.

On the 24th of November the compensation of soldiers was again under consideration, and the town voted £377 3s. 3d., with the interest that is due on said money, for the use of hiring the Continental soldiers.

At a meeting on the 11th of May, 1778, John Reed, Esq., Moses Abbott, Stephen Hartwell, Jr., Samuel Davis, and Jeremiah Fitch, Jr., were chosen a committee to hire men to join the Continental army to the southward at the North River for eight months, and then to join General Washington's army for nine months towards Philadelphia.

On the 14th of July, 1779, a state convention met at Concord, for the purpose of establishing a state price current and adopting other means for preventing monopoly, extortion, and unfair dealing. Hon. Azor Orne was chairman, and Samuel Ruggles secretary. This meeting passed some spirited resolutions, fixed the prices of several articles, and prepared an address to the people. On the 4th of August the town of Bedford accepted these resolves, and chose a committee to see that the said resolves were not violated. At the same meeting the town elected John Reed a delegate to a convention to meet at Cambridge on the 1st of September, for the purpose of framing a new constitution.

When the question finally came up of accepting or rejecting the new form of government, the town held three meetings upon the subject, and finally accepted it by a vote of twenty-five in favor and one against it, leaving it with the convention when the form should take place.

The town now began to find rest from soldiers' bills, and, after providing for a few back dues for public service, attention was turned to local concerns. The schools needed attention, the meeting-house required additional sittings, and to be put into better repair.

About this time a custom prevailed of reporting all persons who came to reside in town, or even

temporary visitors, to the town clerk, by whom their names were carefully recorded in the town's book.

September 9, 1786, the town "constituted and approved Lieut. John Merriam and Lieut. Timothy Jones to meet the committees from such towns as shall assemble for to consult with the delegates that assembled at Concord on the twenty-third day of August last, at any town or towns they shall think proper to meet at in order to devise some salutary measures to quiet the minds of any body or bodies of people that shall attempt to oppose government in any unconstitutional manner whatever."

The disquietude of mind here alluded to was the same which culminated in Shays' Rebellion. This the town was ready to suppress by forcible measures, as will appear by the following vote:

"January 18, 1787, *Voted* to give the men that enlist to go to Worcester at the rate of forty-two shillings per month; and also voted to pay each man as part of the above 42/ twelve shillings in case they have marching orders, and the town to have the wages allowed by the state."

The dangers of civil commotion being thus provided for, the town again gave attention to its private affairs. It reconsidered all the votes that had been passed relating to the schools and school-houses, and appointed a committee to divide the town into five districts.

A little later an event happened which greatly scandalized the whole town. It was communion day; the minister had long been noted for his eccentricities; the people had openly suggested a cause for some of them, and now they were sure such suggestions were right. The meeting-house doors were closed against the pastor in the afternoon. Some wag, seeing the condition of things, perpetrated the following, which he inscribed upon the meeting-house:—

"A wicked priest, a crooked people,
A cracked bell without a steeple."

September 16, 1793, the town unanimously voted "that the church refer their grievance to a council, in case the Rev. Mr. Joseph Penniman doth not agree to have the relation in which he stands to the church and town dissolved."

November 3, 1793, the council concurred with the church in the dismissal of Rev. Mr. Penniman by a unanimous vote.

A demand was now made by the general government for soldiers, either for the contemplated

war with England or France, the war with Western Indians, or the necessary movement to suppress the "Whiskey Rebellion." In this matter Bedford was prompt, as she always has been, and voted, August 28, 1794, "to give each soldier that shall voluntarily enlist the sum of eighteen shillings as a bounty, and to make them up eight dollars per month including the state pay, in case they are called upon to march, and for the time they are in actual service." The soldiers that enlisted were Moses Abbott, Jr., John Reed, Jr., Eleazer Davis, Jr., John Merriam, Jr., Job Webber, Asa Webber, William J. Lawrence, and William Kemp. The public schools, nevertheless, were not neglected. The town voted September 1, 1794, £65 for schools, to have the schools equally divided into five parts, that is, to have six weeks' writing-school in each of the school-houses in the winter season, and two months' reading-school in the summer season in each of the school-houses.

At the meeting above noted one article was "to see if the town will choose a committee to take an accurate plan of the town of Bedford, agreeable to a resolve of the great and General Court of this commonwealth," and the town chose a committee of three, for that purpose, — Captain John Webber, William Merriam, Thompson Bacon.

After the dismissal of Mr. Penniman, a good many candidates had been heard, though no record is extant of their names. In September, 1795, Mr. Samuel Stearns preached to them, and December 28, 1795, the town concurred with the church in selecting him for the work of the gospel ministry. A committee, consisting of Deacon James Wright, William Merriam, Timothy Jones, Esq., Captain John Webber, and John Reed, Esq., waited upon the Rev. Mr. Stearns, communicated to him the vote of the town, and received in reply a letter from him accepting the office of pastor.

March 21, 1796, the town voted to accept the answer of Mr. Stearns, and ordered the same to be put upon the town records. The town appointed the ordination to take place on Wednesday the 27th of April.

Though Bedford has always held the reputation of a moral and virtuous town, she has sometimes had within her borders, those who were willing to appropriate to their own use the effects of their neighbors. Tradition tells of one family so addicted to larceny that they would steal from one another for the very pleasure of theft. It also further says that one of these persons was brought to condign

punishment, and was publicly and legally whipped, being tied to an apple-tree in the little orchard between Minister Stearns' mansion and that of Jeremiah Fitch. I am unable to give the date of the public whipping.

The condition of the country had now become truly exciting; war with France was in the minds of many inevitable. Bedford resolved to be ready. The town voted on the 5th of November, 1798, "that the selectmen be directed to show out to the officers, out of the town's stock, as much powder and ball, and as many flints as the law requires for each soldier of said company on their inspection days, and also that the selectmen be directed to furnish each soldier on muster days with sixteen cartridges out of said town stock."

There was a custom at this time to prevent those who were in danger of becoming a public charge from obtaining a foothold as citizens. This was done by exempting them from public taxes, or otherwise warning them out of town.

The death of Washington gave occasion for an imposing ceremony. The town met on the 6th of February and considered the subject; then continued the meeting to the 10th of February, when they agreed upon a method to testify their affectionate regard for the memory of General George Washington on the 22d of February, and to make necessary arrangements and provisions therefor. Rev. Samuel Stearns delivered a discourse on the occasion of the funeral solemnities.

When Mr. Stearns was settled, the town gave him a choice for yearly salary of \$333.33½ in money, or the same amount in beef, pork, rye, and Indian corn. After he had given his answer to the church and parish on the Sabbath, and before he had replied to the town, he was told that some were dissatisfied with the stipulation because it might lead to misunderstandings and disputes in fixing the value of articles year by year. In his reply to the town he accepted the definite sum with this condition: "Resting assured that the town will not willingly see me suffer by reason of the depreciation of the currency hereafter." The currency did depreciate, and the minister sold off land from the place which he had just bought at the value of a hundred dollars a year, and applied the proceeds to his living. After going in debt for about five hundred dollars he was absolutely compelled to present his case to the town. Notwithstanding the liberality with which the town responded, the pastor's salary was not adequate to

his wants, and he supplemented it not only by receiving into his family suspended students from Harvard, but by establishing a young ladies' school in the parish. He hired a room in the tavern then kept by Jeremiah Fitch, and continued the school for three years. Mrs. Jonathan Lane, now more than ninety years of age, is the only one of the pupils known to be still alive.

Though the town had based their pastor's salary upon the stipulated value of beef, pork, rye, and Indian corn, it still proved inadequate to his comfortable support. April 4, 1808, the town voted "to add the sum of three hundred dollars to his salary: fifty dollars of which to be paid at each semi-annual payment for three years if he doth continue to be pastor of the town; if not, then to be paid in the same proportion for a shorter time; they also recommend that the town add two cords of wood to each year above expressed."

The matter of arrears of salary did, however, eventually lead to contention and bitterness, which presented a chief obstacle to an amicable separation between the pastor and the people.

In 1807 a war with Great Britain seemed imminent, and on the 27th of August we find Bedford passing the following vote: "*Resolved*, to make up to the soldiers that may voluntarily turn out in defence of our country, fourteen dollars per month as wages, if called into actual service. *Resolved*, to give the men ordered to be discharged from Captain Lane's company if they shall voluntarily turn out, three dollars per man, as an encouragement to the same, whether they march or not."

Further provision was also made for the soldiers. December 27 the town "granted to Captain Lane's soldiers who should enlist in the defence of our country for the term of six months, \$13 per month as wages during the time they are in actual service."

The warrant for a town-meeting March 5, 1810, gives an idea of the basis of suffrage at that time. It is issued to "the free holders and other votable inhabitants of said town qualified to vote in town meetings, namely, such as pay, to one single tax besides the poll or polls, a sum equal to two thirds of a single poll tax." At this meeting "Daiz Skelton contracted to build a hearse-house, which stood for many years in the southwest corner of the old graveyard. Here were kept the hearse and the bier and the pall. Here was stored the old cracked bell. Here also were kept the town's stock of powder and other military paraphernalia. It was

a great event for the boys, a few days before every annual muster, to watch the soldiers as they prepared the cartridges for the occasion.

In 1812 the property qualification is declared to be a "freehold income of ten dollars or other property valued at \$200." Few matters of interest signalize the town-meetings of 1812. In March the usual officers were chosen, and Thompson Bacon, a prominent republican, was sent representative. Castilio Hosmer was permitted to move the pound upon his own land, and the structure still remains as the foundation of the old John Bacon shoemaker's shop.

The schools now demanded especial attention. Though the town had for some years been divided into five districts for school purposes, all children had a right to attend either or all of the schools when their own did not keep. From some unknown cause a bitter quarrel arose among children attending school in the east quarter. Master Grag was a quiet man, and they rode roughly over his authority, and the several sections arrayed themselves violently against one another. On one side were the east-quarter boys, called by their enemies "shaberkins" and "sharks;" and on the opposite side were the north-quarter boys and the centre boys in unholy alliance, but nicknamed in their turn, from their locality, "north-quarter hogs" and "city pigs." So the Hogs and the Pigs fought the Shaberkins and the Sharks. No day was without its battle, till the feud became almost as fierce among adults as among the young. The town took the matter in hand March 29, 1813, and the East District being at once isolated from all the rest, the warfare gradually ceased.

A few months later an incident occurred, which for a moment threw the town into dire consternation. An order was received calling upon the militia to march at once for the defence of Boston. It was a beautiful September Sabbath morning. Fife and drum called, and soon the martial men and the people were on their way to the house of God. The old meeting-house was crowded. When the ring of grounded muskets ceased, all was silence. Then began the simple service; the song went up from faltering lips. The good pastor's exhortation was tender, sympathetic, earnest, but bold to inspire with lofty and patriotic valor. Thus fortified, now came hasty farewells and the march. Who could have thought that all this solemn preparation should soon turn into mirthfulness? Yet such it did; a single day effected the change. Their call

proved to be a mistake. It was intended for Bedford or some other town. The Bedford men remained in Boston but a day or two, and then obtained their discharge.

After this there was no general call for men from Bedford during the war; but a few men were drafted and several others voluntarily enlisted.

When peace had been declared, Bedford was found in a condition of sufficient prosperity to contemplate the erection of a new meeting-house. The frame for each side and end of the building was put together and ready to be raised into position, when early on a bright summer morning multitudes of people assembled, listened to a short address and a fervent prayer by the pastor, and then, catching hold of the timbers with their hands, or standing by with pike-poles ready to lift when needed, they awaited in silence the appearance of a first ray from the rising sun, till suddenly the prolonged shout of "Bear it up!" was echoed by the multitude, and in a moment the whole broadside was trembling in the air. In a few hours the heavy framework of the building was standing in its place, where it has remained without a sign of displacement for more than sixty years.

In June the meeting-house was dedicated with imposing ceremonies. The neighboring ministers were generally present, and the town was full of strangers come to witness the event. A sweet-toned bell was, through the agency of Mr. Jeremiah Fitch of Boston, imported from London, and a clock was placed on the front of the gallery. It was a gift from the same public-spirited gentleman.

In the spring of 1818 a large and very efficient Sabbath-school was established in the old school-house. Nearly all the children in the town attended.

Bedford might now fairly be said to be in a prosperous condition. Since the commencement of the century several houses had been built, and several had been remodelled or put in repair. The town had a small but increasing fund for the support of its ministry, and another for instruction in sacred music. The schools were in good condition, and this year they were each set off into separate districts. A town library, whose proprietors held a charter of incorporation by the General Court, was in successful operation. The relations between minister and people were of the most cordial and agreeable kind.

The business of the town was greatly on the increase; several firms were employing numbers of

men in the manufacture of women's and children's shoes; and many of the women and girls in all parts of the town found it convenient to increase their income by binding shoes.

In 1823 the town voted to open the Chelmsford road, so called. The Carlisle road, which was very reluctantly built, and which had cost the town much inconvenience and expense, was now in excellent repair, and had become an avenue for considerable travel through the place; and now, when the Chelmsford road was completed, Bedford village became a constant thoroughfare.

In 1825 the town sold the old school-house, and erected a new one entirely of brick. It was a neat structure, two stories high, with a school-room upon the lower, and a town-hall upon the second floor. It was adorned with a cupola and a tasteful weather-vane.

On the 4th of July, 1826, Bedford celebrated the semi-centennial anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. A procession was formed at the west end of the street, which proceeded at once to the meeting-house, where prayer was offered, the Declaration of Independence was read, and an oration was delivered by the minister's oldest son, Samuel H. Stearns, a graduate of Harvard, and afterwards pastor of the Boston Old South Church.

Every department of life seemed to indicate prosperity. The young people sought improvement by means of their debating society, their social library, and their neighborhood gatherings. This pleasant state of things continued till about 1832, when an event occurred which shook the social fabric of the town to its very foundations, and from which it has scarcely recovered to the present day. It was a rupture between the minister and a portion of his people. All through Middlesex County, and in some other parts of the state, a divergence of opinion had been taking place among the members of societies who had hitherto worshipped together. The difference was in doctrines and measures. The pastor adhered to the old standards of faith, and some of his people had embraced the new. A series of religious meetings had been held, and many converts had been the result. This brought into active opposition all the discontented elements in the town. The minister was requested by the parish to ask a dismissal; while a majority of his pewholders adhered to him. A council was called, which failed definitely to settle the controversy by its award. A new society grew out of the rupture. Mr. Stearns, considering his relations

with the old organization dissolved by the action of the council, accepted the call of the new to become its minister, while the old still claimed him. A thousand dollars formerly loaned him by his society so long as he should supply its pulpit was the great obstacle to an amicable adjustment. The council's decision having awarded this sum to Mr. Stearns, an appeal was had to the law, and while the controversy was still unsettled, Mr. Stearns died. The court ignored the council, but a jury decided that the minister had virtually supplied the pulpit till his death.

The laud for the new meeting-house was presented by Mr. Jeremiah Fitch, the same who had imported the bell and given a clock and a Bible to the First Parish.

After the separation, the First Parish for a considerable time employed the Rev. Mr. Davis, as a stated supply till the settlement of the Rev. Joshua Chandler, a graduate of Harvard, formerly settled over a church in Swansey, N. H. His successors were Rev. George W. Woodward, Rev. William Cushing, stated supply, and Rev. George W. Webster, who was regularly settled. After Mr. Webster, Rev. Jason Whitman, minister of Lexington, supplied the pulpit half of each Sabbath for several years till his death. Then followed an interregnum of about twelve years, after which a similar arrangement was made with the Rev. Grindall Reynolds of the First Parish in Concord, and he continues their minister. Besides the church edifice, which has been twice partially remodelled to suit the times, this society inherits all the funds and church property formerly belonging to the town.

Shortly after the death of Mr. Stearns, the new society met for the purpose of calling Rev. Jonathan F. Stearns, a son of their former pastor; but he had already accepted another call. A call was next given to the Rev. D. Talcott Smith (now Rev. D. Smith Talcott, D. D., of Bangor Theological Seminary), but he declined. The Rev. Jonathan Leavitt (Amherst College, 1825) was called, and after supplying the pulpit a year was settled. In 1840 Mr. Leavitt removed, and was settled over the Richmond Street Church in Providence, Rhode Island. His successors were the Rev. S. Hopkins Emery, Rev. Oren Sikes, Rev. J. H. Patrick, now of West Newton, Rev. W. J. Batt, now of Stoneham, Rev. George Lewis, Rev. Edward Chase, Rev. Otis Crawford, and Rev. George E. Lovejoy, the present minister. This society is out of debt, — owns its commodious meeting-house and parsonage-

house. Its elegant communion service was the gift of the late widow Hannah Reed.

For many years a prominent occupation in the town was the manufacture of shoes. It was started in 1805 by John Hosmer and Jonathan Bacon. Several firms became engaged; among them Benjamin and Zebedee Simonds, the Hon. Reuben Bacon, and Chamberlin and Billings. Two or three hundred persons were employed, and there were sold annually more than ninety thousand pairs of shoes. But the introduction of machinery elsewhere caused the manufacture to decline, till it has now almost ceased. For a time the decline of this business was compensated by the introduction of a paper-mill in the east part of the town. While this establishment was in the full tide of success, the population increased to nearly one thousand. But the mill was at length destroyed by fire, and never rebuilt. More than one hundred persons left the place, and all business except agriculture was found to languish. Farming is now the principal business of Bedford. The town, however, did not lose its public spirit. A new and more commodious town-hall was built. It was dedicated with formal ceremonies. Mr. John F. Gleason read an appropriate poem, and Mr. Josiah A. Stearns delivered the dedicatory address. Speeches were made by several persons, among them Mr. Charles Lane of Boston, who presented the town with an elegant clock. This was the same Mr. Lane whose life was so tragically ended at Dorchester.

When the War of Rebellion commenced, the town proved itself true to its traditional patriotism. It was lavish in voting bounties. The young men were prompt to enlist. The women and girls were zealous in preparing lint and articles of comfort for the sick or wounded, which they sent forward through the various Christian and sanitary commissions. Some of them even gave personal service as nurses in the camp. About sixteen hundred dollars were earned and contributed by the ladies to erect a monument in the beautiful Shawshin Cemetery, to perpetuate the memory of fourteen soldiers of Bedford who yielded up life for their country. In various ways not less than five thousand dollars were contributed to the war by this little town. Every year since the strife ceased the soldiers' graves have been decorated with pious care.

Since the establishment of the Middlesex Central Railroad the village has taken a new start. Several houses have been erected, and it is still

growing. The people find themselves situated only ten minutes' ride from the patriotic towns, of Lexington and Concord, and eight trains daily each way transport them to and from Boston. The narrow-gauge railroad, though a mechanical success, has proved a pecuniary failure, yet there is some hope that it may ere long again come into operation.

About a mile and a half from the village some valuable mineral springs were discovered a few years since. A commodious hotel has been erected on the spot. The house is well kept, and visitors find themselves almost as well environed with rural

scenery and seclusion as they would be at the White Mountains.

From the churches of Bedford have gone forth no fewer than fourteen ministers; and the town has furnished about the same number of college graduates, among them a trustee of Princeton College, a professor of St. James College, Md., a pastor of the Old South Church of Boston, a president of Amherst College, and a chancellor of the University of Nashville, Tenn. The town has also furnished a large number of teachers, and has been well represented in the legal and medical professions.¹

BELMONT.

BY JOHN L. ALEXANDER, M.D.



SIX miles west of Boston is situated the town of Belmont. It is four miles from Waltham, two from Arlington, two from Watertown, and three from the city of Cambridge. It is bounded northerly by Arlington, southerly by Watertown, easterly by Cambridge, and westerly by Waltham and Lexington.

Belmont was incorporated March 18, 1859, after a long and bitter contest of six years in the legislature with the old towns from which it was taken. From Waltham were taken 67 square miles or 429 acres, from Arlington 282 square miles or 1,773 acres, and from Watertown 226 square miles or 1,446 acres, making 575 square miles or 3,648 acres. These parts were outlying districts of old historic towns, having, at the time of the first petition for separation in 1853, a population of only 1,004, but when incorporated increased to 1,175 inhabitants. When Belmont was incorporated it had a valuation of \$2,127,737, increased to \$3,061,798 in 1878.

The town lies in a valley, between two ranges of high hills, which cannot be styled mountains, neither range being more than four hundred feet above the sea. The one on the south side, anciently called Meeting-House Hill, King's Common, and Strawberry Hill, makes the boundary between Bel-

mont and the Charles River valley, in which Watertown lies. That on the northerly side separates the town from the valley of the Mystic River; and in this valley Arlington lies. This is the highest range of hills in the vicinity of Boston, and was called the Ox Pasture by the early settlers, being then common land, used for pasturage by all the inhabitants. It was sometimes called The Rocks, because great ledges of rock cropped out on the top and sides. In recent times it obtained the name of Wellington Hill, from this circumstance: At the bottom of this hill lived, in the last century, Colonel Jeduthun Wellington, a somewhat prominent citizen, who was first and foremost in procuring a chartered turnpike road from Harvard Square in Cambridge to Concord, through this valley, thus making a little shorter route to Boston than the old roads through Waltham and Watertown, or Lexington and Arlington. But the turnpike must necessarily mount this hill by a very heavy grade, and, in order to induce Vermont and Southern New Hampshire travellers to take this middle route to Boston, he kept his oxen always ready to help loaded teams up the hill. Hence it became known far and near as Wellington Hill, and the railroad station, located near his residence, retained the same name till the incorporation of Belmont. The Fitchburg Railroad was built through this valley in 1845, making a depot here, and one about one

¹ This sketch of Bedford is condensed from the author's materials for a larger history now in course of preparation. — Ed.

mile towards Boston, called Hill's Crossing. Near this depot quite a village is springing up. Just one mile west another depot was built, called Waverley, about which a large village has been built, having a store, post-office, a handsome brick school-house, and a meeting-house. A branch of the same railroad passes from Waltham through the southeast part of Belmont, giving another depot, called Mount Auburn, about which another large village has risen. It lies between Mount Auburn Cemetery and Fresh Pond, having a post-office, several stores, a school-house, a large conservatory, marble-yard, and meeting-house. Much the largest village is about the central depot, where there is a meeting-house, store, post-office, high school, and grammar and intermediate school-houses. All the villages are in a thriving condition. Many of the houses are very elegant and costly. There are no manufactories in the town.

In shape, the town is somewhat like an hour-glass, the two ranges of hills making the frame, the valley easterly the bottom, resting on Spy Pond (in Arlington), Little Spy Pond, and a part of Fresh Pond, which are in this town, with a marshy meadow between them. The contracted part, near the central depot, is formed by a rocky spur of Wellington Hill and a spur from Meeting-House Hill, between which is a deep gorge, made by a stream called Hassam's Brook, having just room enough for itself and the Fitchburg Railroad. Then it expands into a meadow and sandy plain for the upper portion.

In the westerly corner of the town is an extensive meadow, most of which is in Waltham and Lexington, and anciently called Rock Meadow. It was evidently a lake during the glacial period, but was drained by cutting a channel down a rocky gorge, in which now flows a rapid stream, called Beaver Brook. It has been called Beaver Meadow by modern residents, because they have discovered the remains of a beaver-dam, showing that these industrious and sagacious animals had enjoyed a happy home there before they were disturbed by the early settlers. This brook is supplied by the watershed of the surrounding hills and numerous springs in and about the meadow. It runs southeast about half a mile, making the dividing line between this town and Waltham, then turns southwest and empties into Charles River. On this stream Thomas Agar built a fulling-mill in 1662, and in 1690 Thomas Bider built a corn-mill near it; but both have gone to decay, in consequence of the decrease of water. The eastern valley of

the town is drained by three brooks. Hassam's Brook, taking its rise in the meadows near Waverley village, runs east through the gorge with the railroad, and soon receives two other brooks, Haslett's and Frost's, coming down from Wellington Hill, when, passing entirely through the town, it unites with Menotomy River (now called Alewife Brook), which drains all three of the ponds mentioned into Mystic River.

Agriculture is the principal business of the town. Most of the inhabitants are wealthy and thriving farmers, cultivating all kinds of fruit and vegetables for the city of Boston. They manage business in the most skilful and profitable manner, in hotbeds under glass, during the winter months, in order to compete with the products of Southern climates, which rapid transportation enables Southern planters to put into Boston market in advance of our seasons. Some farmers are engaged producing milk for the city, and some in raising fancy stock.

While some of the farmers are raising lettuce, dandelions, and spinach in the month of January, others are cutting and storing vast quantities of ice from the ponds, for home use and exportation to Southern climates. For this great business our ice-merchants are indebted to the genius and enterprise of Frederick Tudor, who in the year 1805 was the first to conceive and demonstrate the practicability of shipping ice to equatorial climates.

When the town was first incorporated there was only one religious society, called the First Congregational Society, principally supported by Unitarians, and under the pastoral charge of Rev. Amos Smith, A. M., who was installed October 28, 1857. A new meeting-house had been built, and dedicated the same year. He continued with them about sixteen years, and resigned March, 1872. In October, 1873, the society installed Rev. Harvey Bates, who resigned September 18, 1876. Soon after, March 28, 1877, Rev. Ivory Waterhouse was installed, who still continues the pastor.

A meeting-house was built in the village of Waverley, and dedicated January 13, 1870, by the Orthodox Society, and Rev. J. W. Turner was installed. After his resignation, April 26, 1873, Rev. J. W. Ewell was installed, December 10, 1874, and resigned March 6, 1878. Rev. W. H. Teel was then installed, July 3, 1878, and still continues with the society. These religious societies have Sabbath schools, with libraries. In the East Village, near Mt. Auburn, the residents, being

mostly Irish Catholics, have erected a small chapel just over the border, in Watertown. This town makes liberal appropriations for the support of education. The graduated plan of the state is adopted. There are four grammar and seven intermediate and primary schools, and a high school.

Six years ago the town established a public library, which now contains 3,200 volumes; amount of annual appropriation \$700, which, with occasional donations by individuals, will form a respectable library in a few years.

The number of inhabitants at this time (1879) is about 2,400. It is worthy of record, that most of the lands in the three portions taken from the old towns to make Belmont are still held and occupied by the descendants of the original owners or grantees at the first settlement of those towns.

It appears in the histories of these towns that Watertown made the final division of land among the proprietors in the year 1636, and Cambridge in 1685. Some grantees bought out others in order to enlarge their domain, and by thrifty management held their lands for their heirs. Sometimes large estates were divided among them; sometimes one son would take the whole, paying off other heirs, and thus, by a sort of feudal tenure, have been lords of the soil for six or seven generations.

All that part taken from Waltham was a grant to Dr. Philip Shattuck, son of William of Watertown, one of the first settlers in 1630, Waltham being then part of Watertown. He was a distinguished physician, and prominent in the affairs of the town. He was frequently appointed to offices of trust and responsibility.

Lambert, progenitor of the Chenery family, first settled in Dedham, but soon removed to Watertown. His descendants of the fifth generation now occupy the estate bought of William Shattuck, a grantee, by his son John. The latter was killed by Indians in the town of Northfield.

A solitary heir, of the sixth generation from Hugh Clarke, now occupies a portion of his grant. One family of Livermores, of the sixth generation from John, are still tilling the soil of their ancestor. Several families of Brights, of the sixth generation from Deacon Henry Bright, are still cultivating the soil of his broad acres. He was owner of large tracts by purchase and by grants. A farm occupied by Samuel Barnard was granted to his ancestor John, a proprietor in 1634. One of that family, by the name of Samuel, was one of the

Boston "Tea Boys," and a major in the Revolutionary army. His cousin Jonas was also said to be one of the "Tea Boys." Several families of Stones, of the seventh and eighth generation from Deacon Simon Stone, are enjoying the fruits of lands purchased by their ancestor Moses.

On the territory taken from Arlington, formerly called Menotomy, and a part of Cambridge, are now living the descendants of the first settlers of about 1685. They were the Wellingtons, descendants of Roger of Watertown, Lockes, descendants of William of Woburn, Hills, from Abraham of Charlestown, Frosts, from Edmund of Cambridge, Prentices, from Henry of Cambridge, Richardsons, from Edward of Woburn, Perrys, from James of Charlestown, Fillebrowns, from Thomas of Cambridge.

Many individuals of all the sections have been prominent for ability and sound judgment, being frequently elected by their fellow-citizens to offices of trust in town affairs; to the General Court, and other responsible positions. Nor were they wanting in courage and patriotism in times of peril with the hostile Indians, or to risk their lives and fortunes in the Revolutionary times. In our late civil war this town furnished its quota of soldiers, fifty being citizens and twenty-three substitutes.

Among the early settlers Jeduthun Wellington, of the fifth generation from Roger, was quite conspicuous in this thinly settled region. He was considered a kind of oracle, being consulted about town affairs and in legal matters. He was often called upon to draw legal documents, being a magistrate. He was selectman for many years, and elected to the General Court from 1780 to 1806. He was a colonel of militia, and a man of great energy and strong will.

But the Hill family furnished the most distinguished character. Isaac Hill was the son of Abraham, and of the sixth generation, born April 6, 1789, in that part of Arlington set off to Belmont. He was rendered unfit for agricultural labor by lameness, caused (tradition says) by his father having thrown him downstairs, when a small boy, in a fit of insanity, to which he was occasionally subject. At fourteen he was apprenticed to the *Amherst* (N. H.) *Cabinet*. He went to Concord in 1809, purchased the *American Patriot*, changed the name to *New Hampshire Patriot*, and made it the organ of the then Republican party. It was supported by the ablest men of the party, and had a great influence for twenty years. In 1828, after filling various posts in the New Hampshire legis-

lature, he failed of an election to the United States Senate. In 1829 President Jackson appointed him Second Comptroller of the United States Treasury. He was elected United States Senator 1830 to 1836, and Governor of New Hampshire 1836 to 1839. He was Sub-Treasurer at Boston 1840 to 1841, and for a long time Pension Agent.

In 1840, with his two oldest sons, he established *Hill's New Hampshire Patriot*, which they published till 1847. He also published the *Farmers' Monthly Visitor* during the last fifteen years of his life. He died at Washington, D. C., March 20, 1851, aged sixty-three.

BILLERICA.

BY FREDERICK P. HILL.



THE little colony first established by the Puritan fathers at Salem, within ten years after the arrival of Governor Winthrop and his company had stretched itself along the shore to the northward, had touched hands with its sister colony of Plymouth, and, finding the immediate vicinity of the coast

insufficient for the wants of its increasing population, had begun settlements on the frontier, at Concord, Sudbury, and Woburn.

The country in the vicinity of the Shawshine River was prospected as early as the year 1637 by order of the General Court; and five years later¹ a grant was made to the town of Cambridge, of "all the land upon Shawshin River, and between that and Concord River, and between that and Merrimack River, soe that they erect a village there within five years, and soe as that it shall not extend to prejudice Charlestown village or y^e village at Cochittuate nor y^e farmes formerly granted to the now govenour of 1,260 acres, and to Thomas Dudley Esq^r. 1,500 acres, and 3,000 acres to Mrs. Winthrop."

Little effort was made to establish the desired settlement, and in the following year the court made an unconditional grant to Cambridge of the described territory, excepting only such lands as had previously been given to "the artilary company or others, provided the church and present Elders continue at Cambridge;" but it was not until some seven years later that the beautiful meadows and wooded hill-tops which were the

portion of Billerica began to come under the dominion of the settler's scythe and axe.

The country thus granted was called Shawshine, — said to signify meandering, — from the stream so named by the aborigines in describing its course.

It is evident, however, that the pioneers preferred the more familiar, homelike name of Billerica, in remembrance of the old town in Essex, England, whence some of them are believed to have come; for in 1650 reference was made by residents of Woburn to lands "on the east side of Billerica," and a petition from the inhabitants to the General Court in 1654, asking for a further grant of land, especially requested that the settlement might bear the name of "Billericay."

From this time the growth of the infant settlement was assured. The inhabitants were so far increased in number as to form a body politic, and adopt suitable measures for their government and the care of life and property. The earliest records of the town in existence bear date from this year, and evince by their simple and vigorous style, their wise and careful apportionment of public duties, and their regard for civil and religious rights, the sterling character of the men who founded this ancient town of Billerica.

In 1655 the inhabitants again petitioned the General Court, "requesting Immunities and freedom from all publick rates and charges at Cambridge," and that the land might belong entirely to them, for "y^e better encouragment and carrying on publick charges that will necessarily there fall out." An agreement was made between the town of Cambridge and the progressive inhabitants of the young settlement, and on the 29th of May,

¹ This renewed a grant of 1641 of similar tenor. — Ed.

1655, the court confirmed the arrangement and granted the petitioners' request.

The names of those who signed the propositions on the part of the new town were "Ralph Hill, Senr., Willm French, John Sternes, Willm pattin, George Farley, Ralph Hill, Jr., John Croe, James Parker, John Parker, Jonathan Danforth, Henry Jefts, Willm Chamberlin and Robert Parker," who were "the present inhabitants."

The territory thus granted was of great size, almost unexplored, surrounded by unknown and treacherous savages, made up of rocky hills, rank swamps, verdant meadows, rippling brooks, and slowly winding streams.

Additional grants were made to the town in 1656 of lands on the Concord River, known as the "Blood Farms," and of eight thousand acres lying at Naticott on the Merrimack. This last large tract of land was soon after sold to William Brenton, and the proceeds used to purchase the land in town owned by the non-residents.

The years immediately succeeding the incorporation the records show to be full of action. Town orders were passed regulating the division of lands, according equitable privileges on common property, fixing the rates for town and county taxes, prescribing the limitations and rights of those who wished to become inhabitants, laying out the highways, settling minor questions of where the cattle should be driven to feed, and ordering how the swine should be "yoked and rung."

Particular care was given to prepare the way for the establishment of a church and ministry. It was thought needful to protect their dearly bought privilege of freedom in state and religion, and it was agreed that "What person or persons soever propounde themselves to be granted amongst us to take of the priviledge of the comans divisions, if not knowne to us he or they shall bringe with them a sertificate from the place from whence they come such a testamoney as Shall be Satisfactory to o^r town or Selecte p^osons." This right to admit or reject a proposed inhabitant was jealously guarded for more than a century. The right of suffrage was also strictly cared for, and it was ordered that any person who should presume to give his voice or his vote in "ordering of herds, schooles, or in y^e dispose of any of o^r towne priviledges," if he were not qualified, should be subject to a fine of five shillings.

Soon after the beginning of the settlement the inhabitants bought of Thomas Dudley, their hon-

ored ex-governor, the land which had been given him by the General Court, consisting of fifteen hundred acres; and this tract was taken as a basis, or measure, to reckon from in the distribution of meadows, woodlands, and other rights.

No person was permitted to take from the common land more than one twelfth part of this farm, to consist of one hundred and thirteen acres of upland and twelve of meadow; and only such persons as owned a share or less were termed proprietors with the right to general distribution. It was agreed, also, that the land owned by any inhabitant should not be sold or given away, even to his children, without the consent of the town; thus more perfectly to secure the peace and safety of their little community. Besides the grants mentioned there had been given, before the settlement, extensive farms to Harvard College, the church of Cambridge, Mr. Richard Daniel, Mr. Thomas Oakes, and other prominent men of the time.

It was in the vicinity of these farms, on the borders of the pleasant Shawshine, that the first settlers had erected their simple homes. But now, in properly laying out the town, the high land overlooking the placid waters of the Concord—in the Indian, Musketaquid, or river of the grass-ground—was chosen, and time has proved the wisdom of the selection. Billerica then was of great size, including within its bounds the present town of Tewksbury, portions of Bedford and Carlisle, and that part of Lowell called Belvidere; yet the "township," so distinguished for the reservation of home-lots, was of comparatively small extent. It was laid out from the north line of Mr. Dudley's farm, the boundary of which is still known by the name of Churustaff Lane, and followed the course of the Concord about one mile, the river forming its western boundary. The common land spread beyond its northern and eastern limits, there being about one square mile in the home municipality.

The principal surveyor was Jonathan Danforth, although Ralph Hill, Sr., George Farley, and others occasionally made surveys. Danforth was one of the esteemed fathers of the town, a man of eminent ability, of rare and sincere Christianity. To him, perhaps more than to any other, was the town indebted in those early days for wise and discriminating judgment and devotion to its affairs.

The town lots having been divided and homesteads built, the choice of a minister was the next important matter to be decided. The inhabitants, in 1658, made provision for building a house for

the minister, and suitable allotments of land, both for the ministry as glebe, and as a gift in settlement, were carefully reserved. The house was built under the direction of John Parker, one of the most honored citizens, and among the charges fifteen shillings were paid "to Henry Jests for briks 300 for y^e minister's Chimley."

The choice of a minister fell upon the Rev. Samuel Whiting, a young man fresh from Harvard College, cultured, pious, and animated with the divine spirit of liberty. The invitation to Mr. Whiting was cheerfully accepted, and an agreement was made between the freemen, nineteen in number, and himself to settle him with them. A liberal arrangement was made for his support, — £40 for the first two years, £50 for the second two, £60 for the third; and they further promised "to better his maintenance as the Lord should better the estates of his people." This was no idle promise, for the next year it was "agreed by the major p^r of the Towne that Mr. Whiting shall have £50 for this yere for his maintenance and caring down corne and makinge a well and hovall for his catell: which is 10 £ more than o^r agreement."

In the autumn of that year he came to live among them, and continued in his sacred office beloved and revered by all, until his decease, a period of over fifty years.

During the first few months it is supposed that the preaching was in private houses; but in 1659 the inhabitants agreed "that there shall be a meetinge house built: this winter follinge: thirty foote Longe: and: twenty and foure foot wide: and twelve foot hige: and the studs to be 3 foot asunder: the sides and eands shall be covered wth bords: and the Roof wth thatch." The location selected was a little east of the present edifice of this venerable parish, the land having once been granted to Captain Daniel Gookin, superintendent of the Indians, but exchanged by him for a farm in the southern part of the town. The meeting-house was built, therefore, in the winter of 1660, but it was not until the 27th of April, 1663, that the church was regularly organized, "when y^e Counsell of Elders and messingers from other churches" were present, and not until November 11, nearly seven months later, that the ceremony of ordination was performed, and the pastor solemnly installed after the simple but impressive manner of the Puritan faith.

A decade had passed since the morning greeted the smoke from the first hearth-places in the valleys of the Shawshine and Concord, and the records

give evidence that the residents had made many improvements in civil and religious affairs. Every freeman was made to feel his personal responsibility in the conduct of business, and a penalty of one shilling was ordered for non-attendance at each town-meeting, which was set for the "first second day" of every month, "to begin: about the sunn one our and a halfe hy." In 1657 John Parker had been "aprooved Clarke of y^e Writts." The next year William Tay was chosen town-clerk; and in the succeeding year Jonathan Danforth was ordered to keep the town's books. He continued for about twenty years to perform the duties of clerk, greatly to the advantage of all who have followed him in that office. Although it is probable that selectmen, or "townsmen," as they were frequently called, were chosen prior to 1660, no record of the fact is extant until that year, when John Parker, Lieutenant William French, Ralph Hill, Sr., Thomas Foster, and Jonathan Danforth were "chosen Selectmen for y^e yere ensuinge."

In the course of the next year the difficult question of seating the people in the meeting-house was settled, and it was agreed that "y^e Towne doe apoynt Left. William French: and John Parker, Ralph Hill, senr., and William Tay to sitt in y^e Deacons Seate and also y^e Towne doe apoynte and impower these four men joynd wth Mr. Whitinge to apoynt y^e reste of y^e inhabitantes and proprietors, there severall places where they shall sitt in y^e meetinge house, accordinge to there best discretions." The method followed far into the next century was to seat according to age and the amount of rates paid, giving to age the preference.

With that regard for the morals of their children characteristic of the Puritans, the fathers of the town ordered "y^e Leiftenent Willm French: and Ralph Hill senr., doe take care and examin the sever^{al} families in o^r town, whether: there children and Servantes, are Taught: in y^e precepts of: reldigion in readinge and Larninge there Caticise according to y^e law of y^e cuntry," — and from time to time this injunction was repeated.

Very soon after the first locating a military company was organized, of which all able-bodied men between the ages of sixteen and sixty were members. In 1660 "Simon Burd: was sworne: Clarke of o^r Trayne bande, by Captin Gookin," and a slight fine was imposed for "not trayning" upon persons who were absent on the regular field days. The higher officers were appointed by the General Court, and it was considered a great



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honor to receive a commission; but the subordinate officers were usually elected by the towns: thus, in 1661 "Thomas Foster was chosen Eldest Corporall, George Harley, corporall, Samuell Kempe Drumer and Willm Hamlitt Clarke," of the company here. The titles, once given, were generally borne through life. The officers wore swords, and carried partisans, sometimes known as leading-staves. The sergeants bore halberds, and the common soldiers muskets with matchlocks, besides a pair of bandoleers, or powder-pouches, for each soldier. In nearly all trainbands there were some pikemen, who were the tallest men in the company. They carried pikes, the handles of which were of wood ten feet in length, and defensive armor was worn by them, ordinarily consisting of "a sufficient corselet, buff coat, or quilted coat."

The records of the town in the ten years which had passed show that the Concord and Shawshine rivers had been well arched with substantial bridges; that known as the "Great Bridge" over the Concord having first been built near the "Fordway" previous to 1658. It was removed farther up the stream a few years after, and again, at a later period still, to its present site. Saw and grist mills were very early built, not only on both rivers, but on various small brooks in different parts of the town. To guard the heavy slumbers of the tired workers in the village, a watch was ordered to patrol nightly whenever there seemed to be danger of invasion from the dreaded savages.

Few, if any, of the faded records of these primitive days have more interest than the one bearing the simple statement that on April 10, 1663, Ralph Hill, Sr., gave to the town half of an acre of land "for a burying place." The little flock had already lost some of its precious ones,—the first death being that of Hannah Foster, daughter of Henry and Mary Foster, which occurred early in May, 1653. In less than three weeks after making the gift of this land to the town the aged and esteemed donor closed his earthly existence.

The South Burial-Ground, as it is called, enlarged by numerous additions, is yet a sunny, old-fashioned place of rest, where the brown thrush builds her nest unmolested, and where the squirrel leaps nimbly over the rustic, vine-clad walls.

A score of years had elapsed since the organization of the town, and nothing had disturbed the profound peace and security of the little hamlet; but now, when the fruits of their arduous exertions were beginning to ripen, the settlers were thrown

into alarm and peril by the sudden uprising throughout the borders of the colony of the Indians, under the leadership of Philip, the powerful chief of the Pokanokets, the ruling mind of the New England tribes. The horrors of that dreadful time are familiarly known through the medium of song and story; but while the bare record is still sufficient to blanch the cheek, what imagination can adequately portray the terrors of that dark season to the scattered and remote settlements where the rustling of the wind through the leafless boughs of winter, the accidental report of firearms, the very aspect of the clouds at nightfall,—all warned the awe-struck people of the manifold cruelties of the savage foe? The people of this town, living in the immediate vicinity of the Wamesits,—a considerable tribe who were located near the confluence of the Concord and Merrimack rivers,—were especially affected by the solemn forebodings of danger. The Wamesit Indians, it is true, under the chieftaincy of Passaconaway and his son Wannalancet had proved themselves the friends of the white men in the past; but now, while the emissaries of Philip were rallying the tribes to a last desperate resistance, little faith could be placed in their amity. It is but just to them to say, however, that it is believed they were generally true to the English. On St. John's day, in 1675, Philip began his ravages. The people of this town, imbued with fear, instantly resorted to such means of defence as were in their power. The outlying farms were deserted, the harvest-fields untouched by the sickle, and all gathered in the neighborhood of the village for better protection.

At a public meeting held on the 13th of August the town passed the following vote: "The Towne, Considering the providence of god at the p'sent calling us to lay aside our ordinary occations in providing for our creatures and to take Speciall care for the p'serving of our lives and the lives of our wives and children: the enemye being near: and the warninge by god's providence upon our neighbors being very Sollemne and awfulle: do therefore order and agree joynly to prepare a place of Safty for women and children and that all persons and teames shall attend y^e said worke untill it be finished."

The houses best adapted for defensive purposes—some of which are yet standing—were immediately fortified, and the families were assigned their proper places at the different garrisons.

These were the houses of Ralph Hill, Jr., Thomas Foster, Simon Crosby, Thomas Patten, James Patterson, James Kidder, Jonathan Danforth, Jacob French, George Farley, Timothy Brooks, and Rev. Mr. Whiting, whose house was "to bee y^e maine garrison, and y^e last refuge in case of extremity." Mr. Richard Daniel and Mr. Job Lane, "being very remote from neighbors," were allowed to fortify themselves, and be freed from the general expense. Mr. Lane was promised "two soldiers if the country could spare them." There were, it would appear, at this time eighty-two men who were counted as soldiers, including twenty-one from the militia sent to the town's assistance.

Although the people did not suffer as some others did, yet at least one engagement occurred with predatory Indians on a hill in the northern part of the town; and at the attack on Quaboag, now Brookfield, Timothy Farley, a native of Billerica, was killed. At the same time Corporal John French was wounded, and in after years the town, "in consideration of that weakness as to his wounds in his country's service" abated his taxes, gave him a more prominent place in the meeting-house, and allowed his wife to occupy a seat "in the front gallery, with Mrs. Foster and those women placed there."

In 1676 Philip advanced the line of desolation yet nearer to this town. In the early spring the town of Lancaster was destroyed, and Groton, Marlborough, Sudbury, and other settlements ravaged. Chelmsford was also attacked, and it is said that two houses were burned in Billerica on the 10th of March.

Again, on Sunday, the 9th of April, while the people were assembled in their meeting-house, the Indians "beset Billerica round about," and, firing upon the people as they came from their worship, killed one person. The inhabitants instantly rallied, and, under the brave leadership of Rev. Mr. Whiting, succeeded in driving off the foe. Thus were the towns-people filled with excitement and anxiety through those troubled months.

The war, fortunately, was not a long one; and the death of Philip effectually terminated this bloody struggle.

In 1677 the town was divided by order of the General Court into tithing districts, and Joseph Walker, George Farley, Joseph Tompson, Richard Hassett, and Samuel Manning were appointed the tithing-men. The year following, Richard Hassett was ordered "to inspect the young lads on y^e Sab-

bath days, those of them that sit below in y^e meeting-house," and irksome it must have been for irrepressible boyhood to be the subject of such particular attention.

For several years the old meeting-house had been found to be too small for the needs of the now fast growing town, the records giving every few years long lists of new freemen who took "y^e oath of fidelity." Still, the cost of a new meeting-house would bear heavily on the slender means of the people, so it was agreed to build galleries, and otherwise to improve the old house, which was done in 1679. The building was used for worship until 1694, when a new edifice was erected.

Some idea of the condition of the town in 1680 may be formed from the return made to the county court for that year, wherein it is stated that "the number of families able to bare up publicke charges is about fivety, the number of aged Helpless, y^e widdowes and poor persons that want reliefe is ten, the annuall allowance to our revered pastor is seventy pound P^{a} affm, in Country pay: as for schooles, wee have no gramer schooles, ensigne Tompson is appointed to teach those to write and read that will come to him, also several women, Schoole Dames. As for young p^ons and inmates we know of none amongst us but are orderly." As a portion of this generous salary in country pay allowed Mr. Whiting, he was to receive one pound of butter for every milch cow in town. There were then about one hundred and fifty cows in various herds, all under the care of "keepers." Feeling, perhaps, that the original owners of the soil had not been quite fairly treated, the whites purchased of them, in 1684, their title at four Indian meetings.

In the same year Jonathan Danforth was chosen a deputy to a "speciall General Court." The town had occasionally sent deputies before this to represent them in particular cases, but in the early years of the settlement Humphrey Davie, Esq., of Boston, had generally served them in that capacity, and the town had gratefully acknowledged his service by the present of a "fatt beast," bought with some of the town's land. From this time representatives were regularly chosen.

The second Indian attack on this town occurred on the 1st of August, 1692, during King William's War. The records are extremely meagre; but it is known that six persons were killed, — Ann, the wife of Zachary Shed, and two children, Agnes and Hannah; Joanna, the wife of Benjamin Dutton,

and two of her children by a previous marriage, named Mary and Benoni Dunkin.

Far more exciting, however, to the people of those days than even the horrors of Indian warfare were the awful and tragical scenes enacting throughout the neighboring county of Essex, particularly in the vicinity of Salem Village. The terrible delusion that hung like a pall over the people of New England, known as the witchcraft mania, shadowed within its sombre folds some unfortunate victims who had once been happy residents of this pleasant, tranquil village. Stories of sorcery, of midnight carousals

"Amongst horrid shapes, and shrieks, and sights unholy!"

filled with terror the simple and imaginative minds of the country folk. There were those who declared they had seen the forms of witches crossing and recrossing the waters of the Concord, in the neighborhood of the old mill at the falls; and with the mill itself were long connected certain dark and mysterious legends.

The family of Thomas Carrier, which had recently removed hence to Andover was arrested, and the mother, Mrs. Martha Carrier, was executed for witchcraft. Thomas Carrier, otherwise known as Morgan, was a native of Wales. He was admitted an inhabitant of Billerica in 1677, having previously been refused, although he had lived in town several years. His marriage with Martha Allen was solemnized by General Gookin, May 7, 1664. The members of his family arrested, besides his wife, were four children; and Mrs. Carrier's sister, Mrs. Toothaker, and her daughter, of this town, were also imprisoned. The children were obliged to testify against their mother; but "her two sons refused to perjure themselves till they had been tied neck and heels so long that the blood was ready to gush from them."

Besides the Carrier family, Rebecca, the wife of William Chamberlain, and John Durant, both of Billerica, died in prison at Cambridge, where they were incarcerated for the supposed crime of witchcraft.

Nearly twenty years after this fearful deception the General Court authorized the payment of a sum of money to the heirs of those who had suffered, and "Goody Carrier's" descendants were rewarded with the munificent amount of £7 6s.

The third and final attack by Indians on Billerica occurred during King William's War, on the 5th of August, 1695. Several families living

in the northern part of the town, knowing the Wamets to be friendly, had felt but little apprehension of an invasion. On the day named a number of horsemen were seen approaching, but "were not suspected for Indians till they surprised the house they came to." They entered the house,—that of John Rogers,—and finding him reposing on the bed, instantly fired an arrow at him. He woke with a start, withdrew the weapon, and expired. One woman, who was in the chamber, jumped from the window and made her escape. Another woman was scalped and left for dead, but recovered and lived to old age. Two of Mr. Rogers's family, a son and daughter, were taken captives. Another family, that of John Leviston, was almost utterly destroyed, six persons being killed and one captured. Dr. Roger Toothaker's wife was killed, and his daughter taken prisoner. In all, ten persons were murdered and five carried away into the wilderness on this memorable day. The Indians—supposed to be Abenakis—were pursued by troops from the Centre, who did not succeed in overtaking the wily foe. It was said that the savages had even tied up the mouths of the dogs, for fear of betrayal by their barking.

This pathetic statement occurs in the town records: "Aug. 5, 1695.—This day we received that awfull stroke by the enemy.—More sad than we met withall three years before when we met upon the occasion."

The eighteenth century dawned brightly for the people of this town. The mists of superstition—the barbarities of savage life—were to be things of the past. The state of society was henceforth to become more settled, and the arts and industries of peace were now to be greater objects of care.

The fathers of the town, however,—those who yet remained of the first hardy company,—were, before the first score of years had closed, nearly all gathered into the silent communion of the sleeping. Among them was the revered pastor, whose death occurred on the last day of February, 1712.

In the same year the wise and good Jonathan Danforth died. His eminent ability, his unaffected piety, have been the theme of the historian and of the poet.

Near the close of Mr. Whiting's life the inhabitants of the town engaged the Rev. Samuel Rugles to serve as his colleague. He was ordained in May, 1708, and remained at his charge, a faithful, sincere pastor, for more than forty years. At his death the town defrayed the expense of his

funeral, and erected a monumental stone to his memory.

The Billerica of a century and a half ago must have presented a very pleasing appearance. Along the lines of the main highways leading to Chelmsford, Concord, Woburn, and Andover the settlers' primitive houses of logs, unhewn and mud-chinked, had given place to well-framed houses, built of heavy oak beams, and covered with pine clapboards or shingles. Large barns for the storage of the harvest, substantial walls and fences, corn-ricks, and monstrous haystacks, all showed the results of hard labor, but were conclusive signs of prosperity. The plain little meeting-house already gave proof by its crowded state on days of worship that a newer and larger edifice was needed. Around it were clustered the brown homesteads of the villagers, whose latticed windows gleamed a welcome at nightfall, and where, beside the cosey ingle-nook, the aged grandsire dreamed of the days of his youth. One of these landmarks, the house that sheltered Danforth, still defies the ravages of time.

The daily wants of these frugal folk were simple, and were supplied almost wholly by the products of their farms. These showed broad fields of grain, principally corn and rye.

Orchards of apple-trees were early planted, and the fruit was found to attain a size and flavor unknown in England. Within the memory of persons now living a giant pear-tree stood in the garden of the James Kidder place. It was cut down forty years ago, and was then known to have borne fruit for one hundred and sixty years.

In the streams, shad and alewives were so abundant that in the spring they were forced far up the small brooks, whence they were taken to be used for enriching the land.

In their dress the people were simple, and accustomed to spin and weave the necessary cloth in their own homes. The laws of the colony prohibited many articles of wearing apparel that now might be considered needful; but it was probably little hardship then to give up the use of "lace and other superfluities, short sleeves, or sleeves more than half an ell wide, immoderate great breeches, knots of ribbon, broad shoulder bands and vails, double cuffs and ruffs," and the rest of the prescribed list.

From the beginning of the century until 1765, when the mutterings of the coming storm could be heard even in the most retired hamlets, the years were crowded full of active life. In the wars of

Queen Anne and George II. the men of Billerica were found at the post of duty. Benjamin Kidder, a native of this town, was among those who died at the capture of Louisburg in 1745. He had been wounded during the raid of the famous Captain Lovewell, a score of years before, in which affair the town was also represented by Jonathan Kittredge, who was slain in the engagement, by Solomon Keyes, who had an almost miraculous escape, and by Ensign Seth Wyman, who, though not a native, was closely connected with Billerica by his marriage with the daughter of Thomas Ross. He was one of the family of Wymans whose farms lay partly in Woburn and partly in Billerica, and an old ballad of the day thus describes him at that terrible fight:—

"Seth Wyman who in Woburn lived,
(A marksman he of courage true,)
Shot the first Indian whom they saw,
Sheer thro' his heart the bullet flew."

The town was represented in the contest known as the French and Indian War of 1755, and in a sortie from Fort William Henry, Lieutenant Simon Godfrey of Billerica was killed.

Within the town time had wrought its inevitable changes. In 1738 a new meeting-house was built, with galleries, square pews, and a sounding-board; and there are some among us whose memory can recall the time when it was filled to overflowing with young and old; when the galleries were occupied by trim lasses and sturdy lads, who trilled and quavered through the fugues of the melodious old hymns then in favor.

In 1747, Rev. Mr. Ruggles having become enfeebled by age, Mr. John Chandler of Andover, who had previously taught school here, was ordained as colleague, and after the death of Mr. Ruggles he continued to perform the duties of minister until his dismissal, which occurred in 1760. He appears to have been a man of good understanding and excellent education; but a slight cloud rested over his labors, in consequence of certain charges of levity; "some being dissatisfied at y^e chearful behav^r of y^e Pastor at y^e bringing of a second Wife into his house." He consequently asked for a dismission, which was granted, with "a free forgiveness of every past offence." He resided in town, occasionally preaching and performing other clerical offices until his death, November 10, 1762. After the removal of Mr. Chandler, the church was without a settled pastor for several years; but on the 26th of January, 1763, the Rev.

Henry Cumings, a young graduate of Harvard, was ordained to the ministry of this town and parish, and for upwards of sixty years the sacred office was held by him to the greatest satisfaction of his charge.

The town was shorn of a portion of its land in 1729 by the incorporation of Bedford, and five years later Tewksbury was taken almost wholly from Billerica. The last division occurred in 1783, when a strip of territory was assigned to Carlisle.

The material wealth of the town just before the Revolution had much increased since the opening of the century. Many influential families located here during that period. The descendants of the first settlers, by the natural results of their industry and economy, were become among the leading people. In 1785, there were rather more than thirteen hundred persons in town, fourteen of the number being negroes, all, or nearly all, held in slavery.

In freeing his slave, "Simon Negro," in 1693, the Rev. Mr. Whiting set the first example on record in Massachusetts, it is believed, of the manumission of a slave. Nevertheless, his beneficent act was not greatly imitated, for through the score or more years before the Revolution colored bondmen were owned in Billerica. The ancient records of the First Parish contain many such curious passages as the following:—

"Nelly y^e daughter of Lydia York, y^e negro slave of y^e widow Hannah Bowers was baptized at y^e desire and on y^e account of its Mistress, May 24, 1752." In the town records for 1772 there is mentioned the "manumittance of a negro child named Flora," by John and Esther Nickles, in consideration of twenty pounds from Penelope Vassall of Cambridge, whose servant Tony was father of the child. Among the poor people harbored in town for a number of years was a family of French Neutrals from Acadia.

Much attention was paid to maintaining good schools, and they were regularly kept, a grammar school at the Centre, and a "squadron" school for the outlying districts. The masters were well paid, and were usually men of learning. Among them were Jonathan Kidder, Stephen Shattuck, and Jonathan Frye; the first named, a native of the town, graduated at Harvard in the class of 1751.

It does not belong to us to rehearse the great events of the Revolution; the immediate sentiments and actions of this town are more pertinent

to our sketch. Here, as elsewhere, the most ardent patriots were the men of education and character, such as the Rev. Mr. Cumings, Colonel William Tompson, Captain Ebenezer Bridge, Enoch Kidder, Esq., Captain Jonathan Bowers, and their compatriots.

The infamous "Writs of Assistance," the obnoxious Stamp Act, and other measures having aroused the indignation of the people, they assembled on the 21st of December, 1767, and after considering the distressed and impoverished state of the country, with the belief that the encouragement of home industry was a duty, they unanimously agreed that after the 31st of that month they would neither use nor import goods of British manufacture.

On the 21st day of September, 1768, the town assembled to consider the "Critical state of our public affairs, more especially the present precarious Situation of our Invaluable Rights and privileges civil and Religious," and William Stickney, Esq., was chosen to attend the convention to be held the next day at Faneuil Hall. In the succeeding years meetings were frequently held, all expressive of the most profound solicitude in the political situation. The resolutions and reports of these meetings elicit our admiration for the patriots who framed them.

In 1774 the town voted concerning the tax on tea. It was declared to be "an artful piece of Policy for accomplishing wicked and Base Purposes," and "ought to be treated with the utmost abhorrence and Detestation by every one who has the least Regard for the Preservation of the Liberty and Virtue of America." The "Liberty of America!" was henceforth to be the watchword. The tone of the succeeding resolutions indicates this very forcibly.

The Boston Port Bill was vigorously attacked, and the people unanimously agreed that "the Blow Struck at Boston is aimed at the Province in General, and is a Prelude to something further, Equally Vindictive;" they also voted to support the people of Boston, to "strengthen them to the utmost of our power, and to join with them in any measures that shall be Judged expedient for our Common Safety and Defence." On the 22d of September, 1774, they voted "that our Representative pay no Regard to the King's new Mandamus Council," and that "if the Governor should Dissolve, prorogue, or adjourn the court, that our Representative join the house in forming themselves into a pro-

vincial Congress." Besides passing resolutions, the town took early and decided measures to be ready for instant action. The militia was arranged, and a new company of minute-men was formed. The militia and the minute-men were both to train one day each week. Arms of all kinds were very difficult to obtain, and the rusty old swords and firelocks, with bloody bayonets that had seen service in the Indian wars, were brought out and burnished anew.

On the 8th. of March, 1775, Thomas Ditson, Jr., one of the minute-men, went to Boston to sell a load of vegetables, and, if possible, to procure a gun. He was decoyed by a soldier into the barracks, and while endeavoring to purchase a gun, the cry was raised that "a rebel was tempting a soldier to desert." Ditson was immediately seized, tarred and feathered, and drawn through the streets in the midst of a mob of soldiery belonging to the 47th regiment. Finally, when under the famous Liberty Tree, he was allowed to depart. It is said that on this occasion the world-renowned tune of Yankee Doodle was first sung in mockery to English words:—

"Yankee Doodle came to town,
For to buy a firelock.
We will tar and feather him,
And so we will John Hancock."

This outrage created great indignation in Billerica. The selectmen wrote and went to Boston to demand satisfaction, and declared further, that, if such a thing were repeated, they should "hereafter use a different style from that of petition and complaint."

On the 19th of April the alarm was early given in Billerica, and her men marched to the support of their comrades at Concord. The minute-men, fifty-four in number, were under the command of Captain Jonathan Stickney. One company of the militia, of thirty-five men, was under the command of Captain Edward Farmer; the other, of twelve men, was commanded by Lieutenant Oliver Crosby. On the retreat from Concord, our troops met the British, and John Nichols and Timothy Blanchard were wounded; while in the rout at Lincoln, Nathaniel Wyman, a native of Billerica, was killed. He sleeps with his fellow-martyrs in the old graveyard at Lincoln. Lieutenant Asa Spaulding, one of the minute-men, that day observed a "red-coat" about to fire upon him from behind a tree. Instantly his own gun was raised, and the soldier fell, mortally wounded. In the course of an engagement Lieu-

tenant Spaulding captured one of the British, and brought him to Billerica, where he was regarded for some time as a great curiosity. Fears for the safety of John Hancock and Samuel Adams, who were in Lexington, induced them to remove for the day, and they were hospitably entertained at the house of Mr. Amos Wyman, of this town, near the Burlington line.

The startling events of this day caused the greatest excitement throughout the town; and thenceforward, until the close of the war, the records teem with acts, orders and resolutions, charges and accounts, all relating to the great conflict. In May, Ebenezer Bridge, the first captain of the minute-men, was chosen colonel of the 27th regiment in the Massachusetts army.

In the ever-memorable battle of Bunker Hill, Asa Pollard of this town was killed by a cannon-ball from the ship Somerset, lying off Charlestown, and the manner of his death is thus described by Colonel William Prescott: "He was so near me that my clothes were besmeared with his blood and brains, which I wiped off in some degree with a handful of fresh earth. The sight was so shocking to many of the men, that they left their posts and ran to view him. I then ordered him to be buried instantly. A subaltern officer expressed surprise that I should allow him to be buried without having prayers said. I replied, 'This is the first man that has been killed, and the only one that will be buried to-day. God only knows who or how many of us will fall before it is over.'" Besides Asa Pollard, Samuel Hill, Benjamin Easty, Timothy Toothaker, and Benjamin Wilson were killed,—all of this town; and Colonel Bridge was wounded, with many others, on this bloody day.

On the 23d of May, 1776,—six weeks before the Declaration of Independence,—the following bold and expressive resolution was unanimously passed by the citizens: "*Resolved*, That if the Hon^{ble} Congress should, for the Safety of the Colonies, Declare them Independent of Great Britain, they, the said Inhabitants, will Engage with their lives and fortunes to support them." Such was the sentiment shown until victory and freedom were secured.

The outbreak known as Shays' Rebellion, in 1786, called out Captain Jonathan Stickney's company, which marched to guard the Court at Cambridge.

In 1779 the Rev. Mr. Cumings was chosen a delegate to attend the convention for forming a

state constitution, and a few years later Colonel William Thompson represented the town in the convention that adopted the Constitution of the United States. From that time the arts of peace once more began to flourish, and the wasted farms and industries soon took on the vigor of a new existence.

In ecclesiastical matters the town has been well favored. Just before the new century came in the present handsome structure of the First Parish was erected. It was much improved in 1844, when it was turned partly around. The bell which was given to the town by Billerica in England was accidentally broken the previous year.

In 1814, the Rev. Dr. Cumings having become enfeebled by age, a colleague was given him, the Rev. Nathaniel Whitman being ordained to that position. The period of ten years following was one of great religious interest. The promulgation of the Unitarian belief then became more pronounced, and Dr. Cumings and Mr. Whitman both took ground with the new school. Since that time the church has been Unitarian in faith. Dr. Cumings died on the 5th of September, 1823, at the advanced age of eighty-four years. Mr. Whitman remained as pastor until 1835, when he was dismissed at his own request, leaving many warm friends who yet remember his piety and virtue. He was followed by various clergymen of culture and ability,—the Rev. W. E. Abbot, the Rev. T. H. Dorr, the Rev. James Thurston, and others, until 1866, when the society secured the services of the Rev. C. C. Hussey, who continues the honored pastor of this ancient and thoroughly vigorous parish.

In 1828 a Baptist society was formed, which worshipped for a few years in the "Fordway" school-house. At a later period the meeting-house, first erected near the "Great Bridge," was removed to its present beautiful location in the central village. The church has had a succession of excellent pastors since the first incumbent, Rev. J. W. Sargeant. Rev. E. T. Lyford has accepted a call to this parish. In 1829 another church was organized on the Trinitarian Congregational creed, and its house of worship, also at the Centre, was dedicated early the next year. It is at present without a pastor. Universalist and Methodist societies were formed in 1842 and in 1854 respectively. Their existence was short, the Universalist soon uniting with the Unitarian. By the efforts of citizens of North Billerica, a second Baptist society was

formed there a few years ago, and, greatly by the aid of an esteemed resident, they were enabled to build their charming little church edifice. The Rev. Nathaniel L. Colby is the minister in charge of this enterprising parish.

The only other religious organization in the town at present is that of the Roman Catholics, whose modest structure is pleasantly located near the same village.

In educational as in religious affairs, Billerica has ever held a position not unworthy of the general progress of the hour. Since the days of the venerable "schoole dames" and of Master Thompson, through the "squadrons" under Frye and Kidder, the children of the town have been well taught. In 1797 the celebrated Dr. Ebenezer Pemberton removed hither, and opened an academy for the instruction of youth, which continued ten years, greatly to the improvement of learning. Another institution was incorporated early in 1820, and for sixteen years the Billerica Academy flourished. These seminaries numbered among their students at different times many who have since become famous. The names of Rev. Joseph Richardson, Judge Henry C. Whitman, Hon. Thomas G. Cary, George Bruce Upton, George H. Preston, Abram B. Thompson, M. D., Hon. Josiah B. French, Joseph F. Hill, M. D., Hon. Onslow Stearns, and others will ever be held in esteem by the citizens of this town. In 1852 the now widely known Howe School was founded upon the bequest of the lamented physician, Dr. Zadock Howe. This institution, under the preceptorship of Mr. Samuel Tucker, A. M., is in a healthful and progressive state.

The public schools of the town are ten in number, of which two are grammar schools. They are well taught, as a rule,—the teachers being young women of good education and social standing.

The town is yet wanting in one important department of learning; there is no public library. It is to be hoped that there will be one in the near future. There are, however, six society or association libraries in town, numbering more than two thousand volumes, with a yearly circulation of over twelve thousand.

It is an interesting fact that from the very first settlement of the place some attention has always been directed to industrial pursuits considered separately from the general vocation of agriculture. Scarcely three years after the incorporation of the town the freemen allowed certain privileges to the "minerall company on fox hill, the south cande

thereof," and it is known that John Sheldon soon had a "siller forge." The building of saw and grist mills has been mentioned. A fulling-mill was early in operation on the Concord, to which the farmers carried their homespun cloth to be made more serviceable.

In 1708 a grant was made to Christopher Osgood of water privileges at the falls on the Concord. Years after the place was known as Carleton's mills, then as Richardson's. It became, in 1793, the property of the Middlesex Canal Company, who sold, in 1811, a portion of the water-power and some of the mill property to the late Francis Faulkner. He continued the business of dyeing and finishing cloth previously carried on, and also immediately began the manufacture of woollen cloth. Mr. Faulkner was one of the first woollen manufacturers in the country.

The property, greatly enlarged and improved, has been for many years owned by the firm of James B. Faulkner and Company. In 1851 the Canal Company sold the remainder of their rights and property to Messrs. Charles P. and Thomas Talbot, who had already begun the manufacture of dye-stuffs and chemicals in the vicinity. They have erected large and costly mills for the manufacture of woollen goods, besides vastly increasing and improving their old works. With the other prominent company they have had the pleasure of seeing the little hamlet of thirty years ago grow into the flourishing village of North Billerica.

At South Billerica, at the outlet of Nutting Pond, is the mill privilege of Messrs. Charles H. Hill and Company, who manufacture improved machinery, among the varieties being the celebrated machine for splitting leather, the invention of Major Samuel Parker, a native of this town. The glue-factory of Messrs. F. and J. Jaquith, and another for making fine cabinet furniture, of Messrs. A. H. Patten and Company, are the other distinctively manufacturing establishments in Billerica. The total capital invested in manufactures in Billerica, according to the best advices, amounts to \$516,910, and the estimated value of the annual production reaches \$1,287,610.

Intimately associated with the development of manufactures and the growth of the town, which now numbers about 1,900 inhabitants, have been the means of communication with the metropolis, eighteen miles distant.

The Middlesex Canal Company began operations in 1804. The canal passed through the eastern

part of the town, the water being drawn from the Concord River at North Billerica. The opening of the Boston and Lowell Railroad in 1835 superseded its use. There are now two stations on the road named, in the town; one at East, and the other at North Billerica.

The residents of the central and southern portions of the town, feeling the need of better accommodations in travelling, organized, in 1877, the Billerica and Bedford Railroad Company. The road was opened for travel in the autumn of the same year. It is but two feet in gauge, yet well and handsomely equipped and very generally popular. Taken in all,—its length being only about eight miles, or from Bedford to North Billerica,—it is probably the smallest passenger railroad in the world, and has naturally excited considerable attention. Unfortunately the company was obliged to enter bankruptcy; but measures are taking to re-organize, and it is expected that the road will soon be in successful operation.

In its agricultural aspects the town has made some changes in the century. It is still, however, eminently a farming town, although much more attention is paid now than formerly to horticulture and market-gardening.

The citizens celebrated in 1855, with much pomp, the two hundredth anniversary of the incorporation of the town, and the address on the occasion was given by her honored son, Rev. Joseph Richardson, many years pastor at Hingham.

In 1876, on the Centennial Independence Day, Rev. Elias Nason, resident here, delivered an oration before the assembled inhabitants, in which he vividly contrasted the social life of a century ago with that of to-day.

There stands in the beautiful village of Billerica, under the ever-changing shadows of mighty elms, a statue, carved in northern granite,—the figure of a Union soldier at rest.

Of one hundred and thirty-three brave men who left their homes in Billerica during the Rebellion, twenty fell in the sacred cause of liberty. Their names are: Albert E. Farmer, John C. Stewart, Edward A. Adams, Stephen H. Parker, William S. Collins, William Hayes, Charles A. Saunders, Pollard B. Shumway, Franklin Hannaford, Denis Buckley, George C. Gilman, James Shields, Reuben J. Gilman, James T. Edmunds, Asa John Patten, Joseph F. Richardson, Thomas H. Maxwell, Charles N. Fletcher, Ward Locke, and Edwin W. Huse.

In reviewing the lengthy record of this town's existence, it would doubtless be interesting to narrate the story of the lives of some who must be passed over; but it perhaps will be sufficient to refer to the families of Parker, Crosby, Hill, Thompson, Kidder, Bowers, Stickney, Richardson, Abbot, Baldwin, Rogers, Whitman, Locke, Bennett, Preston, and Faulkner in order to understand what a shining roll could be made of names historic in religion, law, medicine, and literature, and in military, mechanical, and mercantile affairs.

First in point of time, the Rev. Samuel Whiting is eminent by his works and the beneficence of his career. He was the oldest son of the Rev. Samuel Whiting of Lynn, by a second marriage with Elizabeth, the daughter of the Rt. Hon. Oliver St. John, Lord Chief Justice of England in Cromwell's time. He was born about the year 1632, probably at Skirbick, near Boston, in Lincolnshire, England, at that time his father's place of residence.

The cause of the Puritans found an ardent supporter in the elder Whiting, who removed with his family at an early day to this country, where he became minister of the church of Lynn. His son Samuel soon entered Harvard, graduating in 1653. Three years later the young student of divinity was married to Dorcas Chester, at Watertown, on the 12th of November, 1656, and having completed his theological course, came to Billerica in 1659, where, as shown in the preceding article, he was solemnly ordained, November 11, 1663, pastor of the First Church of Christ. This holy office was filled by him "with great prudence, diligence, and circumspection," until his death, February 29, 1712, at the venerable age of eighty years. His faithful wife preceded him by only a few days, her death occurring the 16th of February, 1712. Their children were seven sons and four daughters.

The character of Mr. Whiting is described by Mather in his "Magnalia" as that of "a reverend, holy, and faithful minister of the gospel;" and the annals of this town show that he was not only a spiritual guide but a brave leader and wise counsellor in the trials of the early fathers.

The following lines are from a poem written on his death:—

"Whiting, we here beheld a starry light,
Burning in Christ's right hand and shining bright;
Years seven times seven sent forth his precious rays,
Unto the gospel's profit and Jehovah's praise."

Mr. Whiting was the founder of a family some of whose members—as the Rev. John Whiting, Captain Oliver Whiting, Deacon Samuel Whiting, Augustus Whiting, M. D., and others—have kept alive the esteem which was accorded to their revered ancestor.

Contemporary with Mr. Whiting as one of the founders of this town was Jonathan Danforth, who was also of high and ancient lineage, and shares in the veneration of posterity. He was born at Framingham, Suffolk, England, on the 29th of February, 1628, his father, the Rev. Nicholas Danforth, being a gentleman of such fortune and position "that it cost him a considerable sum to escape the knighthood which King Charles imposed" on all of a certain estate. The family came to New England in 1634, and settled at Cambridge, where the father died four years later. The sons, Thomas, Samuel, and Jonathan, all attained positions of trust and consideration. Jonathan was educated for a surveyor, and followed the profession through life, becoming distinguished in it.

His nephew, the Rev. John Danforth of Dorchester, wrote of him in a poem published on his death,—

"He rode the circuit, chain'd great towns and farms
To good behavior; and by well marked stations
He fixed their bounds for many generations.
His art ne'er fail'd him, though the loadstone fail'd,
When oft by mines and streams it was assail'd."

He was twice married, his first wife, by whom he had a large family, being Elizabeth, the daughter of John Poulter of Raleigh, in Essex, England. Of his many children but two sons, Samuel and Jonathan, left descendants. His second wife was Esther Converse, to whom he was married on the 17th of November, 1690. Her death, April 5, 1711, was not many months prior to that of her venerable consort, which occurred on the 7th of September, in the succeeding year. In the old South Burial-Ground their moss-covered stones are still standing.

Eminent by his intellect and learning, of commanding presence and high moral character, the Rev. Henry Cumings, D. D., was not merely "considered by his contemporaries as one of the most distinguished divines of New England," but also as one of the firmest patriots and wisest leaders in the civil and political life of his time. He was born September 28, 1739, at Hollis, New Hampshire, and was educated at Harvard University. In 1763 he was ordained as pastor—the fourth in the

order of succession — of the church of Billerica. For fifty years he sustained the sacred charge unassisted.

Dr. Cumings was often called upon to preach on public occasions, and his discourses, some fourteen of which were printed, "afford evidence of superior talents, united with a sound judgment and great vigor of intellect." Dr. Cumings was thrice married. His first wife, Ann Lambert of Reading, to whom he was united May 19, 1763, was the mother of his five children, three daughters and two sons. She died January 5, 1784, and in 1786, November 14, Dr. Cumings married her sister, Mrs. Margaret Briggs. Her death occurred June 2, 1790. His third marriage was with Miss Sarah Bridge, daughter of his venerable contemporary of Chelmsford, the Rev. Ebenezer Bridge. Her death occurred the 25th of February, 1812.

Dr. Cumings finished his earthly labors September 5, 1823, in the eighty-fourth year of his age and the sixty-first of his ministry.

Zadock Howe was born in the town of Bolton, Connecticut, on the 13th of February, 1777, of humble parentage. He received only the advantages of country schools, and began life as a simple workingman. Native genius, an unconquerable desire for knowledge, and a spirit of great endurance at length placed him in a higher walk. The practice of medicine became the profession of his life, and in it he obtained eminence, fortune, and friends.

He died on the 8th of March, 1851, leaving, as a testimonial of his interest in humanity and its education, a noble bequest for the founding of an institution for the instruction of youth. The academy thus established by his wisdom and munificence was incorporated February 27, 1852, as the "Howe School."

As a mark of its high appreciation, the town of Billerica erected a solid shaft of granite to his memory. "Henceforth let every man speak, with mingled emotions of gratitude and reverence, the name of Zadock Howe."

Few men have gone from Billerica who have brought more honor to the home of their birth than the clergyman and legislator, the Rev. Joseph Richardson.

Born on the 1st of February, 1778, the son of Joseph and Patty (Chapman) Richardson, he was educated at Dartmouth, where he graduated in 1802. Four years after he was ordained pastor of

the first parish of Hingham, in this state, a position which he held for sixty-five years.

Mr. Richardson was married on the 23d of May, 1807, to Ann, the daughter of Mr. Benjamin Bowers, who was also a native of Billerica. Mr. Richardson repeatedly served in the state senate and house of representatives. He was chosen a member of the State Constitutional Convention of 1820, and was twice elected to the National House of Representatives, where he served from March 4, 1827, to March 4, 1831.

"At the close of his Congressional terms he resumed and attended to his parochial duties without interruption, except from ill health," until 1855, when he was partially relieved of the responsibilities of his charge by the appointment, with his approbation, of the Rev. Calvin Lincoln, as colleague.

Mr. Richardson died September 25, 1871, at the venerable age of ninety-three years. His wife had died the preceding year, at the age of eighty-five. Mr. Richardson always kept alive an affectionate interest in his native town, and on the occasion of the celebration of the two-hundredth anniversary of its settlement, May 29, 1855, he delivered the oration of the day.

Josiah Bowers French was the son of Luther French, and was born in this town December 13, 1799. His education was derived from the common district schools of the day, the humble advantages of which were obtained at intervals. Yet his keen intellect, his observing habits, and his strong determination to rise served, in spite of such meagre opportunities, to win success.

In his early business career he was interested in stage and railway operations, and later on showed great energy and prudence in the construction and development of the railroad system of the country. In enterprises of this nature he was eminently fortunate, and amassed a large property. During the latter part of his life he was interested in many manufactures and kindred industries.

In 1824 he was appointed a deputy sheriff for Middlesex County, when he removed to Lowell, which was afterwards his residence. In 1835, and again in later life, in 1861, he represented that city in the legislature. He was honored by the election to the mayoralty of Lowell for the year 1849, and was re-elected the following year; his efficient and careful conduct of municipal affairs, especially of finances, is still proverbial. In 1851, Mr. French was chosen president of the Northern

Railroad Company of New Hampshire, but soon resigned the office. The death of Mr. French occurred on the 21st of August, 1876.

Closely identified with the interests of Billerica from the beginning of the settlement, when John Stearns was one of the primitive inhabitants, the family of Stearns has furnished to the country its due proportion of divines, statesmen, and soldiers; but no one has occupied a more distinguished position than the late Hon. Onslow Stearns, whose high character and services have ever been regarded with pride by his fellow-citizens. He was born in Billerica, August 30, 1810, the son of John Stearns, and grandson of the Hon. Isaac Stearns, a man of much prominence in civil and military affairs in the latter part of the preceding century.

The education of Onslow Stearns was obtained in the common and academical schools of his native town. At about the age of seventeen he left his home and entered business in Boston. Becoming desirous of more active employment, he soon went to Georgetown, D. C., and was engaged in the engineers' department of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. In the performance of this work he was associated with an older brother, the late John O. Stearns, who had already attained considerable prominence in railroad affairs, and afterwards became widely known by the variety and extent of his railway interests. Upon the completion of the canal the brothers were for several years associated in constructing a number of the leading railroads of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

In 1837 Mr. Stearns returned to New England, and undertook the building and superintendence of the Nashua and Lowell Railroad. The management of this road was relinquished by him in 1845, when he began the construction of the Northern Railroad, which was built wholly under his supervision. From this time the rapid increase of railway facilities found an earnest supporter in Mr. Stearns, and before many years had passed he was intimately connected with many of the most important roads of New England. Thus he at one time held the offices of president and manager of the Northern Railroad Company, — positions which he occupied for twenty-seven years, — and was also president of the Sullivan, the Contoocook Valley, and the Concord and Claremont Railroad companies, which were connected in interest with the Northern. He was also president and active manager of the Old Colony Railroad, of several tributary roads, and of the Old Colony Steamboat

Company, which, with the road of that name, forms the Fall River Line to New York from Boston. He held also the presidency of the Concord Railroad Company, which, with its branches and dependencies, is the centre of the railway system of New Hampshire.

As a patriot and legislator the career of Mr. Stearns was not less successful. In the early days of 1861, one of the first men in New Hampshire to uphold the National Union by his wealth and influence was Onslow Stearns. In politics he was a firm and conscientious Republican, and devoted his energies to the maintenance of the loyal sentiment and the protection of the government. He initiated the movement which resulted in the formation of the Soldiers' Aid Society of New Hampshire, to which he largely contributed from his abundant means.

In 1862, and again in 1863, he was elected to the state senate, in the latter year serving as president of that body. On the occasion of his taking the presidential chair he delivered an address to the senate filled with patriotism and sterling good sense. In 1864 he was a delegate to the National Republican Convention at Baltimore. The Republicans of New Hampshire in 1869, by a large majority, elected him governor of the state. He was re-elected in the following year, and "his two administrations as governor stand on record as among the brightest pages in the gubernatorial history of that state."

Mr. Stearns was united in marriage with Miss Mary Abbott Holbrook on the 26th of June, 1845, at Lowell, Mass. His death occurred at Concord, New Hampshire, on the 29th of December, 1878. Mrs. Stearns and five children, one son and four daughters, survive him.

Governor Stearns rose by his own efforts from the obscurity of a simple farmer's boy to the highest trust of his adopted state. Of a generous nature, the hospitalities of his elegant home in Concord were extended to many of the distinguished men of the country, — prominent among whom were Presidents Grant and Hayes. The honorary degree of Master of Arts was conferred on him, in 1857, by Dartmouth College.

His Excellency, Thomas Talbot, present governor of the Commonwealth, is a distinguished citizen of Billerica, where he has resided for nearly forty years. He was born on the 7th of September, 1818, in the town of Cambridge, New York, and was the seventh of eight children, of whom

seven were sons. His parents had but recently come to this country from Ireland, — the father, who was a woollen weaver, obtaining employment at Cambridge. About a year after the birth of Thomas, the family removed to Danby, Vermont, at which place, five years later, the father died.

The care of the family now devolved almost entirely upon Mrs. Talbot, the oldest child being but eighteen years of age. The mother was a woman of much native strength of character, and succeeded in giving her children not merely a living, but opportunities for their education and advancement in life.

About 1831 the family removed to Northampton, in this state, where, at thirteen, Thomas Talbot began work in the carding-room of a woollen factory. At the end of four years he entered the employment of his brothers, Charles P. and Edward Talbot, who had started a small broadcloth mill in Williamsburg; and at the age of twenty he was made overseer of the finishing department.

Education obtained from schools was, in his circumstances, naturally limited; yet he attended the Cumington Academy for two winter terms of six months each, the preceptor of the academy at the time being Rev. Dr. Stockbridge of Providence, Rhode Island.

The death of Edward Talbot occurred in 1837, and in the following year the Williamsburg factory was sold by the surviving partner, Charles P. Talbot, who then removed to Lowell and began the manufacture of dyestuffs.

Thomas Talbot remained for a few months with the purchaser of the mill, and then, going to Pittsfield, he was employed by the Pontoosuc Manufacturing Company for a short time. In the latter part of 1839 Charles P. Talbot removed his business of preparing dyestuffs from Lowell to North Billerica. In the spring of the succeeding year he was joined by his brother Thomas, and the two associated themselves in the partnership of C. P. Talbot & Co.

The business, begun with little capital and without powerful friends, has steadily increased in importance. New chemical works and woollen mills have been added from time to time, and although the prosperity of the brothers has been very great, it has not been more so than their industry, economy, uprightness, and liberality deserve.

Governor Talbot has made the village of North Billerica his residence since the establishment of his business there, and in every way has become thoroughly identified with the interests and wel-

fare of the whole town; while the people have ever delighted to express their appreciation by especial marks of favor. He has repeatedly served the town in various positions of trust and honor. In 1851 he was returned to the legislature, and was elected a member of the State Constitutional Convention in the following year.

An earnest Republican in his political views, he was of great assistance to the town and state in the preparations and measures for suppressing the Rebellion, and aided largely by his generosity towards the support of the cause of the Union.

In 1864 he was elected a member of the executive council, a position which he held for five consecutive terms, during which his prudent and able council won him the respect of all parties. In 1872, he was elected lieutenant-governor. He was re-elected in 1873, but became acting governor in the spring of 1874, in consequence of the election of Governor W. B. Washburn to the United States Senate.

The Republican party nominated Mr. Talbot in the ensuing year as its candidate for governor, but were not successful at the polls. In the gubernatorial election of 1878, which was one of the most hotly contested ever held in Massachusetts, Governor Talbot secured an election over his opponent, General B. F. Butler.

The inauguration of Governor Talbot to the chair of state was marked by a message which explicitly indicated the policy of retrenchment and honesty adapted to the needs of the hour.

Governor Talbot was first married January 20, 1848, his wife being Mary H., daughter of the late Calvin Rogers, Esq., of this town. She died, leaving no children, September 11, 1851. Mr. Talbot's second marriage was with Miss Isabella W., daughter of the late Hon. Joel Hayden, formerly lieutenant-governor of this state. It occurred October 18, 1855, and of the seven children who have blessed their union, four — two sons and two daughters — are living. The home of Governor Talbot is noted for its simple elegance and genial hospitality.

Miss Elizabeth P. Peabody, an eminent authority on education, was born in Billerica, May 16, 1804. Her father was Nathaniel Peabody, M. D. Her mother, as Miss Elizabeth Palmer, was the first preceptress of the first female academy in New England. At the time of Miss Peabody's birth her mother was teaching a private school in Billerica, Elizabeth being almost "literally born and bred in



Van Slyke & Co. Boston.

Thomas Talbot.

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school." Miss Peabody received a liberal and classical education, and at the age of seventeen began her life-work of teaching, and writing on education. In early life she paid great attention to developing methods for self-education. A complete list of Miss Peabody's works would include the departments of history, biography, essays moral and instructive, translations, and *belles lettres*. The efforts of Miss Peabody during the last ten years have been largely directed to the establishment of the "Kindergarten" method of teaching.

Miss Harriet B. Rogers, the principal of the Clarke Institution for Deaf Mutes at Northampton, Mass., was born in Billerica, April 12, 1834, being

the daughter of Calvin and Ann Faulkner Rogers. She early chose the vocation of a teacher; but not until 1864 did she undertake the difficult task of teaching deaf mutes the art of speaking and of reading from the lips. Her experiment was the first systematic attempt to teach the deaf by articulation made in this country. In 1866 she opened a private school in Chelmsford, Mass., where her efforts were most successful, and directly led to the founding, in 1867, of the Clarke Institution, of which she became and remains the chief instructor. The system in use at this school is that originated and mainly perfected by Miss Rogers.

BOXBOROUGH.

BY REV. NATHAN THOMPSON.



At the last census the population of Boxborough was 318. The assessors for 1876 gave the following summary: Acres of land 6,429, dwelling-houses 72, horses 106, cows 431, valuation \$243,863, polls 98. The school report gave the number of pupils in the schools as 67. In 1843, 130 were reported from the same schools. Between 1830 and 1840 the number was probably greater. "The population in 1837 was 438, being smaller than that of any other town in Middlesex County." Like so many other of the hill towns in Massachusetts, for the last forty years it has been slowly losing its early prestige. Indeed, except some Hercules were born here, to be devoted to his native hills, the little town never stood any chance of extended growth. By nature, and the date of its organization, it was precluded from any such probabilities. A good farming area had brought in settlers. Here, in the outskirts of surrounding towns, they built their homes and were cultivating their farms. But they were so far from church that they purchased Harvard old meeting-house in 1775, and then asked the General Court to incorporate them as a town. There is preserved in the safe of the town an old map in outline, on parch-

ment, on a scale of two hundred rods to an inch, by Silas Holman. He made the survey in 1794, and gives the area as 7,036 acres and 100 rods. It was not a great extent of territory, nor a locality favorable for growth, that urged the petition for the little square town to be set off, but the convenience of the neighborhood. Distance from their old centres constrained them to work for a new one of their own. It was to be among the hills, and upon the highest of them. In its summer scenery it is delightful, with a view to the north, south, east, and west fit to be the envy of the dwellers of the plain. It was aside from any of the "great Boston roads" that were, or were to be. It had no streams to turn the busy wealth-making wheels of the nineteenth century. It had only the possibilities of railways skirting along one or two of its borders. It was destined, from the later date of its incorporation, and the necessity of its situation, to become one of the small, healthful farming towns; a good place to emigrate from; the home of sturdy, established New England yeomanry. Removed from the vices as well as the virtuous activities of cities and manufacturing villages, it was to be blessed with whatever life its own citizens put into it. Taking its greatest part from Stow, a goodly piece from Littleton, and something from Harvard, it helped the shape of those towns in becoming itself well fashioned.

It was natural for those towns to object to this loss from their own territory. Beginning the agitation of the question of distinct incorporation in the same year with the fight at Concord Bridge, Boxborough did not succeed in getting her little victory till 1783. During these years petition followed petition to the General Court. Most of them seem to have been carried by the hands of her own citizens. But in 1779 they "voted to apply to Mr. Francis Dana, Attorney" (grandfather of the Hon. Richard H. Dana), "to carry their petition and present it to the General Court," and voted \$100 for that purpose. We presume that even in those days the \$100 did not secure the legal services of Mr Dana through the contest of the next four years. The names of citizen committees repeatedly appear. The residents upon the area to be taken from Littleton were from the outset somewhat averse to leaving their mother town. When, in 1780, the people chose a committee to apply again to the General Court to be set off, they also chose one "to treat with the obstinate part of our society in Littleton." Those from Stow and Harvard are not recorded as requiring treatment. On the 24th of February, 1783, the prayer of the petitioners was granted; the act of incorporation bears the signatures of John Hancock, Governor, and Samuel Adams, President of the Senate. The preamble of the act of incorporation is as follows: "*Whereas* a number of inhabitants living in the Extreme Parts of the Towns of Stow, Harvard and Littleton, Labour under many Inconveniences by Reason of their great distance from any Place of Publick Worship and have Requested this Court that they May be Incorporated into a District with all the Privileges of a Town, that of Sending a Representative to the General Court Excepted, Be it therefore Enacted, &c." Jonathan Wood, Esq., of Stow was authorized to issue the warrant, which he did to Benet Wood, one of the principal inhabitants of the district of Boxborough, to notify and warn the voters to assemble at their meeting-house on the 10th of March inst., to complete the work of their organization by the election of the customary officers. It is interesting to call up the long list found in the old records: moderator, clerk, treasurer, selectmen, assessors, constable, highway surveyors, tithing-men, field-drivers, hog-reeves, fish-reeves, pound-keeper, surveyors of lumber, hoops, leather, vendue master, and sexton.

As each of these New England towns was such

a complete democracy, it is also interesting to notice the business that concerned them at the outset. Their philosophy of the state held closely to self-government. What was for the good of one was for the good of all. So all must stand together on the ground of the common good. Certainly each one was to be the arbiter of his own destiny. At the same time three things demand the common action, and are well secured only through the corporate life. These are the Church, the school, the highway; or, to put it in the abstract, religion, education, facility for communication and transportation. Like the three lines,—the smallest number that can enclose a space,—these three are the first necessities for the commonwealth. In this state the first of these has been left to voluntary organization since 1833. But a century ago there was good agreement to embody them all in the organic law. Boxborough gave due attention to them at the beginning.

The meetings for town business were always convened at the meeting-house till April, 1835, when they assembled in Bigelow's Hall, situated directly opposite. That year a town-house was built near the south end of the Common, and was opened for use in October. This remained till 1874. Out of the church division in 1829, through some changes, came the Universalist society, which held the old house of worship. But this society having disintegrated and ceased to use the house, it was purchased by the town and transformed into a town-hall in 1874.

The Puritan demand for good deportment is illustrated in the early records of this town. Repeatedly offenders are brought before a justice of the peace and fined sundry shillings "for swearing one or more profane oaths." Repeatedly, also, by vote of the town, boys are bound to service; as in 1807 it was "voted to bind David Green to Christopher Page to learn the carpenter's trade, upon the same terms respecting clothing and schooling as though he staid with his old master."

Many of the town-meetings were of a unique character. We lack the details for their full description. The versatile novelist of the next century will find in the old pages a supply of quaint and curious matter for historic fiction. In the first half of the century there was a noticeable number of extra meetings, called for the various purposes incident to local action; and they often illustrated the physical law, that action and reaction are equal and in opposite directions. Boun-

dary lines, roads, schools, town buildings, the poor, town prosecutions, kept up the frequent demand. There has been a little change in the boundaries, — most toward Harvard and Stow; probably none toward Acton. The southeast corner on Flagg's Hill appears to be the same as in 1783. I had hoped to note the changes; but the descriptions are vague, the corner bounds perishable objects, — such as trees, stakes, and heaps of stones, — and the memory of the oldest inhabitant cannot defuse them with certainty. The boundary on the Littleton side involved the two towns in dispute and threats of prosecution till 1794, when it was fixed by act of the legislature.

The opening of the highways would have been of both local and general interest. Some of them were bridle paths at first; some were private ways; some were half public for a while, — that is, a farmer was allowed to have a gate across at the limit of his estate. Many of these descriptions, doubtless good for their time, cannot now be accurately traced. The "Boston road," now known as "the old turnpike," through the southerly part of the town from Harvard to Acton, will doubtless be long known by that name, and be the main thoroughfare. What answers to the same road appears on Holman's map of 1794. It was accepted as the "Union Turnpike" by "the Court of General Sessions of the Peace" at its September term, 1806. May 11, 1830, it was declared a public highway of the county by the commissioners, in session at Concord, the town appropriating \$300 for repairs.

I have referred to the opposition from the Littleton side to being incorporated in the new district. It was the beginning of a century of history. This want of general agreement has been a continued fact. When the district was incorporated, in 1783, the boundaries were described in the act, and all within those limits was to be Boxborough, "except those of such of the Inhabitants of that part set off from Littleton as shall not within the Term of twelve months from the Passing this Act Return their Names into the office of the Secretary of this Commonwealth, Signifying their Desire to become Inhabitants of the said District." It was a peculiar exception. It declared and established the boundaries of the new district, and yet it rated quite a part of the polls and taxes out of it, unless changed by individual request. The towns were in repeated difficulty over the boundary. At length it was referred to the General Court, which

passed an act fixing the boundary on the 20th of February, 1794. In that act it was further specified that those who still voted and were assessed in Littleton, but at any time thereafter wished to be rated in Boxborough, must be received by a vote in town-meeting. From time to time they came and were received. The greatest number at any one time was in 1827, when four estates were transferred. Only two now remain assessed in Littleton. This continued tendency to difference caused a large number of extra town-meetings. Votes were passed and reconsidered upon school districts and the division of school money, repairing the "meeting-house," borrowing money, building, laying out highways, etc. It has been more permanent in questions of politics and religion. But it is slowly wearing itself away. The children are supposed to be growing wiser than their fathers, so that, a hundred years hence, we anticipate that none but the antiquarian will suspect it had ever been.

Those familiar with the stations on the Fitchburg railway have noticed "West Acton and Boxboro," on the depot at the former village. It suggests an item in the history of the town. Quite a long section of the track is through its low lands upon the northeast. There is no doubt that the people here, like so many others in that early day of railroads, were bad prophets about them, and did not very cordially welcome the new invention. At an especial town-meeting, however, in June, 1849, it was voted to ask the railway company for a station. The petition was not granted. The village of West Acton grew up. In 1869 an effort was made to have a part of Acton, including the village of West Acton, which is less than a mile from the Boxborough line, set off to Boxborough. But this scheme, intended to favor both the town and the village, failed through opposition. That village is the station and nearest business point for the town, though West Littleton is more accessible for a few.

The record of presidential votes shows the town to have been pretty equally divided in its political sympathies with, for many years, a preference toward the democratic side. In late years the dividing lines in politics and religion have somewhat nearly coincided. Though we have called Boxborough both a town and a district, as a convenience, and also correctly to represent the records, strictly it was a district till 1836. The commonly accepted date of the change is May 1. Not by

any special legislative enactment, but under a clause of the Revised Statutes of that year. But, if this date be correct, it did not at once enter into its full privilege as a town; for, in the November following, it still voted with Stow for representative to the General Court. In the later years, at least, of this representative union, it was the custom of the two towns, in sending two representatives, to choose one from Stow and one from Boxborough. These votes were always recorded only at Stow.

The military history of Boxborough will be brief. Not having been incorporated till 1793, it has no colonial or revolutionary record of its own. As Hudson and Everett have a real, but not a separate record of the War of the Rebellion because not then organized, so Boxborough in the Revolution has her history with Acton and the other neighboring towns. Here, however, we ought not to omit mention of Luther Blanchard, whose name has gone into the history of the Acton company in the fight at Concord Bridge. The family home and estates were within the subsequent limits of Boxborough, and are still owned and occupied by the descendants. When the company, of which he was a fifer, were "within ten or fifteen rods of the bridge, a single gun was fired by a British soldier, the ball from which, passing under Colonel Robinson's arm, slightly wounded the side of Luther Blanchard, and Jonas Brown, one of the Concord minute-men. Blanchard went to the house of Mrs. Barrett, who, after examining his wound, mournfully remarked, 'A little more, and you'd have been killed.' 'Yes,' said Blanchard, 'and a little more and 't would n't have touched me;' and immediately joined the pursuers." Though the wound that day appeared slight, and only briefly detained him from his company, it became the cause of his death soon after.

The town makes no military record beyond muster-days and keeping the customary military organization and ammunition—lead, powder, and flints—at the meeting-house, till 1794; when a special town-meeting was called on the 18th of August "to see what the town will do about raising the eight men, in compliance with the request of congress, and give any instructions to Capt. Whitcomb about the same." They voted the "encouragement," that "each man that lists as a soldier, agreeable to Resolves of Congress, shall have the public pay as wages made up by the Town; to each man the sum of five pounds eight shillings

per month for the time they serve in the army; and that they shall have six shillings in part of their pay paid them when they do list and engage, if they do not march out of town, and the sum of eighteen shillings more when they march in order to join the army." In October, three years later, another special meeting was called to raise soldiers, and bounties were also offered. Again, in 1808, 1812, and 1814, the town was called upon for quotas of men, and at these times various bounties were offered for their enlistment. Beyond the necessary record for muster-days and militia-rolls there is nothing further to be noted in military affairs till the late civil war. No town-meetings in behalf of the war were held in 1861. The first recorded meeting was July 23, 1862, when a bounty of \$100 was offered for each volunteer. Immediately there were offered in addition "five dollars apiece to those that will enlist within three days and be accepted." In October of the same year \$150 were voted to each volunteer, and also to each drafted man, "to be paid after they are mustered into service." In November the same bounty was extended to the substitutes of drafted men. The highest bounty offered was in September, 1864, when the town "voted to pay \$125 in gold to each recruit to fill the town's quota." The advance in gold that month was from 85 to 165; which at the highest, or even at the average, made the bounty a large one. A good number of the young men of the town became volunteers. "Five persons came forward and enlisted" under one call. Boxborough furnished for the war fifty-one men, which was a surplus of seven over and above all demands. None of them were commissioned officers. "The whole amount of money appropriated and expended by the town for war purposes, exclusive of state aid, was \$7,046.87. The amount of money raised and expended by the town during the war for state aid to soldiers' families, and which was repaid by the commonwealth, was \$1,347.53. About \$200 was raised by the ladies of the town for the Christian Commission."¹ The town dutifully and generously abated the taxes of her soldier when in the service.

Boxborough never became the seat of any of the higher institutions of learning, nor has it had the requisite number of families for a high school. Of course the smallest town would not naturally make any great exhibit in education. The names of her sons and daughters are to be seen in the

¹ Schouler's *Massachusetts in the Civil War*.

alogues of neighboring, and sometimes more remote, academies. But the Puritan idea of local education was at once put into operation. In the first year of their incorporation they "voted to have four months' schooling this year, and that the selectmen provide and proportion the same." The "proportion" here does not appear to refer to schools in different parts of the town, but between the boys and girls. The separation of the sexes appears to have continued some time; for we find in 1787 money was granted to have "four months' man's and four months' woman's schooling." Occasionally the town expressed itself in favor of the sex of the teacher; as in 1784 it was voted "to have a schoolmaster six months." Ten years later the particular choice ceased. Then the committee were instructed to "hire a school master or masters, and mistress or mistresses, as shall be most convenient for the town's good." For eleven years the schools seem to have been in charge of the selectmen. Then they began to choose a special committee, but this office was not permanently established till some years later. The schools were frequently returned to the care of the selectmen. Work in schools is now becoming quite popular. The cycle of the ages has revolved. The sentiment of this little town had passed away from it in 1794, when it was voted "that no work should be done in or at the woman's school, as there usually hath been; but the time to be spent in instructing the children to read and write." There appears no specific record of the wages of teachers for some time. Doubtless the pay in Boxborough was commensurate with that in surrounding towns. The teachers of the present day will be glad that they do not live in "the good old times," when they read that in 1787 there were "granted fifteen pounds for to hire schooling, four months' man's and four months' woman's schooling." Whether there was a school-house within the limits of the newly incorporated district is doubtful. Nothing extant here seems to imply it. No appropriations or expenditures indicate one. Probably the children all came together to one school till 1786, when a vote was passed dividing the town "equally into quarters," and a committee of four was chosen to do it. This division of the town into quarters for the schools has always remained. The number has never been changed. The particular boundaries have been changed at times, apparently sometimes for the convenience of families, and sometimes for the more satisfactory distribution of district taxes.

The location of the respective school-houses has continued nearly the same. The greatest change has been in the northeast quarter, probably due to the opening of roads, and a slight change in the southeast. But town committees are sometimes dilatory in their business. The committee appointed to quarter the town evidently failed in their duty. Things continued as before till late in 1790, when a new committee was instructed "to accomplish the business," which they did, and made their report in the following March. It seems probable that a house had already been erected in the first district; for at this meeting forty-five pounds were appropriated to build three school-houses, to be divided equally, with the particular mention that the first district should receive their part of the money. These several school-houses seem to have been some years in building. It is doubtful if they were all completed before the opening of the next century. After 1808 all record of building ceases for a long time. The appropriation of money for separate schools for the sexes, "six months' man's and six months' woman's schooling," continued till 1802. The town records contain only a few facts concerning the condition of the schools henceforth till 1840. Money is annually appropriated, and the committee is chosen. Some question occasionally comes up as to the bounds of the districts, and so some estates are transferred; or there is a vote to rearrange the districts. An appropriation for a singing-school is occasionally made.

The district system prevailed during most of the history of the town, but is now abolished. No reports of the length or condition of the schools are recorded till 1840. The reports that then began to be recorded were worthy of publication. They are noticeable for their earnestness, common-sense, and discretion. The one presented in 1846 may be given as an example of brevity: "Your committee would report that in their opinion the schools, with one or two exceptions, have been wisely and judiciously managed the past year." In 1843, "through the liberal encouragement of the legislature," circulating libraries of useful books began to be established in each of the school-houses. During these years the school year was divided into two terms. Later, as the terms were lengthened, it was divided into three terms; this arrangement still continues. Each of the four schools has become small. An unsuccessful effort has been made to diminish the number.

The annual Report was first printed in 1853. The northeast district began the work of school-house reform by building anew, or making most thorough repairs, in 1842. The other quarters of the town slowly followed the good example. The school-houses now are suitable, convenient, and kept in good repair. We are unable to learn that any of the sons of Boxborough have as yet received a liberal education, save two sons of Rev. Mr. Willard, who followed their father, and were graduated at Harvard in 1793 and 1809. A good common school or academic education, and a life of business, quiet or stirring, has better-suited the genius of the people. But "the times are changing."

By far the most interesting and perhaps valuable part of the history of this quiet town is on its religious side. The preamble to the act of incorporation shows that the town might never have been set off, except for the religious needs of the settlers. The store, the shop, and even the post-office have disappeared from the old centre on the hill. By persistent effort the church still survives, though moved from its original location. Early New England character had something original, independent, decided, in it, which found its natural element in religion, and its theatre of action in the church. A certain quaintness in its expression, characteristic of our Puritan ancestors, was not less noticeable in Boxborough than elsewhere. The records of the first church are gone. By the former identity of the town and the parish, the early town records, however, have preserved to us most of the important transactions. It was in the town-meeting that much of the present business of the church was done. It was an article in the warrant in 1783, "To see if the Town will take any Measures for to regulate Singing on the Lord's Day or appoint Quiristers for the same." And it was "voted to Chuse four Quiristers, As followeth." It was voted in town-meeting in 1796 "that Dr. Belknap's Books should be used for singing in the Congregation of Boxborough in room of Dr. Watts' Books." The town-meeting in the same year "voted and seated Ens. Samuel Wetherbee in the fore-seat below, and Samuel Draper seated in the fore-seat of the side gallery." Two years later the same autocracy, imbued with generous sentiments "voted that the Methodist preachers may preach in the meeting-house in said Boxborough on the week-days during the town's pleasure, but not to molest or interrupt the Rev. Mr. Joseph Willard, when he shall appoint any

lecture or time to preach in said meeting-house at his pleasure." A month later it was "voted to tax all persons to the minister's rate agreeable to the Constitution." Repeatedly at the town-meeting persons had their minister's rate abated on certifying that they worshipped with some other body and made their payments there. It never was made plainer than in these early New England towns that the body corporate intended to do nothing unreasonable; and also esteemed it its duty, to see that the different members thereof omitted to do nothing reasonable. Constantly jealous of personal independence, as late as 1860 it was ordered "that the school committee should not be biassed by any sectarian religion." Let us recall the *modus operandi* in completing the meeting-house. It was the prominent business of sundry town-meetings. The ground-plan was drawn for twenty-two pews. The people were then to purchase their "pue ground," build the pews at their own cost, and occupy them "till they sell or dispose of the same." When the pews were sold, the meeting showed its deference to property in passing a vote that "the first twenty-two highest payers have the first offer of the pews, as is dignified and prized according to their pay, and that the highest pew be offered to the highest payer, giving him or them the choice of that or any other pew they or he like better at the same price; and if the first twenty-two highest refuse to take the pews, then they are to be offered unto the next twenty-two highest payers, and so on in proportion, till all have had the offer, if need be." It was voted to have the house finished in November, 1784. The church was organized on the 29th of April preceding. No records or traditions are left to tell what brilliant array of candidates came with high hopes for the new pastorate. But we find that when November came, the town voted "to concur with the church of Boxborough in giving the Rev. Mr. Joseph Willard a call to settle in the work of the ministry in said Boxborough." It took repeated town-meetings to fix the terms of his settlement. At length the final vote was passed December 27, "not to give Rev. Mr. Willard half-pay so long as he indureth his natural life, but to pay the Rev. Mr. Joseph Willard £75 of money annually in silver money at six shillings eight pence per ounce, and find twenty cords of wood for his fire annually, so long as the Rev. Mr. Willard shall supply the Pulpit in said town of Boxborough, and no longer." The furnishing the wood was

annually let out to the lowest bidder in town-meeting.

The years 1815-1818 were a time of considerable controversy about repairing the old meeting-house or building a new one. Votes were passed; then special meetings were called, and they were reconsidered. As the hill on which the old meeting-house stood was some distance west of the centre, quite a party in the east part of the town was in favor not only of building anew, but of placing the new house nearer the actual centre. In May, 1816, the whole matter of building or repairing was left to a committee of three, two of whom, at least, were non-residents. This committee reported in favor of building on a site quite near the actual centre. The town refused to adopt the report. At a meeting in November a petition was presented, signed by twenty-three residents of the east part of the town, asking to have a new meeting-house, or one located on or near the spot named by the committee of reference, or else to be discharged, and have liberty to go to the respective towns from which they were taken. Though the town had ever been democratic, this brought the doctrine of secession into practice too near home. It voted "to pass over the article." Various efforts were made in town-meetings to reconcile both parties. But a new meeting-house was not built, nor were any thorough repairs made. By suggestion from the people Mr. Willard withdrew from his long and laborious pastorate in December, 1823, when just completing his eighty-second year. He continued to reside at the parsonage till his death in September, 1828. A graduate of Harvard, the first pastor of this little church was a well-educated though not a brilliant man; faithful in his ministry, and held in reverent esteem by his people. His work was in a humble and limited sphere. But in "filling his place with credit to himself and usefulness to his people," he rendered that service to his country and Christianity which will never be valued too highly. The resignation of Mr. Willard brought quite a turn in affairs. Though the amendment to the constitution disconnecting the churches and the state was not passed till November, 1833, yet Boxborough no longer appropriated the salary and paid for twenty cords of wood from its treasury. When the Rev. Aaron Picket came to be their next minister, they voted "not to settle him, but to hire him for one year, after what money is already raised be expended, to preach for them in Boxborough, provided he will stay and

they can get money enough to pay him." The division which occurred in so many churches was near at hand here. The break was not a sudden one. In 1828 they voted "to let each denomination have the meeting-house their proportionable part of the time, according to the valuation." A committee was then chosen in which each denomination was represented. The appearance, however, is, that the money was not raised by assessment, but by subscription. The final separation came in 1829, on the question of inviting the Rev. James B. Cushing to the pastorate. The church was in his favor; the parish, adverse. The difference was in "religious sentiment." Accordingly, on the 20th of May the church voted "that, having failed to secure the concurrence of the First Parish in inviting Mr. Cushing to become our Religious Teacher, we proceed to take the steps prescribed by Law to form a New Society." The same day such a society was legally formed, called the Evangelical Congregational Society, which speedily concurred with the church in giving a call for settlement to Mr. Cushing. The First Parish continued its organization for several years, with more or less of Sabbath service. But it slowly crumbled away. The new society and church concluded to erect their house of worship southeast of the old centre, where the road to Stow crosses the old Boston turnpike, where they now have a church and parsonage. Their continuance has been through persistent effort. The scars of the old wounds still remain. With a few changes, Orthodox and Universalist have stood apart, looking at each other, but leaving it to a coming generation to forget the former days of division, and to be interested together in the Christian religion. The need that gave the town its organization must be the need that will preserve it.

The surface of the town is hilly and rocky. Limestone abounds in sufficient quantities on the Littleton side, so that the burning of lime was made quite a business several years ago. The soil, not deep, is productive. The wealth of the farmers has been in their milch cows; and of late their best success has been in furnishing milk for the Boston market. Trees grow luxuriantly. Grapevines are on every roadside. Berries abound in the pastures. Being only twenty-seven miles from Boston, vegetables, apples, grapes, pears, peaches, berries, are extensively cultivated and successfully raised, to be supplied fresh to the market. The farmers are organized for discussion of their inter-

ests in the winter evenings, and for a biennial fair which is made very successful.

Boxborough has the stable farm-life of New England, discreet to conservatism. A noticeable number of the estates have continued in the same family possession for more than a century. The first records of the town give us the names of Taylor, Wetherbee, Mead, Stevens, Stone, Blanchard, Whitcomb, Batcheller, and others. These that are

given have all continued. Most of them have multiplied. The first six are still in possession of the farms upon which their fathers were probably the original settlers. Many of the sons of the town have taken honorable positions in business. None have risen to the heights of public fame; none have fallen into the depths of shame and dishonor. It has been a remarkable town for "keeping on the even tenor of its way."

BRIGHTON.

BY REV. FREDERIC A. WHITNEY.



THE entire age of the town of Brighton as a distinct incorporated municipality was but sixty-six years, two months, and twenty-seven days. This period was embraced between the date of the act of incorporation, February 24, 1807, and the date of the act of annexation, May 21, 1873, which was accepted by the

city and town, October 8, 1873, to take full effect on the first Monday (5) of January, 1874. The township of Brighton survived twenty-eight years the township of her venerable mother, Cambridge, illustrious progenitor of so many successive distinct municipalities.

But though the town life of Brighton is brief, an earlier date and more hoary age is symbolized by its seal, on this page. In 1864 the writer of this sketch was requested to submit a device for the seal. This he suggested from what had long been a prominent business of the place, second only to that which had made the town the great cattle-market of New England, allied with its floral and agricultural gardens, its nurseries and green-houses, its fruit and forest trees, vines, shrubs, botanical and medical plants. The enterprise and establishments of the Winship Brothers, Jonathan and Francis, who began in a small way, some seventy years ago, on Washington Street, opposite their mansion-house, and who were pioneers in this attractive and ennobling work, not only here, but indeed in all New England, have been followed by Joseph Beech and Son, William C. Strong,

Warren, Evers and Bock, Story, Smith, Brackett, Croughan, and many others in the past and the present, who have been thus identified with the trade in seeds and flowers, in trees and fruits. The cultivation of the strawberry has been long a specialty here, as the extensive grounds of the Scott Brothers, originators of the two noted varieties, the Brighton Pine and the Scotts' Seedling, and the grounds of many others testify, while the rich and luscious grapes, grown abundantly here both in the open air and in hot-houses, make the seal more significant.

As the market design had been long engraved on the bills of one of the state banks of the town, in order not to duplicate that, the garden design was approved by the selectmen for the seal. The place was in early times often, though not uniformly, designated as "Little Cambridge," where

many of the original Cambridge settlers, as Richard Dana, 1640, Elder Richard Champney, 1635, and Nathaniel Sparhawk made their homes. Thus an antiquity was claimed for it coeval with that of Cambridge, and the seal was inscribed, "Little Cambridge, a part of Cambridge, founded 1630. Brighton incorporated 1807." The seal was first used on the official reports of 1865, and subsequently on all town documents, orders, bills, etc.,



until annexation. It is now, with the seals and all the records of this and of the other towns and cities joined with Boston, in charge of the city clerk.

We have said that "Little Cambridge" was not the uniform early designation of the place. It is a mistake, to be learned on but slight knowledge of original Cambridge records and history, to suppose that "Little Cambridge" was oftener employed than "South Cambridge," or "South Side," or "Third Parish," or "Third Precinct," or "Southerly part of the First Parish," or "Inhabitants on the South Side of the River," which latter expression President Holyoke of the college used on some very ancient receipts, which are preserved, for money paid him for occasional pulpit services here. Indeed, the records of the First Church embodied here are inscribed on the cover, "Records of the Third Church of Christ in Cambridge."

"The New Towne," then, born in 1630, as shown on her own seal and on Brighton's, in good hope of being not only "a fortified Town," but the metropolis of the country, and seat of a grand public school, was not fairly baptized "Cambridge" until 1638. The offshoots from the parent stock, alluded to in our opening, comprise a most interesting portion of the early Cambridge history. Meanwhile the desire of separate church accommodations on the south side of the river was steadily growing. It is not known how early public worship was held here on the Sabbath, but as soon certainly as 1730 or 1734. Rev. Dr. Foster, the first settled minister, was ordained in the old church, erected in 1744. But in his dedication sermon of 1811, of the new church, which, surrounded by an iron fence, still stands in its place, he says: "Not a century has yet elapsed since your fathers solicited and obtained permission of the society to which they belonged [old First Parish on north or college side] to worship by themselves during the inclement season of the year. This they deemed a privilege worthy of their desire and pursuit, though constrained to congregate in a deserted private house." Nothing is known of that edifice, but it is referred to in the following time-worn record which has been preserved: "Cambridge, November 16, 1739. We the subscribers do oblige ourselves, our heirs, &c. to pay unto Messrs. Daniel Dana, William Brown, William Dana, Committee, each representative sum annexed to our names for the use of a minister to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ at a

house formerly used for the worship of God in South Cambridge for every week during the months of December, January, February, and March,—as witness our hands and date, Daniel Dana, Samuel Smith, Benjamin Dana, Thomas Sparhawk, Hugh Scott, William Dana, Richard Champney." The moneys set against the names are in English rates. But something better than the "deserted private house" is soon wanted, as appears from two ancient manuscript papers which have floated down from the past.

"Cambridge, January 7th 29th, 1738-9. — At a meeting of The Inhabitants on the South side of Charles River, Mr. Benjamin Dana chosen Moderator. *Voted*,—That Messrs. Samuel Smith, Benjamin Dana, W^m Brown, Ebenezer Smith, and Thomas Sparhawk be a Committee to provide a meeting-house spot.

"Also *Voted*,—That Messrs W^m Brown and Abraham Beverly compute the charge of a meeting house. Then *Voted*,—That this meeting be adjourned to Thursday the 15th of February, at 6 of the clock, afternoon, at the house of Mr. Thos. Dana, to receive the report of the Committee."

"Cambridge, Feb. 7th 15th, 1738-9: The Committee report that they have provided a Spot of Land in the South West Corner of Mr. Ebenezer Smith's land that was formerly Thos. Cheny's. The report of the Committee appointed to compute the charge, find that the charge of a meeting house fit to meet in doth amount to Three Hundred and Eighty pounds. Each of the reports read and accepted. *Voted*,—That Messrs. W^m Brown, Benjamin Dana, Samuel Smith, Ebenezer Smith, and Thos. Sparhawk be a Committee to see what may be obtained by subscriptions. *Voted*,—That this meeting be adjourned to the 15th of March at the house of Mr. Thos. Dana, at six o'clock, afternoon."

"March 7th 15th. At a meeting of the Inhabitants upon adjournment, *Voted*,—That if the Committee can obtain Three Hundred pounds by subscription, then to provide for building. Then *Voted*,—That this meeting be adjourned to the 16th of April, to the house of Mr. Thos. Dana at two o'clock P. M."

"March 7th 9th, 1742-3. Whereas we the inhabitants on the South side of Charles River in Cambridge have mutually agreed to build a meeting-house for the Public Worship of God upon a spot of ground which they have lately purchased for that purpose, provided a sum shall be raised sufficient to defray the charge of building said meeting-house,—Therefore we, the subscribers (being willing to encourage such a good work) Do promise to pay, each one his Representative sum set against his name, in work, or in such materials as the Committee that is appointed will accept of. And if the said Committee shall refuse to accept of some Labor and Materials that shall be offered by any of us the said Subscribers, we do further promise to pay, each of us, our representative sums which we have subscribed, in good passable Bills of Credit Old Tenor to him that said inhabitants shall choose for their Collector; when the said Collector shall Demand the

same; or any part thereof for to Defray the Charge that shall arise upon building and finishing the above said meeting-house.

Daniel Dana	£ 10	Thomas Dana	£ 15
W ^m Brown	20	Noah Sparhawk	20
Benjamin Dana	20	Samuel Phipps	20
Ebene ^r . Smith	40	Thomas Sparhawk	25
William Dana	20	Lydia Stratton	6
Benjamin Cheney	15	Thomas Park	5
John Ellis	10	John Oldham	15
Thos. Thwing	10	Francis Wells	20
Abijah Learned	20	Samuel Bridgham	40
Josiah Brown	15	Solomon Robbins	15
Joshua Fuller	5	Nath'l Cunningham	42"

Had all the costly and extravagant churches of these latter days been favored with the same wis-

dom displayed in this early meeting-house enterprise, fewer would have proved such sad millstones about the necks of their projectors. This was the gospel recipe for church building: "For which of you intending to build a tower, sitteth not down first and counteth the cost, whether he have sufficient to finish it." The spot of land has been secured, the cost has been counted; more than the sum estimated for "a meeting-house fit to meet in" has been pledged, and by true and earnest men,—and why should they not build? Doubtless each one encouraged his brother; and think not that the committees in charge "refused to accept aught of labor or materials" so freely and devoutly offered for the house of God. They did



Old First Church of Brighton; erected 1744, removed 1811.

build. The reader may see the fac-simile of their humble meeting-house, one hundred and thirty-five years ago, on our modern page! More humble it was when first erected than appears here, since it was then without tower or porch. The former on its west and the latter on its east side were appended in 1794, just fifty years later than the main house, furnishing stairs to the galleries, which stairs rose at first from the corners of the church floor. So Brookline's first church, built in 1713, nine years

after the town's incorporation, did not receive its steeple until 1771, fifty-eight years after.¹

We have no account of the dedication of this ancient church, but may confidently say that a devout dedication was not withheld. The beloved Appleton of the First Church of Cambridge, and minister to most of those who had erected the house, and Cooke of the Second Parish, Menotomy,

¹ On the right of the engraving is seen the Osborn house; formerly Pesceuden estate.

or West Cambridge, then ordained five years, and Allen of Brookline, Storer of Watertown, and Hancock of Lexington, with others, may have participated in the services.

However it may have been dedicated, we have documentary evidence that the meeting-house was duly "dignified." An early universal custom of New England was to "seat" the stated members of the worshipping assembly. There was a standing committee for this purpose. Those seats were to be permanently retained. Various scales for guiding the committee as instructions, or grounds of promotion, seem to have prevailed in different places. In some towns, positions of public trust, pious dispositions and behavior, peculiar serviceableness, made ground of distinction. In Newton it was voted that "age and gifts" should be the criterion, or standard. In the town of Reading "real estate and age" were prescribed; while elsewhere it was enacted that "no precedence on account of birth or rank" should constitute a claim. This business seems here to have been carefully considered, as by the following early deliberations:—

"South Cambridge, December 4th, 1744. At a meeting of the Inhabitants being subscribers only, — Captain Dana chosen Moderator, — *Voted*, — To chuse a committee to lay out the Pew lots, and set a price upon them, — dignify the same and Project a method to settle, or sell the Same to the subscribers, and make report at the next meeting. *Voted*, — That Thomas Dana, W^m Dana, and Josiah Brown be of this Committee. December 13th, upon adjournment, Report of last named Committee was accepted. Ebenezer Smith, Thomas Dana, W^m Dana, Josiah Brown and Thos. Sparhawk were chosen to make distribution of Pews. *Voted*, — That Messrs. Nathaniel Cunningham, Henry Smith, Caleb Dana, and Madam Brown have the choice of a Pew each. Adjourned to Thursday 20th of this Inst. December at 2 o'clock, afternoon to the school-house to receive the report of the committee appointed to make Distribution of the Pew lots."

"December 23th, on adjournment, *Voted*, — That those which have, or shall accept of Pew lots at the several prizes they are set in the plan, pay their money to the meeting-house committee, or some one of them. *Voted*, — That no man build his Pew until he has paid for his Pew lot. Then *Voted*, — That they who have Pew lots, pay for ym by the last of January, or it shall be in the power of the Committee to Dispose of it."

"February 26, 1744–5. — Captain Benjamin Dana Moderator, — *Voted*, — That Deacon Bridgham have the first Pew on the left hand of the middle alley, adjoining to Mr. John Ellis' Pew. Put to vote, — whether the subscribers will make abatement upon the pew spots between the East and West doors and the men and women's stairs, and it passed in the affirmative. Then *Voted*, — That three pounds be abated upon each of the Four Pews."

Once in possession of a church edifice, the in-

habitants on this side of the river were more intent than ever to become an ecclesiastical parish. Until legally made such they could not settle a minister, and must pay taxes to the old First Precinct Parish, of which parish the law held them to be members. This much-coveted privilege must come from the General Court. Petitions presented as early as 1748 were, owing partly to natural opposition from the First Parish and elsewhere, and even to some dissent from here, refused. We insert the following petition because, while presenting a fuller statement of the causes for separation than others, it is so simple and reasonable, and in spirit almost pathetic. We must remember that a portion of North Harvard Street, which now we count so easy and pleasant a walk to the Colleges, was, in the winters of early years, so encumbered with floating ice from the rapid Charles River as to be often dangerous for travel. Many, in going from Market Square on this side, even in light sleighs, preferred the circuitous course by Newton Corner and Watertown to the shorter but obstructed causeway.

"To His Excellency Thomas Hutchinson Esq., Governor-in-Chief in and over His Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, — The Honorable His Majesty's Council and the House of Representatives now convened and sitting in the Town of Boston this 26th day of January, 1774.

"The Petition of the Inhabitants of the First Parish in Cambridge Living on the South side of Charles River, humbly sheweth, — That your Petitioners have for a long time Laboured under many disadvantages and Great inconvenience in not having a Gospel minister settled with them, — which gives them Occasion to intreat that you will take into Consideration their Situation, State and Circumstances, — and that Your Excellency and Honors may have a true knowledge thereof, we beg leave to inform you that about forty Years Past, the Gospel was first Preached amongst us, it being impracticable when the tides were high, and the Snow and Ice lodged on the Causeway Leading to the Town of Cambridge, to pass and repass; — being then few in number to what we are now we Purchased a house to meet in, for Publick Worship; and in about ten years after, at our own Expense, Built a house for that Purpose; and about the year '60 we applied to the then General Assembly that they would take our unhappy Situation into their Consideration and relieve us in Such manner as should seem best; but the town of Cambridge making considerable opposition to our Proceedings, the General Assembly saw fit to decline acting upon it and giving us relief in the way we are now Seeking it, but Ordered that £52 per annum be paid out of the Parish rate for the support of Preaching on the South Side of the river; and annexed part of Charlestown and Watertown to the first parish of Cambridge; but we, finding that Sum not sufficient to the support of an ordained minister, have

for more than thirty years, been without, and, also, have been put to much difficulty to get an Ordained Minister to Baptise our Children; and have never had the Ordinance of the Lord's Supper administered amongst us; and we apprehend that many of our Children that are arrived at man's estate, have never seen that Ordinance administered; and notwithstanding we have a most worthy minister, Doctor Appleton, on the other Side of the River, yet his great age and his often Indispositions prevent him (as he has signified In his letter to us) from affording us that advice, and instruction he otherwise willingly would, and which he is sensible that we often stand in need of, — for many times, when our friends are upon their Death Beds, they have no minister Either to Pray with them, or afford them any advice, or instruction in their dying moments. We are also deprived of having a discreet minister to set any Example before, and instruct our Children in the knowledge that is necessary to, Eternal Salvation; and while we remain in this unsettled state we discourage many Sober families from Settling amongst us. — For these and many other weighty reasons that may be offered, we intreat your Excellency and Honors that you will authorize us to settle a Gospel Minister amongst us and also order that the whole society be taxed for the Support of two ministers to be paid out of the Parish Treasury. But if that shall not be thought most for the benefit of the Parish, then we pray that the Inhabitants together with all the Lands on the south side of the river, may be Set off as the River runs as far as the bridge as a distinct Parish, or Precinct. And your Petitioners, as In duty bound, Shall Ever Pray.

JOHN DENNIS,
ABRAHAM LEARNED,
ELIPHALET ROBBINS,
NATHANIEL SPARHAWK,
JAMES BRYANT,

A Committee in behalf of the Society on the South Side of the River.

"In the House of Representatives February 21, 1774, on the Petition of John Dennis and others. In behalf of the Inhabitants of the Southerly Part of the first Parish in Cambridge — Resolved that the petitioners notify the first Parish in Cambridge by serving the Clerk of said parish with an attested copy of their petition and this order, thirty days at least before the next session of the General Court, that they may there show cause, if any they have, on the first Tuesday of the Said Next Session of the General Court, why the prayer of Said Petition in one, or the other instance, should not be Granted.

"In Council, February 22d, Read and Concurred."

By an act of the General Court passed May 1, 1779, entitled "an Act for dividing and setting off the southerly part of the First Parish in the Town of Cambridge, in the County of Middlesex, into a separate Precinct," the much desired object was obtained. A few families on the south side, named in the act, who preferred not to be separated, were specially exempted from all charges to the South, or Third Parish, and allowed to remain members of the North, or First Parish.

During the interval between the erection of the church in 1744 and the ordination of the first minister in 1784 the pulpit was supplied by various clergymen, chiefly from Cambridge. We have seen that for twelve or fifteen years before the meeting-house was built religious services were held on this side of the river in a private house. A file of ancient receipts for sums paid officiating clergymen for services rendered has been preserved. These venerable vouchers are interesting in themselves, in this lapse of years, as autographs of some few among the preachers enumerated who subsequently attained celebrity; but chiefly interesting for the varying phraseology employed by these literary men to designate this portion of Cambridge. All the forms of expression which we have quoted near the opening of this article as familiar names of the place are used, to the almost entire exclusion of the expression "Little Cambridge." Indeed, one expression we find in these papers not before recognized anywhere in our search amidst Cambridge records. The voucher embodying it runs thus: "Cambridge, February 23d, 1750. Received of Mr. Samuel Phippe, the sum of Forty Pounds, Old Tenor in full for preaching to a Society in Cambridge." Above the words, "Society in Cambridge," are carefully interlined the words "one quarter of." So we should read, "in a quarter or section of Cambridge."

These stated pulpit stipends are enumerated in pounds, shillings, and pence, and vary with the changing value of money in the Revolutionary period. The forty pounds just cited cover services for several Sabbaths, as the usual remuneration was about five pounds, Old Tenor, for a single Sabbath. Would space allow, the statement of these exact sums might be interesting to some modern candidates for the ministry, thus instructed on what terms even learned tutors and presidents of the college labored "earnestly and painstakingly," morning and afternoon on the Lord's Day.

The name of Rev. William Bentley, D. D., afterwards the distinguished minister of Salem, written with the clearness and fulness of John Hancock, is among these signatures. All the ministers thus officiating, and here enumerated, were graduates, like him, of Harvard. Rev. John Carnes, Rev. Belcher Hancock, tutor, fellow, librarian, Rev. Samuel Fayerweather, bearing the honors of four colleges besides his Alma Mater, and who, in addition to preaching, taught the school here in the winter of 1754-55, Rev. Job Whitney, Rev.

John Mellen, Jr., tutor, Rev. Nathan Fisk, D. D., Rev. Howard Bezaleel, tutor, Rev. Henry Wight, Rev. Enoch Ward, both teacher and frequent preacher, Rev. Edward Bass, subsequently of the Episcopal Church, Rev. Samuel Foxcroft, Rev. Josiah Cotton, Rev. John Willard, D. D.; Rev. Thomas Jones, Rev. Edward Brooks, librarian, Rev. Jonas Merriam, and Rev. Stephen Minot, with many others, fill up the pulpit record of these waiting years. Presidents Edward Holyoke and Joseph Willard, of the University, came frequently "across the river" to preach, and their signatures are with the foregoing.

The ancient records allude naturally to these ministerial services. Committees are regularly chosen to "Provide Preaching and look after the school." Such offices, too, are statedly filled, as implied in the following votes relating to selecting the tune and lining off the psalm: "March 21, 1749-50. *Voted*, That Mr. Wm. Brown be desired to read the Psalm on the Sabbath for the future." "March 29, 1751. *Voted*, That Mr. Thos. Park be desired to set the Psalm, and Mr. William Dana to read it, the year ensuing." And that it might be fully certified, amidst all this preaching and psalm-singing, that the carnal wants of these ministers, who came "across the river," were duly provided for, the following record, repeated at earlier and later periods of this hitherto pastorless church, has been preserved: "November 30, 1767. *Voted*, That Mr. James Bryant entertain the ministers at a quarter of a dollar per day." If the price of articles of food which go to make up the average Sunday dinner of to-day ruled in those earlier times, no better regulation could have been devised to repel drowsiness from those college tutors and presidents and their brother preachers while the sands in the pulpit hourglass were, perhaps, running out for the second time.

The successful movement for gathering a church in this precinct dates from May 12, 1780. We learn from the records of the First Church of Cambridge that, "At a meeting of the Brethren of the First Church in Cambridge, under the above date, a petition from the Brethren and Sisters on the south side of the River signifying their desire to be dismissed and recommended to the business of being incorporated into a distinct church for enjoying the special Ordinances of the Gospel more conveniently by themselves," was considered. In a most friendly spirit the church, by vote, assented to the dismissal of the petitioners, whose

names are all recorded; and in the loving words of their pastor, Rev. Dr. Appleton, then nearly ninety years of age, recommended them to the work of church embodiment and invoked upon them the benediction of God.

In the same Christian spirit were other residents, worshippers of the congregation here, dismissed and recommended from the church at Newton, of which they were members, under Rev. Jonathan Homer, from the church at Menotomy (West Cambridge) under Rev. Samuel Cooke, and from the First Church in Brookline under Rev. Mr. Jackson. Some thirty persons in all were thus united to join in church state. The covenant, breathing a liberal spirit, but which was superseded during the ministry of the second pastor, Rev. Daniel Austin, was read on the occasion, and the church was formally embodied by Rev. Mr. Jackson of Brookline, February 27, 1783.

The ordination of its first pastor, Rev. John Foster, who had previously preached as a candidate, was on Monday, November 1, 1784. Rev. Joel Foster of New Salem, brother of the pastor elect, preached the sermon; Rev. Ebenezer Sparhawk of Templeton, a native of this place, offered the prayer of ordination; Rev. Mr. Jackson of Brookline gave the charge; Rev. Mr. Hilliard of the First Church, Cambridge, gave the right hand of fellowship; and Rev. Mr. Eliot of Watertown offered the concluding prayer.

Rev. Dr. Foster was born in Western, now Warren, Massachusetts, April 19, 1763, and graduated at Dartmouth College in 1783. He was married in Boston, April, 1785, by Rev. Dr. Lathrop of the Second Church, to Hannah, daughter of Grant Webster. They had three sons and three daughters. Allibone, in his *Dictionary of Authors*, mentions Mrs. Foster as having produced in *The Coquette; or, History of Eliza Wharton*, one of the earliest American novels; and two of her daughters, Mrs. Cushing and Mrs. Cheney, are well-known authoresses.¹

Dr. Foster was one of the board of overseers of Harvard University; was a member of various literary, benevolent, and religious societies; and has left between twenty and thirty published discourses. He was a well-read scholar, of most kindly disposition, fond of anecdote, a good talker, and dwelt more on the practical than on the theological side of religion. Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes has ad-

¹ Mrs. Foster died at Montreal, April 17, 1840, at the age of eighty-one. The two daughters mentioned still survive.

mirably described him, in a recent sketch in the *Atlantic Monthly*, where he portrays a few of the early ministers of the association with which his father, Rev. Abiel Holmes, D. D., of Cambridge, was connected, and whom he met in his youth. "Following in the train, mild-eyed John Foster, D. D., of Brighton, with the lambent aurora of a smile about his pleasant mouth, which not even the Sabbath could subdue to the true Levitical Aspect." He lived during his long residence here, at one time, in the old parsonage still standing at the foot of Rockland Street, though now much changed in appearance. At length he purchased on Foster Street and occupied till his death one of the pleasantest places in town, on the site of which now stands Mr. Horace W. Baxter's house, the Doctor's house having been moved to the opposite side of the street. He enjoyed a long and useful ministry, which was closed by his resignation, October 31, 1827, the last day of the forty-third year of his ministry. He died at Brighton, after an illness of a few days, September 16, 1829, aged sixty-six years. He was interred Thursday afternoon, the 17th, in the ancient burial-ground on Market Street, where a handsome monument with this inscription from the pen of the late Rev. Dr. Francis of Watertown marks his grave:—

"This Monument
is erected to the memory of
REV. JOHN FOSTER D. D.,
Who died September 16, 1829,
aged 66 years.

"He was the first minister of the First Congregational Society in Brighton, and continued in that office 43 years. To his piety, fidelity, and usefulness as a Christian Pastor, and to the talents and virtues displayed in his ministry and his life, this inscription presents a feeble tribute dictated by affectionate respect for his character and services.

"The righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance."

It may be added that the street of which we here speak was by vote of the town, in 1848, named Foster Street, in honor of him who had really been minister to the whole town.

One of the chief events in this long ministry was the erection of the present church edifice of the First Parish, on the corner of Washington and Market Streets. The old church of 1744, of which a cut is presented in these pages, stood in front of this, a little to the west, but nearly within the enclosure bounded by the present iron fence. The raising of the frame of the new edifice was begun under the direction of Mr. Jonas Gleason of Cambridgeport, September 21,

1808, and completed for dedication Thursday, June 22, 1809, without harm to life or limb of any employed in the enterprise. Tradition has it that in this raising, which occupied several days, the good pastor went each morning, early, to the spot and offered prayer among the workmen before axe or hammer was lifted upon the house.

While the new building was in progress, the parish worshipped in the old church. After the dedication, that was moved east to a spot opposite the site of the town-hall. The old church was converted into two school-rooms on its lower story, and into a town-hall in its upper story; all town-meetings, as was customary in New England, having been held in it while it was "the meeting-house." The new town-hall, of which Mr. Granville Fuller was the builder, at a cost of between seven and eight thousand dollars, was dedicated, with appropriate services, December 30, 1841. Its corner-stone had been laid with suitable ceremonies on the 2d of August previous. As it was furnished with school-rooms and other apartments, there was now no further use for the old "meeting-house" hall. That was, accordingly, now sold to Mr. Charles White, set back a little from the street, and converted, by a third transformation, into his own dwelling-house, as it is this day. The tower, as seen in the cut, was found, in 1811, too much decayed to be removed. The porch was then sold to Mr. Oliver Cook, and by him attached as a rear appendage to a small white house on Rockland Street, on the right side as one enters from Washington Street, where it may be seen to-day, as when it was built on the church in 1794, fifty years after the building of the main body of the edifice.

By a curious coincidence the first church edifice in the Second Precinct of Cambridge experienced the same fortune as this in the Third Precinct. That, too, was removed from its original site, on the erection of a second church edifice for the First Parish, West Cambridge, in the early part of this century, to Pleasant Street, and as late as 1868 was the residence of Mr. Charles Gage.

It will be in place here to add that, on annexation with Boston, in 1874, when town-meetings and town-discussions were to give way forever to quiet ward-room elections of city officers, the town-hall was given up chiefly for police purposes. The main hall was handsomely finished by the city as a municipal court-room for this district, which court is now presided over by Henry Baldwin as

judge and James Holton Rice as clerk,—both natives of this place.

We now return to a period embracing two important subjects in the fortunes of this place, not yet constituted a town, but simply a precinct, or ecclesiastical parish, of the ancient town of Cambridge. These are the Revolution of 1775, and the gradual establishment of a great New England cattle-market here. South Cambridge, afterwards Brighton, in common with Cambridge, in all its borders experienced much of the sufferings and hazards of the war. She bore no mean part in rearing and sending forth Colonel Thomas Gardner, who met a hero's fate at the battle of Bunker Hill. With qualities particularly fitting him for civil and public services, he was a recognized leader and trusted servant through the earlier period of the Revolution. He held several of the most important civil offices in the town, sustained a responsible part in the battle of Lexington, and was in his fifty-second year commissioned colonel in a regiment of the Massachusetts army, June 2, 1775.

General Washington's arrival at Cambridge, at this period, is somewhat tragically connected with the history of Colonel Gardner. Washington reached Cambridge on the 2d of July, having hastened with all possible speed from Philadelphia, which he left on the 21st of June. Passing through New York on the 25th, he first heard of the battle of Bunker Hill, fought eight days before. He assumed command of the American army on the 3d of July, beneath that ancient elm, so justly celebrated, in its season still green and vigorous, and some years since, with tender care, first encircled with an iron fence, the patriotic gift of the second minister of the First Church on this side of the river, the Rev. Daniel Austin.

Among the first war orders of Washington on his arrival at Cambridge was that for the military funeral of Colonel Gardner, who, while gallantly leading his regiment in the memorable battle of the 17th of June, fell, mortally wounded, and was borne back here, to the house of his sister, the wife of Samuel Sparhawk, on old River Street, now Western Avenue. This ancient house, rendered famous in these annals, still stands to testify to that day of blood. Here the expiring soldier received his brave son, whom, in the dreadful battle, the unselfish father had not allowed to forsake his post, as a private in the ranks, to help bear him from the field.

Washington's order deserves permanent record here:—

"July 4, 1775. Colonel Gardner is to be buried tomorrow, at 3 o'clock P. M. with the military honors due to so brave and gallant an officer who fought, bled and died in the cause of his Country and Mankind. His own regiment, except the company at Malden, to attend on this mournful occasion. The place of these companies, in the lines on Prospect Hill, to be supplied by Colonel Glover's regiment till the funeral is over."

The character and services of Colonel Gardner might well claim a fuller tribute in these pages, in connection with his chosen home and the place of his death. They have, however, been well considered by many and able writers on the battle of Bunker Hill, especially by Frothingham, who, in his *Siege of Boston*, details the affecting circumstances of the colonel's parting on the field from his son of nineteen, who survived to fill, with his family here, his father's place. Paige, in his recent *History of Cambridge*, assigns to Colonel Gardner military rank second only to General Warren among all who fell on the American side at Bunker Hill.

Colonel Gardner's house is still standing in this place, though removed a short distance from its early site to Allston Street. Built of massive oak, it is one of the fine old mansions of the Revolutionary period, of which this and other sections of Cambridge presented many now cherished specimens. Lord Percy passed the door with his troops, his two field-pieces, and his baggage-train, on the early forenoon of the memorable 19th of April, on his way to succor the royal forces, then retreating from Lexington. "The Great Bridge," to which Lord Percy shortly arrived, to find the planks taken up, was but about a mile north of Colonel Gardner's house. The large and handsome house of Jesse Tirrell stands on the Gardner site, while a commodious street, running east out of Harvard Avenue, which was the old county road to Brookline and Roxbury, was, some years since, laid out in the Gardner lands, and bears the patriot's name.

We preserve here a list of those from this place who, during the Revolutionary struggle, were credited for service rendered in person, or, in some few instances, by substitutes: Colonel Thomas Gardner, Major John Gardner, Captain Thomas Hovey, Captain Josiah Warren, Captain Stephen Dana, Captain Eliphalet Robbins, Lieutenant Benjamin Dana, Lieutenant Ebenezer Sever, Lieutenant Benjamin Baker, Jesse Johnson, Abijah Brown, Edward Horton, Josiah Dana, Thomas

Gardner, Jr., Caleb Cook, Samuel Hill, Samuel Champney, Coolidge P. Wood, John Wyman, Elijah White, Nathan Learnard, Thomas Thwing, Isaac Champney, Isaac Learnard, Jonathan Fessenden, Nathaniel Thwing, Samuel Townsend, Caleb Child, Jonathan Park, Joseph White, Samuel S. Learnard, Silas Robbins, James Bryant, Ebenezer Brown, Josiah Hovey, Thomas Wilson, Moses Griggs, Phipps Wyman, George Sparhawk, Henry Coolidge, Richard Gardner, William Jennison, Edward Jackson, Ezra Comee, Neverson Greenwood, Benjamin Hill, Nathaniel Sparhawk, Caleb Coolidge, Ezekiel Comee, Oliver Whitney, Blake Sparhawk, Jonathan Winship, Noah Park, Samuel Sparhawk, Abijah Learnard, John Pierce, James Robbins.

The establishment of a market for the sale of cattle in this place was coeval with the Revolutionary War, originating in the demand for ampler means of supplying provisions for the army. In the beginning cattle were driven over great distances to this market, and the weekly sales were very large. But since the era of railroads, especially of the Boston and Albany, which passes through the centre of this district of Boston, cattle of all kinds are more speedily and comfortably conveyed. Probably that road may have received from the stations here, for transportation of cattle alone, in some years, the sum of \$2,000,000. Doubtless from this large sum proportionate compensation was paid out to other roads passing along the cattle from various distances beyond. Averaging the sales of cattle here, for ten years, — say from 1835 to 1845, — as officially returned, we find the result exactly \$2,027,054. The large business is coming to be shared more and more with other places; particularly with Watertown, where extensive buildings have been erected at Union Market Station, and with North Cambridge. Both places are reached by the Fitchburg Railroad.

The establishment and successful operation of the abattoir has entirely changed the whole business of the market here. By an act of the General Court of Massachusetts in 1870, an association was incorporated with a capital of \$200,000, for bringing under one general management the business of slaughtering cattle, sheep, and other animals, and that of melting and rendering fat, offal, etc. A tract of land of some sixty acres, most suitably chosen of a dry and sandy soil, lying on the Charles River, in the southwest part of this ward, about equally accessible to this and to the Water-

town market, was purchased. The work of grading, the land and constructing the various buildings required was begun in 1872, under the sanction of the State Board of Health. Business operations commenced in June, 1873. Half a million dollars has already been invested in this most sanitary and beneficent object. Improved in some respects on the best abattoirs of France and England, this seems likely to prove one of the most satisfactory and successful of Boston institutions. It must be seen to be fully understood and appreciated. The grounds are bounded by Market Street, by Winship Avenue, and by a frontage of about a thousand feet on the Charles River, by which schooners and sloops approach the wharves which have been constructed on the territory. A branch of the Boston and Albany Railroad enters the grounds. The view of the works from Market Street, which is on an elevated grade, resembles a large industrial village.

In a word, what was once in a great measure an unpleasant business, in its surroundings here in town, has been quite divested of its repulsive features. No private slaughtering whatever is allowed in any section of the ward, under the strictest regulations of city and state, and under heavy penalties. "The skill and industry shown in the manner of conducting the business here," to use the language of an enthusiastic witness, "if it will not make slaughtering 'a fine art,' will at least place it high above its earlier position." The association consists of a board of fourteen directors, of which Mr. Jacob F. Taylor is president and Mr. Webster F. Warren is clerk and treasurer.

The Cattle Fair Hotel Corporation, which in 1830 erected the large and handsome house at Market Square, was incorporated by the legislature in 1830. It has a board of directors, of which Mr. William F. Matchett is president and Mr. Bela S. Fiske is clerk and treasurer.

The Massachusetts Agricultural Society, some sixty years ago, established an annual cattle-show and exhibition of domestic manufactures and agricultural products in this place. Large and commodious buildings were erected on Winship Place, Agricultural Hill. A day in the month of October was annually observed by an address from some distinguished speaker, and by other exercises in the church, by a public dinner, by ploughing-matches, and the various appliances of the fair. Since the numerous county agricultural societies have been established throughout Massachusetts,

this state exhibition has been abandoned. The very large building termed the Agricultural Hall, and used for the indoor pursuits and festivities of the "Brighton Fair," was sold some twenty-five years ago, moved down from the hill to Washington Street; and converted into a hotel, where it now stands, on the corner of Chestnut Hill Avenue.

The incorporation of the town of Brighton in 1807 did not encounter as much opposition as did the original formation of the old parish in 1770. Public sentiment had been steadily growing in favor of the justice and expediency of this step. Moreover, both parishes, the Third and the Second, South Cambridge and West Cambridge, or Menotomy, were making common cause in the matter. As early as 1806, and just one year before the legislative act of incorporation, the subject was before the people for action, as appears from the following record:—

"CAMBRIDGE, South Precinct, February 17, 1806.

"At a meeting of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants on the South Side of Charles River, legally Warned and assembled, after choosing Mr. Jonathan Winship, Moderator, the following Votes were passed:—1st. To Petition the Honorable General Court to be set off as a Town. 2d. To choose a Committee to wait on the Honorable General Court with the Petition. 3d. That Mr. Samuel Wylls Pomeroy, Mr. Gorham Parsons, Stephen Dana, Esq., Mr. Thomas English, Mr. Daniel Bowen Compose this Committee.

"Attest. HENRY DANA, *Precinct Clerk.*"

The petition presented forcibly many of the causes which had before recommended parochial incorporation, and is very numerously signed by all the well-known voters of the place.

By an act of the legislature, dated February 24, 1807, the town of Brighton was formally incorporated. The town of West Cambridge, or Menotomy, the Second Precinct Parish, was incorporated in the same month; and, by the separation of the two from the parent stock, Cambridge lost a large portion of her territory. The first town warrant issued, May 2, 1807, from Stephen Dana, justice of the peace, to Captain Joseph Warren, calling the citizens to assemble at the old meeting-house, for their first town-meeting, on the 9th of May. Let the first town officers be put on record who were then chosen: Henry Dana, great-great-grandson of Richard (progenitor here of the Dana family in this country), was made town-clerk; Nathaniel Champ-

ney (in the fifth generation from Elder Richard Champney, progenitor here of the family, and associated as Ruling Elder, with Shepard, in the First Cambridge Church) was made treasurer. Nathaniel Champney, Dudley Hardy, Jonathan Livermore, Thomas Gardner (son of the Colonel), and Benjamin Hill were appointed selectmen. At a subsequent town-meeting, May 11, Stephen Dana was chosen representative to the General Court. The sum of \$2,000 was appropriated to defray town charges. This sum would contrast strikingly with the sum appropriated for the last year of the town's existence; yet the contrast would be no greater than that of the town's valuation at the two periods. The valuation of Brighton, in real and personal estate, when annexed to Boston in January, 1874, was about eleven millions.

It was growing in population and in wealth, expanding and strengthening in its commercial, literary, and religious organization. February 24, 1857, on a clear, sunny winter day, the hour of the half-century of the town's existence struck. There was now more than one church bell within her borders; and the day was joyfully observed at sunrise, noon, and sunset by their glad peal, by cannon salute, and in the evening by brilliant fireworks. Great changes were witnessed on every side in the progress of the years. One citizen only, Mr. Edward Sparhawk, was living who voted for the town's incorporation fifty years before. He, representing in his line one of the earliest emigrant settlers of Cambridge, Nathaniel Sparhawk, went on into the second half-century, active, useful, to the end, dying September 3, 1867, in his ninety-seventh year.

Of the three early town-clerks, to whose faithful fulfilment of their office the present is so indebted for these recorded memorials of the past, Mr. Dana served ten years, until his death. Captain Joseph Warren served eighteen years, and Mr. William Warren served twenty-two years. The latter laid down his office at the close of the half-century, and was succeeded by his son, Hon. William Wirt Warren, late member of congress from this district; and he, in turn, by a brother, Mr. Webster F. Warren; and this unusual sequence, to the advantage of the town, has testified that the qualities essential for the successful town-clerk may be transmitted from father to son.

Of the early town-treasurers, Mr. Nathaniel Champney, the first, served twenty years, until his death, and was succeeded by Deacon Thaddeus

Baldwin, who declined a third annual re-election. A few years later, and Mr. Henry Heath Larnard was appointed in 1833. He was re-elected each year by a unanimous vote till he declined serving in 1869. The town never required of him an official bond in his responsible office. When, after bearing it with untarnished honor thirty-three years, he gave back the trust, the town, through a committee,—Messrs. Charles Henry B. Breck, Henry Baldwin, and Frederic A. Whitney,—with appropriate resolutions, acknowledged their appreciation of his services, and presented him with a massive silver pitcher and salver bearing the following inscription:—

Presented to
HENRY HEATH LARNARD
by the Town of Brighton,
in grateful acknowledgment
of his faithful services,
as, with unanimous voice,
keeper of their Treasury
for thirty-three years.
March 8, 1869.

"Whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him,
shall never thirst."

Mr. Larnard died here in 1878, in his ninety-first year.

The early officers, as well as the citizens generally of the newly created town, were compelled to go over the river to Cambridge for postal accommodations. A post-office was first established in Brighton in 1817. A commission, dated February 3, 1817, was issued to Rev. Noah Worcester, D. D., who had become a citizen of Brighton in 1813. He had been called to edit a periodical in Boston, *The Christian Disciple*, but subsequently entitled *The Friend of Peace*, of which cause he was known commonly as "the Apostle." He held the post-office, assisted by a daughter, some twenty-four years, in his own house on Washington Street, opposite the head of Foster Street. He was the intimate friend and associate of the distinguished Rev. Dr. Channing, who called Worcester "the benefactor of his mind." Harvard University and Dartmouth College bestowed on him honorary degrees. He was commissioned justice of the peace, and represented Brighton several years in the legislature. He was eminent as a thinker and a writer on theological and philanthropic subjects. His works have been much read abroad as well as at home, and some have been translated into foreign languages. He died at Brighton, October 31, 1837, aged seventy-nine. Under growing infirm-

ities of age and ill health, he had resigned the post-office, and Mr. J. B. Mason had been commissioned April 28, 1837. The office was at Mason's store on Washington Street, opposite the Cattle Fair Hotel. His successor was Mr. William Warren, commissioned January 26, 1843; and the office was kept at his drug-store on Washington Street, opposite Rockland Street, until May 26, 1857. Mr. Timothy Munroe then succeeded, on the corner of Washington Street and Harvard Place. Mr. John F. Day was commissioned July 1, 1861. A soldier of the Republic, he died of starvation in the rebel prison at Millen, Georgia, October, 1864, having been first imprisoned at Andersonville. His widow, commissioned in 1865, is now in charge of the office.

A second post-office was established in the east section of Brighton in 1868, named in honor of Washington Allston, whose home was not far from the spot, on the Cambridgeport side of the river. The Boston and Albany Railroad at this point crosses Cambridge Street, and the station had been long known as "Cambridge Crossing." The corporation erected a new station-house, to which was given the name of the illustrious painter and poet; and thus the section of the city around it goes commonly by that designation. Since, with annexation, the system of postal letter-carriers has been adopted here, this post-office has been given up.

We recorded the gathering of the first church here in 1783, with the ordination of its first minister in 1784, and closed with his death in 1829. This First Parish really embraced all the inhabitants, except three or four families, who were by name exempted in the act of incorporation from severing their relations with the First Precinct of Cambridge. Rev. Dr. Foster's funeral services were conducted, September 17, by his successor, Rev. Daniel Austin, assisted by Rev. Ezra Ripley, D. D., of Concord, who had previously agreed with Dr. Foster, that whichever of the two survived should discharge for the other this grateful service. Rev. Mr. Austin, born in Boston, son of Daniel, November 21, 1793 (Dartmouth, 1813, and Harvard Divinity School, 1827), was ordained June 4, 1828. He married in Boston Hannah, daughter of Benjamin Joy, in 1833, and died suddenly of heart disease, at his home in Kittery, Maine, December 4, 1877. The funeral was from King's Chapel, Boston, and the interment was beneath that edifice. His successor at Brighton was Rev. Abner Dumont Jones, born at Charlestown, April 20, 1807, in-

stalled at Brighton, February 13, 1839. Relinquishing his charge October 31, 1842, he subsequently died at St. Louis, June 30, 1872. Rev. Frederic A. Whitney, born at Quincy, Massachusetts, September 13, 1812, son of Rev. Peter Whitney (of Harvard College, 1833, and Harvard Theological School, 1838), took charge of the pulpit, April 9, 1843, — preaching in the town-hall, while the church edifice underwent alterations; and was ordained February 21, 1844. He was married, February 11, 1853, by George Putnam, D. D., to Elizabeth Perkins, daughter of William Perkins Matchett. He was succeeded in the ministry by Rev. Charles Noyes, born at Petersham (Harvard College, 1856, Divinity School, 1859), ordained January 4, 1860. Rev. Samuel Walton McDaniel, born in Philadelphia, November 18, 1833, was installed as his successor, August 30, 1866, serving until 1869. Rev. Thomas Timmins, born in England (of Manchester College, England), was installed May 31, 1870, and resigned December 31, 1871. Rev. Edward Ilseley Galvin, born in Philadelphia (of Harvard Divinity School, 1862), was installed here 1872–1876. Rev. William Brunton, born at Sheffield, England (of Manchester College, and ordained there, of Harvard Divinity School, Special Student, 1877), was installed here June, 1877, and is the present pastor. This church in its religious sentiment is Congregational Unitarian.

Besides the original First Parish, which covers so long a period, six others have come up, making seven churches in this ward. That which follows next is the Evangelical Congregational Church, which was gathered April 4, 1827; the first church edifice was dedicated September 13 of the same year. We transfer to these pages from the last church manual of this parish the names of pastors as they stand there: —

Rev. George Washington Blagden, born at Washington, D. C. (Yale, 1823, and Andover Theological Seminary); began preaching here March 4, 1827, in the old town-hall, which was the upper story of the old First Parish Church. He was ordained December 26, 1827; dismissed September 8, 1830. Rev. William Adams was ordained February 2, 1831; dismissed April 23, 1834. Rev. William W. Newell was installed August 19, 1834; dismissed June 13, 1837. Rev. Samuel Lamson was ordained September 20, 1837; dismissed September 16, 1841. Rev. John R. Adams was installed February 21, 1842; dismissed December 16, 1846. Rev. Arthur Swazey was ordained Octo-

ber 6, 1847; dismissed May 13, 1856. Rev. Daniel Tenney supplied one year. Rev. Thomas O. Rice was installed April 6, 1858; dismissed July 6, 1859. Rev. Richard G. Greene was installed September 19, 1860; dismissed August 12, 1862. Rev. John P. Cushman was installed May 6, 1863; dismissed April 17, 1866. Rev. David T. Packard was installed December 6, 1866; dismissed June 11, 1874. Rev. Henry A. Stevens, present pastor, was installed June 11, 1874.

The old house of worship was moved across the street in June, 1867, to give place to the new, on the same site. The old was used for worship till November 3. December 20, the society worshipped in the vestry of their new church. The corner-stone of that had been laid, with appropriate services, August 13, 1867, and the church was dedicated May 14, 1868. The old church was at length sold and taken down.

The Roman Catholic Church was the third in Brighton in order of time. The first edifice was erected on Bennett Street in May, 1856, though Sabbath services of worship had been previously held here in private halls. The minister in charge was Rev. J. M. Finotti. This first edifice accidentally took fire, Sunday, December 7, 1862, and was entirely consumed. The society immediately rebuilt on the same site, and again of wood. This edifice proved insufficient for the society; and the corner-stone of the new and very large stone church, on the northwest corner of Market and Arlington Streets, was laid, with very imposing religious ceremonies, September 22, 1872. The building is not yet completed, but public worship is held in its vestry. When finished, it will be one of the finest and most imposing churches of the order. The designation of the church is St. Columbkille; minister in charge, Rev. P. J. Rogers.

The next church in order is the First Baptist, at Union Square, which is called the Brighton Avenue Baptist Church. The church was organized December 2, 1853. The corner-stone of the present edifice was laid, with appropriate religious services, September 11, 1855. Rev. J. M. Graves was the minister in supply from February 1, 1854, until January 1, 1856. He died at Charlestown, January 15, 1879, aged seventy-six. Rev. J. M. Bonham, a native of England, was settled July 28, 1856, and left September 1, 1857. The society first met for worship in the vestry in January, 1856. The church edifice was dedicated February 10, 1857. Rev. J. W. Parker was settled

Nov. 1, 1857, and closed his ministry here July 1, 1859. Rev. S. M. Stimson was settled Aug. 7, 1859; dismissed June 1, 1861. Rev. Ralph H. Bowles was settled Aug. 23; dismissed Jan. 1, 1867. Rev. William B. Thompson was settled Aug. 6, 1868; dismissed Aug. 31, 1871. Rev. F. E. Tower, present pastor, was settled Jan. 1, 1872.

The First Universalist Parish is in Cambridge Street, near Union Square. The parish was organized June 12, 1860. Chapel was dedicated Aug. 7, 1861. Rev. James Eastwood was settled July 1, 1861; dismissed July 1, 1864. Rev. Thomas W. Silloway was settled July 24, 1864; dismissed June 30, 1867. Rev. J. W. Keyes was settled May 1, 1868; dismissed Sept. 4, 1869. Rev. J. Edgar Johnson was settled Nov. 24, 1869; dismissed July 1, 1870. Rev. W. A. Start was settled April 16, 1871; dismissed April 1, 1872. Rev. John Virgil Wilson was settled April 1, 1872; dismissed April 1, 1874. From April, 1874, to Oct., 1876, the pulpit was supplied by different ministers. Rev. John G. Adams was settled Oct. 22, 1876; dismissed Aug. 1, 1878. Rev. Benjamin Franklin Eaton, settled Nov. 15, 1878, is the present pastor.

Religious services of the Protestant Episcopal Church were first held in Brighton September 10, 1854. They were conducted in the town-hall by Rev. Cyrus F. Knight. Worship was subsequently sustained in the town by lay readers and by various clergymen of the neighborhood. The Church of the Epiphany was organized January 8, 1863, — the Rev. David Greene Haskins, rector; George B. Hooper and Thomas P. Bray, wardens. The church edifice was erected on Washington Street, corner of Church Street, in 1864; and services were first held in it September 1, 1864. In 1872 the church property was sold, and a new parish was organized, under the name of St. Margaret Church, Rev. Charles A. Holbrook, rector. He has since withdrawn, and Rev. Thomas Cole is the present rector.

The Methodist Episcopal Church, on the corner of Harvard Avenue and Farrington Avenue, was the seventh and last established in Brighton. It was organized March 24, 1872, Rev. John P. Otis acting as minister from that date. The corner-stone of a church edifice was laid at Christmas, 1876. During its erection the society worshipped in the Universalist Church, at hours mutually convenient. Rev. Willard Taylor Perrin was appointed to the ministerial charge in 1874; and Rev. William G. Richardson sustained the same from April, 1876,

to April, 1879. Rev. W. H. Hatch, present pastor, was stationed here in April, 1879. Mr. Perrin was of Harvard College, 1870; the other pastors were graduates of the Boston University.

Like the grand words, "Liberty and Union, one and inseparable," stood meeting-house and school-house, in the early settlements, in the hearts and in the home speech of our New England fathers. Where was one, there, sooner or later, must needs come the other. Let us look for our earliest school-house among the earliest trod paths of the place. In the laying out of roads here, the oldest date perhaps attaches to that running south from the Charles River Ferry, which, beginning at the foot of Dunster Street on the College side, lay a little east, or lower down the river than the Great Bridge. That bridge, built in 1660, the first ever built on the Charles River, superseded the ferry. That road on this side from the ferry is described in these terms: "It is ordered in respect of making a sufficient path from the south side of Charles River to Roxburie that the line shall lie," etc. Of early date, too, was "the Roxbury Path," a portion of our Washington Street, by which Roxbury people went to the grist-mill at Watertown. To find our earliest school-house we follow up another ancient path, our Market Street, to the foot of which the river guides us in its windings from the ferry. Here were "The Pines," a fine cluster, or forest, of pine-trees, about on the site of the present sbattoir. This Market Street, which, after the first meeting-house was built in 1744, was subsequently known as "Meeting-House Lane," was laid out, in 1656, through the estate of Richard Dana. At the head of the street, on the left ascending it, fronting on "Roxbury Path," was the meeting-house, presented in this sketch, and a few steps farther east stood the ancient school-house, erected in 1722.

Mr. Paige, in his history, remarks: "The earliest trace which I have seen of a school-house on the south side of the river, afterwards Brighton, is in 1769, in which year new houses were erected in three sections of the town." We have seen a copy of an ancient deed, by which Daniel Dana, son of the early Richard, gives the land, in 1722, "to the inhabitants on the south side of the river" for a school-house. It was built. But in 1769 it was replaced by a new house, as appears from the following votes: —

"Cambridge South side, March 27, 1769. — *Voted*, That the old school-house is insufficient to contain the scholars,

and is not worth repairing. *Voted*,—To build a new school house, not exceeding y^e following Dimensions, viz. . . . *Voted*,—Mr. John Denuie, Thomas Sparhawk, and Caleb Dana, Esq., be the Committee for this purpose. *Voted*,—That the old school-house be sold at a Vandue to the highest Bidder."

The drug-shop of William Warren was, in 1811, appended to the west end of this old school-house of 1769 by Mr. John Herrick; and the whole building, with other buildings in the same line, is now (April, 1879) in process of removal a little to the rear, to make room on the site for the erection of the Warren Building, a very large edifice in brick and stone, for stores, offices, and halls.

Rev. Dr. Abiel Holmes, in his well-known *History of Cambridge*, under date of 1800, says: "Besides the Town, or Grammar School, there are six school-houses in the town; two in each of the three parishes." The two in this South Parish were the one just described, and the second of more recent date, on the west corner of Cambridge and North Harvard streets. This was removed, nearly fifty years since, by Mr Colby, on building his house near that corner, and may be seen here in the town to-day, occupied as a dwelling-house.

The three precinct parishes of Cambridge were generally, sometimes equally, represented on town committees and on the board of selectmen. The Cambridge school-committee, chosen March, 1795, embraced from this parish Rev. Dr. Foster and Mr. Jonathan Winship. The latter was grandfather of Mr. Francis Lyman Winship, at present representing this ward on the Boston school-committee. Both he and his brother, Mr. J. P. C. Winship, rendered valuable services on the school-committee of Brighton before annexation.

The two ancient schools here described, supplemented by various private schools, transmitted the advantages of learning to our modern days. The teachers were very generally supplied, as was the early pulpit here, by those who were in some way associated with the college. The "district system" was superseded by the "graded system" but little later than in the First Parish of Cambridge. A school of essentially the same character as the modern high school, but sustained by a private corporation, which erected for it an edifice on Academy Hill, was kept here in 1839 and 1840, by Mr. Josiah Butter, a Harvard graduate. This was followed by the public high school proper, in 1841, at first opened in the same building, begun by Mr. John Ruggles, also a graduate of Harvard,

assisted for a few years in the female department by Miss Delia A. Gardner, a successful teacher of girls. Mr. Ruggles laid, in his fine scholarship and wide experience, the foundations of a flourishing high school, on which after teachers have well built. During his eighteen years' service a large number of young men entered Harvard and other colleges. Several, too, as female teachers in this and other towns subsequently honored the school of their early training. It may be added, that, on Mr. Ruggles leaving the office in 1859, his numerous friends, his old and new pupils, tendered him a festival; and presented a silver service to the retiring teacher.

The town has enjoyed, from its early settlement, sufficient private schools. Vicinity to the college doubtless favored them. They are often referred to here, in records of the seventeenth century. Mr. James Dana, son of Caleb, near in line to Richard, the ancestor, taught a well-remembered school for boys and girls at the opening of this century, in the old Dana Mansion on Washington, near Allston, Street. Mr. Jacob Knapp, a graduate of Harvard in 1802, taught a classical school of much repute, for boys, several years, at his house on Bowen's Hill, — afterwards owned by Captain William Perkins Matchett. Hosea Hildreth, a graduate of Harvard in 1805, taught a private school, and was of further assistance in his rare gifts as instructor in singing and music in the place. Major Thomas Hovey, who had served in the Revolution, — still often remembered in traditions, — and J. F. Durivage, and Teacher Mises, and Jonas Wilder, who laid down the work not quite fifty years ago, all taught private schools here. Besides the many connected with the college who in early times instructed here, Henry W. Torrey, the present accomplished professor of history in the University, and several others, while undergraduates, taught the public schools at various seasons.

The town of Brighton, after her incorporation, supported liberally her schools, and in the tables of the Massachusetts Board of Education stood first on the list for the years 1842 and 1843 among the towns and cities of the commonwealth in the *pro rata* appropriation for each school child. She was among the earliest of the towns, in 1839, to deposit at the State House, as required by the statute, a copy of her annual school report, in printed form and not in manuscript, either being then allowed, while now the former only is valid. Her school-

houses and furnishings have been well cared for. She has been nearly six years under the Boston school system; and two of her largest school-houses, in brick and stone,—the Bennett and the Allston,—were pronounced by the Mayor, at the recent dedication of the latter house, as among the finest in the city.

As early as 1824 the Brighton Social Library was formed. It was established by proprietors, when, as yet, very few towns or cities in the state had public libraries for circulation. This social library was, in 1858, merged in the Brighton Library Association, a body of young men incorporated by the legislature for the circulation of books, for public lectures, for exercises in declamation, composition, and debate. Mr. James Holton, of an ancient family here, dying in 1863, left a bequest for a public town library, the provisions of which were fulfilled in 1864 by the town electing trustees, and organizing the Holton Public Library, successfully conducted for ten years. On the town's annexation with Boston, January, 1874, the imposing building in brick and freestone, on Rockland Street, which had been begun by the town, was completed by the city at a cost of \$70,000, and was dedicated October 29, 1875, under the auspices of Mayor Cobb and the city officials, as a branch of the city library. The addresses of the Mayor and the president of the trustees, Mr. Greenough, with the address of dedication by Mr. Whitney, comprising full details of the occasion and institution of the library, were published by the city.

Our sketch has thus far dealt with the living. The disposing of the dead claims notice. The first burial-ground was laid out on Market Street, nearly under the shadow of the ancient meeting-house, in 1764, the first in Cambridge (First Parish), which is opposite to the colleges, having been laid out in 1635. This ancient ground answered for interments on this side of the river until 1850, when the town purchased the beautiful well-wooded tract on South Street, known as the Aspinwall Woods, embracing nearly fourteen acres. Prepared with appropriate foot and carriage paths, made attractive with shrubbery, foliage, and flowers, Evergreen Cemetery was consecrated, in the presence of a large throng, August 7, 1850, by Rev. Mr. Swazey, assisted by Rev. Mr. Whitney. The becoming gateway, in Egyptian architecture, modelled after the first gateway in Mount Auburn, greets, from the outside, the coming mourner with the engraven

words, "I am the Resurrection and the Life;" and, from the inside, greets the mourner, who has laid down his dead, with the words, "Peace I leave with you; my peace I give unto you." The monument of Holton, founder of the Public Library, and many other interesting shafts, stand here; and the city government, by watchful care, is daily making it one of Boston's most attractive gardens of graves.

Those gates, draped with the American flag intertwined with the insignia of mourning, opened wide to fast-gathering throngs on the 28th of August, 1866, for the dedication of the Soldiers' Monument. Brighton contributed very liberally of men and means for the suppression of the Rebellion. More than two hundred enlisted, and twenty-three furnished substitutes. The battle had been fought, the victory won. The returned soldiers had been received by their grateful fellow-citizens on the 22d of June previous in a spacious grove,—one of "God's first temples." They had been welcomed home by public procession, by the peal of bells, by the cannon that woke the echoes of our hills and valleys. And now, spared in the dreadful conflict of war, they sat down in safety, with grateful thousands, to testify that

"Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war."

They were gathered about the graceful shaft in massive granite, which was one of the earliest in the state to be reared, on the termination of hostilities, to tell of the valor and to seal the memory of their departed comrades. In fitting words or address from Mr. Bickford, chairman of the selectmen, of scripture, hymns, and prayer from Rev. Mr. Bowles, and by an oration from the writer of these records, the monument was formally consecrated.

Here it will be in place to note the tradition that while Colonel Gardner, borne wounded from Bunker Hill, as already detailed, lay dying at his sister's house, General Washington, mounted, and accompanied by his aids, rode "across the river" and visited the intrepid hero. Surely, as we recall the noble, sympathetic heart of Washington, we may lift this out from the shadow of tradition, and exclaim, "It must be truth."

Written history has it that General La Fayette, while at Boston in June, 1825, visited Brighton and was hospitably received at the hotel, now on the corner of Washington and Cambridge Streets,—the same building which in early times had been the mansion-house of the Winship family. It was

occupied, at the period of the General's visit, by Mr. Samuel Dudley. The school children were arranged in lines, between which the General, attended by his son, Mr. George Washington La Fayette, passed. Some then present recall perfectly the brilliant pageant of that bright June day. The kiss the good General impressed on more than one fair brow passed thence upon the memory and lingers there to-day.

It is further recorded that Henry Clay visited the town in October, 1833, and was entertained by the citizens at a collation in the large dining-hall of the Cattle Fair Hotel, erected in 1830 in Market Square. The published narrative states that Mr. Clay recognized in "the yards" some of his fine steers, which, by a long journey in that day, had yet found their way from Ashland, Kentucky, before him, to the spot. Doubtless their large expressive eyes looked as gladly upon their master as did those of Webster's noble steers when led, in October, 1851, to his open window, on the broad green lawn, where he lay, dying, in his Marshfield mansion.

"Oak Square," a pleasant portion of the town on its west border, was thus named by vote of the town, March 5, 1860, as comprising all the town's land at the junction of Washington, Faneuil, and Nonantum Streets. Here stood the "Old Oak Tree," in close proximity to the school-house. The state commissioners, appointed in 1837 to make a zoölogical and botanical survey of Massachusetts, spent eight years in their work, and published, in thick octavo, a report on the forest trees and shrubs of Massachusetts. They presented this as the largest and oldest white-oak tree in their survey of the whole state. Its circumference on the ground was given as twenty-five feet and nine inches, — two feet and three inches more than the circumference of the Great Elm on Boston Common. Through decay, the trunk was hollow at the base. The vast weight of wide-spreading branches was sustained at last by a mere shell of trunk, and the tree was ordered to be cut down, in May, 1855, from fear of its possible fall.¹ The wigwam of Waban, chief of the Nonantums, lay a little west of the tree, in Newton, and he must often have

¹ The tree was painted by Harvey, of Boston. A minute description of it, and of its removal, was published in the *Boston Transcript* of July 26, 1855. But its age? Mr. Emerson and his scientific commission, in their rich botanical lore, must be our authority. Read his words very deliberately: "It had probably passed its prime, centuries before the first English voice was heard on the shores of Massachusetts Bay."

rested in its generous shade. Tradition says the Apostle Eliot preached under it. The Indian trail extended from it northeast to the Charles River, and connected the settlement at the colleges with what was at first called "Cambridge Village."



Ancient Oak of Brighton.

On the estate of Mr. George H. Brooks, on Faneuil Street, late the estate of his father, Samuel Brooks, earlier the estate of Thomas Sparhawk, and, still further back, of Nathaniel Oliver, is a natural spring of water slightly impregnated with iron, and of valuable properties. A granite curb about it is inscribed, as then located, 1832. But the spring, still free-flowing, constant, cold, salubrious, was, more than fifty years ago, a well-known resort for invalids.

There are several ancient historic mansions in this town dating back to early Cambridge days. Some are rich in old-time associations with the Revolution, with tales of confiscation and political feuds. On Price's map of Boston, of 1743, on which buildings and blocks are singly and specially engraved, one, as he looks southwest to the noble range of hills, the Corey and Nonantum, in this ward, will see a magnificent house of great size and height and quaint architecture, with terraces and

gardens about it. Inscribed on the map above the house is "Capt. Cunningham's seat." Though not lying in Boston, but in South Cambridge, afterwards Brighton, it was brought within the range of Price's "Prospect of the Town of Boston," for its rare magnificence of locality and surroundings. This grand estate subsequently became the property of Charles Ward Apthorp, who sold it in 1762 to Mr. John Dennie, whose name appears on committees in this sketch. While occupied by Mr. Dennie, it was accidentally burned to the ground, January, 1770. The friends of Mr. Dennie immediately contributed very generously for his relief, and the mansion was at once rebuilt. Mr. Dennie died August 7, 1777, aged fifty-seven. The place was subsequently owned and occupied by Samuel W. Pomeroy; by Jared Coffin from Nantucket, 1843; and is now the estate and residence of his son-in-law, David Nevins.

Mr. Dennie's sympathies, as is well known, were strongly with England in the Revolution; and prominent on the subscription paper are the names of the leading men of Boston who so sympathized, as Harrison Gray, Nathaniel Bethune, John Irving, Ralph Iuman, John Apthorp, and many others. The paper opens: "Boston, January 16, 1770. *Whereas* the dwelling-house of our good friend, Mr. John Dennie, together with a great part of his furniture and winter stores to his very great loss and the peculiar distress of his family at this season of the year, was lately consumed by fire, — we the subscribers, in order to alleviate his present misfortune, do cheerfully promise to pay to him, or to Mr. Thomas Gray of Boston, Merchant, for the use and benefit of our Said Friend, the sums set against our names." Three hundred pounds were subscribed, in sums of forty pounds and less; and among the neighbors of Mr. Dennie, and fellow-worshippers at the ancient church presented in this sketch, are the names of James Bryant, George Dana, Edward Jackson, and others. Traditions of the wonderful fire of 1770 — an event rarer than now — and of the daring exploits of the "Harvard boys," with their small college engine, lived far down into this century.

The ancient Faneuil estate, on Faneuil Street, is another of the eminently historic mansions of old Middlesex. It was built before the middle of the last century by Benjamin Faneuil, whose brother Peter, of Faneuil Hall memory, spent much of his time here. The first house was burned by a treacherous servant and immediately rebuilt. Benjamin

Faneuil's only daughter married George Bethune, Sr. Susan, daughter of Mr. Bethune, married at this house, 1778, Edmund Dunkin, who came to this country in 1775. They were parents of several children born here; and likewise of Benjamin Faneuil Dunkin, born in Philadelphia, a classmate and friend of Edward Everett at Harvard College, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of South Carolina. The estate was subsequently in possession of Thomas English, until purchased by Samuel Parkman of Boston, whose son, Mr. John Parkman, occupied it until his death. Mr. Samuel Bigelow owned and occupied it from 1838, making extensive alterations and accessions. He sold the estate in 1864 to James M. Murdock. The present owner and occupant is Mr. Luther Adams. It is still a place of uncommon beauty and historical interest.

The large estate of Gorham Parsons, long famous for its well-cultivated and ornamented grounds, was sold in 1838, and subdivided in lots, as its owner, enfeebled in health, retired to his home farm at Byfield, where he died, 1843, at the age of seventy-six. The original mansion, formerly the Charles Apthorp place, remains, and is of great antiquity. The Champney house and the Dana house are each two hundred years old.

It becomes us to name those who have made bequests to the town. Mr. Ebenezer Smith, whose birth is in the Cambridge records, March 9, 1688–9, son of Henry and Lydia (Buck) Smith, was a man of very large estate for that day, and most prominent in the civil and religious history of this place. He died, unmarried, in an ancient house still standing. It could have told its tale of the Revolution when its venerable owner of nearly ninety years was wont to sit there in his arm-chair. His will is very voluminous, so numerous and varied are his bequests. We name only the parsonage estate, at the foot of Rockland Street, with money to the ancient Precinct Parish; and, for the benefit of the school here, six acres of woodland in Newton, to supply poor children, in place of the inevitable "twenty-five cent tax for fire-wood," on commencing their winter school. A grateful people inscribed above his tomb, in the ancient burial-ground here, —

"Intombed

MR. EBENEZER SMITH, who died,

September, 11, 1776, Æ 85.

"This, as a testimony of gratitude and esteem, is here inscribed by the Parish Society, to which he was a friend and benefactor."

This land passed, at the date of annexation, to the city of Boston; and, centrally situated in Newton, will probably, with the increasing call for house-lots, inure to the benefit of our Boston treasury.

The gift of Mr. Stephen Hastings Bennett of this town, in 1861, of land on Winship Place, Agricultural Hill, for the erection of the first Bennett Grammar School-house, is fully detailed in the town school report of that year. The city authorities, after annexation, caused a marble slab to be inscribed with Mr. Bennett's name on the front of their large school-house on Chestnut Hill Avenue, in recognition of some privileges in connection with his bequest.

Three families, among the very earliest in the founding of Cambridge, settled on the south side of Charles River, afterwards Brighton, — namely, Richard Dana, Elder Richard Champney, and Nathaniel Sparhawk. To their names we may add that of Lieutenant Edward Winship, who settled on the College side in 1635, but whose descendants, in the succeeding generations, were early and largely represented on this side. Richard Dana died here, April 2, 1690, from the effects of a fall; is represented by a lineal descendant of the sixth generation, Mr. James Dana, now in his seventy-fifth year, with other branches of the family. Richard Champney, fellow-passenger and close friend of Shepard, the first minister of Cambridge, is represented by William Richards Champney, of the fifth generation, in his eighty-second year. The Sparhawk family is represented by Edward Corey Sparhawk, who, in his seventy-sixth year, owns and occupies the ancestral estate, which has never been separated from the Sparhawk name.

Of those who from public official station or authorship in this place attained distinction the names of Rev. Dr. Worcester, and the wife and daughters of Rev. Dr. Foster have been cited. Rev. East Apthorp, D. D., founder and first rector of Christ Church, Cambridge, was born at Brighton, then South Cambridge, 1733. He was distinguished for his learned controversy with Rev. Dr. Mayhew of the West Church, Boston; for his intellectual gifts; and as builder of that noted edifice on Main Street, Cambridge, sometimes called the Bishop's Palace. Daniel Bowen, who opened the first museum in Boston in 1791, resided here for a quarter of a century; he was

the owner of the fine old mansion on Bowen Hill, named for him, where he carried on the art of printing as early as 1800. Colonel Isaac Munroe was born here, April 26, 1783; first apprenticed to Benjamin Russell, founder of the *Boston Patriot*; died, founder and editor of the *Baltimore Patriot*, December 21, 1859, aged seventy-four, eminent in character, as for signal editorial capacity. Hon. Joseph Adams Pond, an adopted citizen of Brighton, died, president of the Massachusetts senate, October 28, 1867, — suddenly stricken down on the 24th at the State House in the dawn of his rising fame, at the early age of forty. Sara P. (Willis) Parton, more widely known by her *nom de plume*, Fanny Fern, was a resident some years here; Dr. Eldridge, father of her first husband, was a physician here. Hon. Joseph Breck, the veteran horticulturist, florist, and author of some of the best books on flowers, was president of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, and a state senator; he died here, June 14, 1873, aged seventy-eight. Captain Samuel G. Adams, born at Brighton, November 22, 1825, is now developing rarest gifts and reputation in his responsible station as general superintendent of Boston Police. Henry Baldwin, born at Brighton, son of Life and Susanna D. (Dudley) Baldwin, January 7, 1834, is Judge of the Municipal Court, Boston (Brighton District). James Holton Rice, born at Brighton, September 14, 1839, son of Edmund and Martha Ann (Fletcher) Rice, is clerk of the Municipal Court Boston (Brighton District). William Wirt Warren, born at Brighton, February 27, 1834, son of William and Abigail Lyman (Bannister) Warren, was senator of Massachusetts; representative from this district in the Forty-third Congress. William Henry Baldwin, born at Brighton, October 20, 1826, son of Henry and Mary (Brackett) Baldwin, is president of the Young Men's Christian Union. Let his own works praise him. Joseph Bass Eaton, a late munificent benefactor to the above Union of \$80,000, was born in Boston, 1803, but was for several years pupil here in the classical school of Mr. Jacob Knapp. Rev. Titus Strong, D. D., author, and forty years rector in Greenfield, was born in Brighton, January 28, 1787; died June 11, 1855; mentioned by Allibone, Sprague, and Drake (Francis S.) for numerous works on education and theology.

BURLINGTON.

BY SAMUEL SEWALL.



SITUATED in the easterly part of the county, Burlington is bounded on the northwest by Bedford and Billerica, on the northeast by Wilmington, on the east by Woburn, and on the southwest by Lexington. It is thirteen miles northwest of Boston, on the old stage-road from Boston to Lowell. It has no direct railroad con-

nection, the nearest station being at Woburn Centre, three miles distant.

Burlington is almost entirely an agricultural town, having but little manufacturing or mechanical business. The centre of the town is on elevated ground, from which may be had many fine views of the surrounding country. The soil, for the most part, is good for farming purposes. The people are largely employed in raising fruit, hay, vegetables, and milk for the market.

Vine Brook, one of the principal branches of the Shawshine River, flows through the southwesterly part of the town, watering many acres of meadow land, and furnishing power for a saw and grist mill, and to one factory for printing woollen cloths, owned by Thomas Barr and Company. Sources of Ipswich River originate in the easterly part of the town.

Burlington was originally a part of Woburn. That ancient town, incorporated in 1642, included Burlington and a large portion of Wilmington. A church was gathered in 1642, and for eighty years afterward all the inhabitants of the town were harmoniously united in one religious society, and met for public worship in the meeting-house at Woburn. But during these years many buildings had been erected in the northwesterly part of the town, then called Shawshine, and now known as Burlington, and many people of substance and reputation had made their homes in this region, at a distance of several miles from the meeting-house of Woburn. Tradition states that some of the people were

obliged to travel four or five miles to attend public worship, crossing the deep drifts in winter with the aid of snow-shoes.

Despite the pious zeal of those days, the inhabitants of Shawshine began to manifest much uneasiness at the hardships they were thus obliged to undergo, and to seek earnestly for a change. After five years of struggle to effect a separation from the church of their fathers, Shawshine was incorporated, by order of the provincial legislature, as the Second Parish or Precinct of Woburn, September 16, 1730, Old Style, or, according to our present mode of reckoning, September 27, 1730. Two years afterward, in 1732, a meeting-house was built in Woburn Precinct.

But the separation as a parish did not satisfy the inhabitants of the precinct, and, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the people of Woburn, who strongly objected to losing any part of their widely extended territory, the efforts for a final division at last succeeded. Woburn Precinct was incorporated as the town of Burlington, February 28, 1799. The population of Burlington, at this time, was 534. In 1810 it had fallen off to 471, but increased during the next ten years, reaching 508 in 1820. By the last census (1870) the population was 650. There are five schools in the town, four of which are in session throughout the year, and one additional during the winter months.

The public library of Burlington, free to all inhabitants of the town over the age of twelve years, was established in 1858. It now contains 1,100 volumes. Previous to the establishment of this library, a social library had been formed in the town. It was incorporated under an act of the commonwealth made and passed in 1798. The proprietors met, for the purpose of choosing officers, etc., September 9, 1816. The number of proprietors whose names appear signed to the constitution and by-laws is twenty-two. Shares were sold for two dollars each, the holders being subject to an annual assessment of twenty-five cents apiece,

with fines, as usual, for neglect in returning books. With these small means, aided by private gifts of books, the library was supported. It was commenced with less than ninety volumes, but had increased to about two hundred and fifty in 1842, when, from lack of interest and perhaps other causes, it was given up, and the books divided among the shareholders.

As there has been but one church in Burlington, the parish history forms a most important part of the history of the town. Soon after their separation from the church in Woburn, in 1730, the people of the precinct began to avail themselves of the privileges which the legislature had granted them. Among other proceedings, at two general meetings of the parish, in November, 1730, it was resolved that a meeting-house should be built in the centre of the precinct. And until this meeting-house was erected, public worship was held in the house of Mr. Simon Thompson, situated in the centre of the precinct. This house was standing a few years ago, and was occupied by the late Solomon Trull. Here Mr. John Warren, a graduate of Harvard, class of 1725, and afterward a settled minister, preached during the winter of 1730-31, and a part of the following year. Here the Rev. John Hancock of Lexington, grandfather of Governor Hancock, and well known among the clergy of that day as Bishop Hancock, came, April 25, 1731, and, after the usual Sabbath services, administered the rite of baptism, probably for the first time in the parish.

In the establishment of a church and the building of a meeting-house, the founders of the parish experienced much trouble and were obliged to surmount many obstacles to gain the fulfilment of their desires. One source of difficulty was a party in their own limits who, from the proximity of their homes to the old parish, or the connection of their interests with it, had been strongly opposed to the separation from the church of their fathers. Another obstacle was the difficulty of fixing upon a suitable and central situation for the new meeting-house. But after much discussion, and even after an appeal to the General Court to choose a site for the building, — which site, however, was not acceptable to the people, — the opposition was overcome, a spot as near the centre of the precinct as was practicable was selected, and a committee chosen to oversee and to prosecute the work of building. It was voted to raise £400 at the beginning, provided the court would allow them

to build on the spot they had finally selected. This liberty was granted the June following, and Mr. Benjamin Johnson generously gave them half an acre of land, which they had chosen. The work of building was now begun with much energy and spirit, and on July 23d, 1732, according to our present way of reckoning, the meeting-house was raised and finished. It does not appear that this meeting-house was ever dedicated. When it was finished, the Rev. John Hancock of Lexington came on the appointed Sabbath, at the invitation of the precinct committee, and performed divine service in the pulpit for the first time. One of his sermons was probably appropriate to this occasion, and the services closed with the baptism of two infants.

The whole expense incurred by the parish in building this meeting-house was £637, New England currency, or, making allowance for the depreciation of bills of the province for that year, £237 2s., lawful money, or \$943.17. It should be remembered, however, that the cost of building was sustained by the owners of land in the precinct, each being taxed in proportion to his estate, and that the inside of the house was not wholly completed for several years. Agreeably to a vote of the precinct, determining its dimensions, it was built fifty feet long, forty wide, and twenty-three high, from the top of the sills to the top of the plates, and was "decently finished as a House for the publick worship of God requiours, having one tear of galleries, with sutable and nesacary seats, and two tear of lights."

The meeting-house thus erected was a plain, substantial building, unadorned by art. Its "two tear of lights" were casement windows, opening with hinges, and furnished with glass of diamond-shape, in sashes of lead. There was no steeple or spire, neither any bell to arouse the people on Sabbath morn. Nor did its inward appearance differ from the outward, in adornment. At first there were no pews, such as we find in all churches built a few years later, but the floor was mainly occupied with long seats on each side of the broad aisle, on the east side for the women, on the west side for the men. Agreeably to a vote of the inhabitants, September 1, 1735, the ground which had been reserved for pews on the lower floor was divided into twenty-one pew lots, and granted to those persons, with their heirs forever, who had been rated the highest for estate, in the several assessments for building the meeting-house, provided

they would erect on them, in six months, under the direction of a building committee, chosen for this purpose, decently finished pews, and occupy them as their seats in the meeting-house. The twenty-one pews built on these lots were the only pews in the house for almost forty years. In 1771 other pews on the floor and in the galleries were erected at the expense of the proprietors, and the proceeds of the sale of the sixteen lots, on which they stood, amounting to £78 10s., lawful money, were applied to repairing the house. In the year 1793 several more pews were built; the proceeds of the sale of the lots, amounting to £40, were spent in repairs. At this time a vote was passed to paint the meeting-house. In the following year four new windows were added in front, and at the same time, probably, the diamond panes in all the windows were exchanged for square ones. In 1814 the only remaining seats, in front of the pulpit, were exchanged for pews, and thus the last vestige of the ancient appearance and original accommodations for the worshipping assembly on the floor of the house was done away. In the diary of Rev. John Marrett, then pastor of the church, we find the following account of the injury done to the meeting-house by a high wind in the year 1777:

"August 15, 1777. — Fair and hot. P. M. exceeding hot. At four o'clock came up a thunder shower from N. W., attended with a very high wind, and a hurricane in some veins, which tore up many trees and blew off the West End of the Roof of the Meeting House, and carried the materials to a great distance. The wind lasted about 3 or 4 minutes! Near half of the Roof taken through near the middle, and the Gable End of the West taken off. Some barns damaged, and abundance of trees torn up. The damage, about £200 L. M. [lawful money]."

These injuries were carefully repaired with money contributed by inhabitants of the parish. In 1824 the ancient building again suffered from the ravages of the elements. But so strongly and firmly was it constructed, so carefully was it repaired by the parish, that in 1846 it was still a comfortable, well-preserved building, of decent, if not elegant, appearance. In that year more extensive repairs and alterations were made, so as to improve its inner and outward appearance. At this time, while the original frame remained, ten feet were added to the length of the building, a porch was constructed in front, and a steeple was built, furnished with a bell. The inside of the

house was altered to conform with the style of modern times, and on the completion of the alterations, June 10, 1847, it was dedicated anew to the worship of God, with suitable and appropriate exercises.

Since that time the meeting-house has been kept in good condition by the care of the parish. This ancient house of worship still stands, an object of interest to the stranger as one of the few remaining buildings of its age, and a monument of the pious zeal of the fathers of the town.

The first settled minister of the church in Woburn Precinct was Mr. Supply Clap, a lineal descendant of Captain Roger Clap, one of the first settlers of Dorchester, and son of Samuel and Mary [Paul] Clap, born at Dorchester, January 1, 1711, graduated at Harvard in 1731. He commenced preaching in 1733; came to Woburn Precinct as a candidate about the close of the year 1734, and was there ordained November 8, 1735. He married, August 11, 1737, Martha Fowle, daughter of the wife of Samuel Walker, one of the deacons of the church. He had three children, Martha, Supply, and Samuel. He was a very plain and practical preacher, and a pastor much beloved by his people. He died January 8, 1748, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, and thirteenth of his ministry. He was buried in the old burying-ground of Woburn Precinct, where his grave may still be seen. He was succeeded by Mr. Thomas Jones, also a native of Dorchester. He was the son of Ebenezer and Waitstill Jones, born April 20, 1721, graduated at Harvard in 1741. He was ordained as second pastor of the church in Woburn Precinct, January 2, 1751. He married September 5, 1751, Abigail Wiswall, and had three children, Lucy, wife of Rev. Joseph Lee of Royalston; Martha, wife of his successor, Rev. John Marrett; and Mary, who married Mr. Edward Walker of Burlington. Rev. Mr. Jones was not distinguished as a preacher of popular address, but he was a faithful pastor, much revered and beloved by his people for his many virtues and the excellence of his life. Having ministered to the church and society for twenty-three years, he was suddenly removed from them by death. He was seized with an apoplectic fit in the pulpit, on the Sabbath, March 13, 1774, just as he was finishing the first prayer, and, being taken home, died at the close of the day. Madam Jones survived for many years after her husband's death, much esteemed and beloved by the people of the

town. She died May 14, 1814, aged ninety-two years, having lived a widow forty years.

Rev. Thomas Jones and his wife were buried in the old burying-ground of Burlington, where their graves may still be found; and near by, marked with a plain slate-stone, is the grave of Cuff, the faithful black servant of Madam Jones, a person of almost as great celebrity in his day as his mistress.

The place left vacant by the death of Mr. Jones was soon filled. In August, 1774, at a meeting of the parish, Mr. John Marrett was chosen to the office of minister, and was accordingly ordained, December 21, 1774. John Marrett, the son of Amos and Mary (Dunster) Marrett, was born at Cambridge, September 21, 1741. On the maternal side he was a direct descendant of the fifth generation of Rev. Henry Dunster, the first president of Harvard College. He entered Harvard in 1759, and graduated in 1763. He married, December 18, 1779, Martha Jones, daughter of Rev. Thomas Jones. She died September 11, 1803. He had one daughter, Martha Marrett, who married Rev. Samuel Sewall. Mr. Marrett lived in the house occupied by his predecessor and father-in-law, Rev. Mr. Jones, and shared his home with Madam Jones. He was a faithful and efficient pastor, much beloved by his people during the many years of his ministry. Mr. Marrett kept a diary, to which we have previously referred, from 1767 to his death. During his ministry the town of Burlington was incorporated, and March 11, 1799, we find that he "attended the first town-meeting in Burlington to chuse town officers." Rev. John Marrett died February 18, 1813, and, like his predecessors, was buried in the old burying-ground, where his wife was interred many years before.

The fourth minister of the church in Burlington was Mr. Samuel Sewall, who was ordained April 18, 1814, about a year after the death of his predecessor. He was the son of Chief-Justice Samuel Sewall and Abigail (Devereux) Sewall, and was born at Marblehead, June 1, 1785. He traced his lineage to Henry Sewall of Newbury, the first of the name in this country, and son of Henry Sewall, mayor of Coventry, England. Mr. Sewall was a direct descendant of the famous Judge Samuel Sewall, Chief Justice of the Province of Massachusetts Bay from 1718 to 1728, and celebrated as one of the presiding judges at the noted witchcraft trials at Salem in 1692. Another of Mr. Sewall's ancestors, whose character he always

contemplated with marked interest, was Rev. Joseph Sewall, one of the most famous ministers of the Old South Church in Boston.

Samuel Sewall, after a preparatory course at the academy in his native town of Marblehead, entered Harvard in 1800, and graduated with honor in 1804. He at once commenced the study of theology at Cambridge, occupying, at the same time, a minor position in the college government. Being by nature and education eminently fitted for the ministry, after the usual period of study he took orders in the Episcopal Church, of which his parents were members.

Having officiated in this church in Cambridge and elsewhere, he became dissatisfied with its creed, and embraced the principles and service of the Congregational Church. He came to Burlington as a candidate after the death of Mr. Marrett. He married, January 1, 1818, Martha Marrett, daughter of Rev. John Marrett, and took up his abode in the house formerly occupied by the father of his wife.

Mr. Sewall continued his duties as minister of the church in Burlington for a period of twenty-eight years. During this time he labored most faithfully and earnestly for the welfare of the people of his charge. After relinquishing his connection with the church he did not give up his interest in the people of the town. Mr. Sewall was a faithful and efficient worker in the profession he had chosen. He spared himself no labor which would benefit his pastoral charge. Besides his duties to the church, he was very active in the affairs of the town. He was town-clerk for many years, and also served acceptably in other offices. Possessing powers of intellect and education which might have gained him a high place, he was chiefly desirous of doing good to his fellow-men, and ambitious only of the reputation of an upright Christian gentleman. After his official connection with the church in Burlington was dissolved, he still continued his efforts for the welfare of his former charge, and the name of Father Sewall is still revered and beloved in the town where he lived. He did not give up his profession with the charge of the church, but continued preaching from time to time during the remainder of his life. He preached for several years at North Woburn, where a church was formed during his ministry. His last sermon was preached at Carlisle, Massachusetts, August 11, 1867; and his last public exercise was at the ordination of Mr. Alfred S. Hudson as pastor of

the church in Burlington, December 19, 1867, where he made the ordaining prayer.

Mr. Sewall was also distinguished as an antiquarian. In the intervals of his busy life he was accustomed to pursue his historical and genealogical researches with much zeal and carefulness. He made several contributions to the literature of that kind, and furnished much aid to others in tracing lineage and history; for which due credit can never be given him. Among his writings were several contributions to the *American Quarterly Register*, the most important of which were "A Brief Survey of the Congregational Churches and Ministers of Middlesex County, and Chelsea in the County of Suffolk," in the *Quarterly Register* of 1838-39, and a "Memoir of Hon. Samuel Sewall, Esq.," in the *Register* of 1841. His last and greatest work, the *History of Woburn*, the result of many years of study and research, was in press at the time of his death. Mr. Sewall died February 18, 1868. He was buried in the new cemetery at Burlington.

Thus for one hundred and seven years the pulpit of the church in Burlington was filled by four ministers, three of whom were connected by marriage and lived in the same house. Since the death of Mr. Sewall the church has been supplied by different clergymen. Rev. Mr. Sewall was succeeded by Rev. Harrison G. Park, installed November 15, 1849, dismissed May 15, 1852. The next settled minister was Mr. Alfred S. Hudson, ordained at Burlington, December 19, 1867, dismissed June 9, 1873. After the dismissal of Mr. Hudson it was deemed best to unite the churches of Burlington and North Woburn under one pastor, Mr. Charles Anderson, who was ordained minister of Burlington and North Woburn September 2, 1874, and still continues in that office.

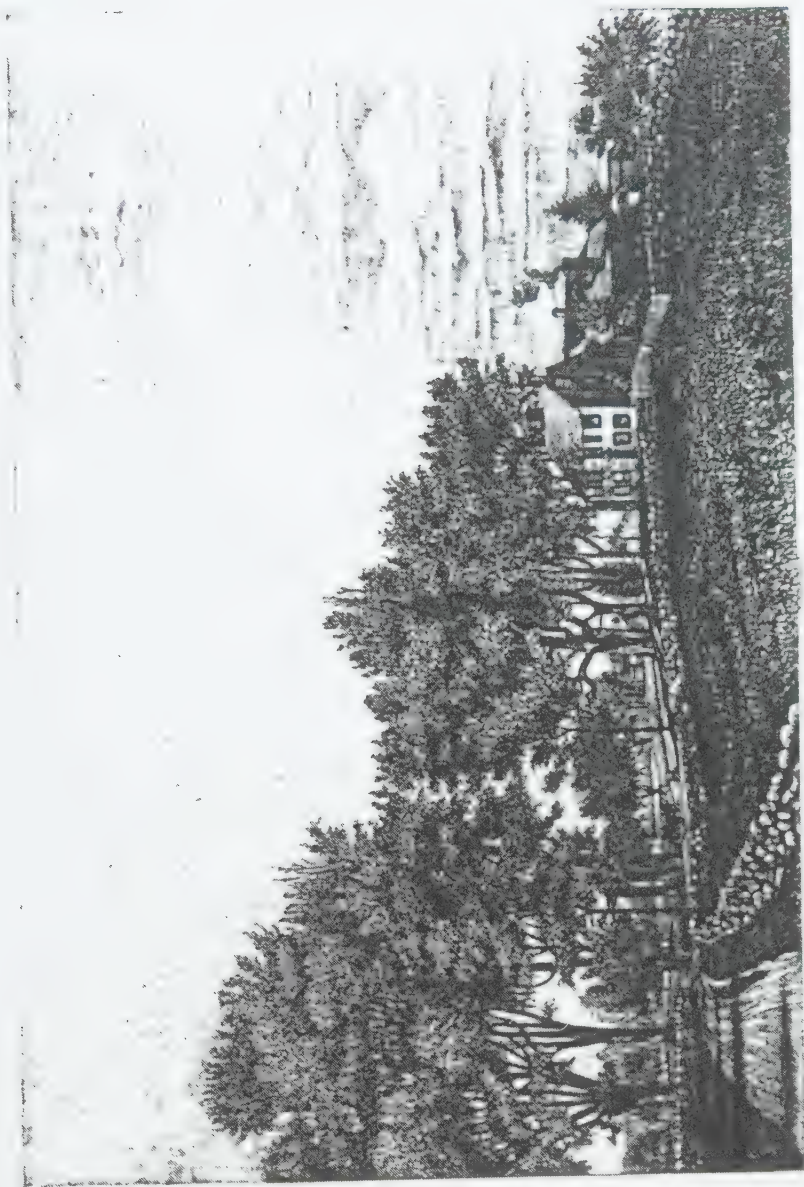
The house which we have before mentioned as the home of Rev. Samuel Sewall is worthy of a place in the objects of interest in the town. The exact age of this house is unknown. It was bought of Benjamin Johnson, by Rev. Thomas Jones, in 1751. It was, as we have said, for more than a hundred years the home of the ministers of Burlington. On the day of the battle of Lexington, April 19, 1775, this house, then the home of the widow of Rev. Thomas Jones, was the refuge of John Hancock and Samuel Adams in their flight from the scene of danger. In the course of years this ancient dwelling has been altered and improved

in many ways, but always without injury to its original framing, and with due respect to the beauty of its old age. The "best room," in which Hancock and Adams were entertained by Madam Jones, is still untouched by modern art. The lawn in front of the house is adorned by a number of stately trees, — graceful elms, angular buttonwoods, and one magnificent chestnut, four feet in diameter. Several of these trees were planted by a negro servant of Rev. Thomas Jones, named Cuff. This faithful servant seems to have had the care of the estate after the death of Rev. Mr. Jones. He died April, 1813, and was borne to his grave by the selectmen of Burlington, personally, as a mark of respect to him and the ministerial families who had received his life-long service. The family Bible contains this record of his death: "Cuff, the faithful negro servant of the above Thomas and Abigail [Jones], died April, 1813, having lived in the family about sixty years."

These famous trees have suffered much, in the course of years, from the violence of the elements. The following account of the fall of one of them in a severe gale was written for the *Woburn Journal* of March 24, 1877: —

"In the gale on Friday morning, March 9, at half past nine o'clock, one of the large elms, standing in front of the house of Samuel Sewall, was broken and blown down by the high wind. Another elm, nearer to the house, lost two large limbs. It is now impossible to ascertain the exact age of these trees, but they were placed in their present position before 1774, and hence must have been growing there on the memorable morning of the Battle of Lexington, April 19, 1775. Perhaps John Hancock or Samuel Adams or the fair Dorothy Quincy observed the young elms budding in the early spring, or remarked upon their beauty, when they found a refuge at the house of Madam Jones, on the eventful morning of the battle. And years after they had slept in their graves, and not one witness of the Battle of Lexington survived, these trees, beautiful in their old age, looked upon the citizens of the town as they rode in procession to celebrate the anniversary at Lexington, in 1875.

These trees were planted and tended by a negro, named Cuff, a faithful servant of Madam Jones, the widow of Rev. Thomas Jones, the second minister of Woburn Precinct, now Burlington. His grave may yet be found in the ancient burial-ground at Burlington, but the trees he planted for the adornment of the home of his mistress and her descendants have been for years a more fitting memorial of his faithful service than the gray slate-stone fast sinking into the earth. These trees were both struck by lightning in June, about fifty-two years ago, and in the same month of last year were again visited in like manner. The marks of the first stroke were plainly to be seen on the trunks of both trees. In both instances, being much higher than the house, they probably saved it from much damage, and



THE SEWALL HOUSE

THE
BOSTON-LIBRARY
SOCIETY

possibly from destruction. These trees have always been highly prized by the inhabitants and owners of the house they have sheltered, and they will long be remembered and regretted by the occupants of the dwelling which they have ornamented and protected for more than a hundred years."

The ancient burying-ground of Burlington is situated on slightly elevated land, in the centre of the town, near the meeting-house, and seems in a manner to share in the history of that venerable building. Into it have been gathered, from year to year, the ministers of the church, the worthies of the town, with their families, and strangers from afar who have laid their weary bones among us. This piece of land was probably selected for the burial of the dead in 1733, although the records regarding it are very imperfect. We find, in the recorded proceedings of a town-meeting, November 9, 1733, that a committee was chosen to select a "sutabel pece of land" for a burying-ground in the precinct. In 1810 this ground was enlarged and enclosed with a wall, according to a vote of the town. In 1851 it was deemed necessary to procure land for a new place of burial, and a cemetery was laid out on the Bedford road, about half a mile from the meeting-house. Since that time few interments have been made in the old burying-ground, except of aged persons, who wished to be laid with their families or friends. This ancient burial-place, however, shows none of the neglect and want of care too often visible in similar places. The good condition of the burying-ground is owing not only to the care of the inhabitants of the town, but also to the generosity of a native of Burlington, Miss Ruth Wilson, who, a short time before her death, gave in trust for the burying-ground the sum of six hundred dollars, one hundred of which were to be used immediately for needed repairs, and the remainder as a fund for necessary care and improvements in the future. With the part of this money to be expended, in addition to an appropriation of the town for the same purpose, a neat and substantial wall was erected in front of the ground, and with the accumulated interest of the fund, in 1878, a new wall was built on one side, needful repairs being made from time to time, according to the wishes of the donor. In this connection we may say that Miss Wilson gave to the church in Burlington a fund of four thousand dollars for the support of preaching. This worthy lady was born in Burlington, and spent most of her long life in her native place.

The property she so generously gave for the benefit of the town was entirely accumulated from her own earnings in youth. She died December 2, 1871, aged eighty-nine years, and was buried in the old burying-ground. Her grave is marked by a stone, with a suitable inscription, commending her industry and benevolence.

The territory of Woburn Precinct, before its settlement, was the home of many Indians, who left numerous marks of their habitation behind them. Various relics, as arrow-heads and hatchets of stone, have been found on the Sewall estate and in other places. In the time of King Philip's War this part of Woburn was not attacked by a large force of the enemy at one time, neither were its dwellings pillaged and burnt, nor its inhabitants murdered in great numbers. But one incident occurred at this period, which is mentioned by Hubbard in the preface to his narrative of the Indian wars, and which we quote from Sewall's *History of Woburn*:—

"On a certain Sabbath, an Indian concealed himself in a hop-house, the kiln of which is still pointed out, about a mile from the Burlington meeting-house, on the road to Bedford, between the house belonging to the Poor Farm and that of Miss Ruth Wilson. When he supposed the neighbors generally had gone to meeting, he came out from his lurking-place, and went to the house which stood on the spot where Miss Wilson's now is. Upon entering, he asked for cider of a young woman who had been left at home. In compliance with his request, she went to the cellar to draw some; but upon her return, he knocked her in the head with his tomahawk. The cellar-door was dashed with her blood, which was never wiped off; and when the house came to be taken down, about 1760, to make way for the erection of the present one on its site, this blood-stained door was removed, as it was, to the barn; and when the barn was afterward taken down, to make room for a new one in its stead, the door was transferred to another barn in the vicinity; and thus continued to be exhibited in these several places for many years, as a memorial of this instance of savage cruelty." The house to which reference is made as belonging to Miss Ruth Wilson is still standing in the westerly part of the town, and is now occupied by Mr. Charles Haven, a relative of the late Miss Wilson.

Woburn Precinct, situated so near to the historic towns of Lexington and Concord, was the scene of several incidents connected with the memorable

19th of April, 1775. In the diary of Rev. John Marrett we find the following account of the battle of Lexington:—

"1775, April 19. — Fair, windy and cold. A Distressing Day. About 800 Regulars marched from Boston to Concord. As they went up, they killed 8 men at Lexington meeting-house: they huzza'd and then fired, as our men had turned their backs, (who in number were about one hundred); and then they proceeded to Concord. The adjacent country was alarmed, the latter part of the night preceding. The action at Lexington was just before sunrise. Our men pursued them to and from Concord on their retreat back; and several killed on both sides, but much the least on our side, *as we pickt them off* on their retreat. The regulars were reinforced at Lexington to aid their retreat by 800, with two field-pieces. They burnt 3 houses in Lexington, and one barn, and did other mischief to buildings. They were pursued to Charlestown, where they entrenched on a hill just over the Neck. Thus commences an important period."

In the house of Captain James Reed, in the southerly part of Burlington, several British prisoners were confined on the day of the battle. In the *History of the Battle of Lexington*, by Elias Phinney, we find the following deposition made by Captain James Reed:—

"I, James Reed, of Burlington, in the county of Middlesex and commonwealth of Massachusetts, do testify and declare, that, soon after the British troops had fired upon the militia at Lexington, on the morning of the 19th of April, 1775, and had taken up their march towards Concord, I arrived at the Common, near the meeting-house, where I found several of the militia dead, and others wounded. I also saw a British soldier march up the road near said meeting-house, and Joshua Reed of Woburn met him, and demanded him to surrender. He then took his arms and equipments from him, and I took charge of him, and took him to my house, then in Woburn Precinct. I also testify that E. Welsh brought to my house, soon after I returned home with my prisoner, two more of said British troops; and two more were immediately brought, and I suppose, by John Munroe and Thomas B. Willard of Lexington; and I am confident, that one more was brought, but by whom, I don't now recollect. All the above prisoners were taken at Lexington immediately after the main body had left the Common, and were con-

veyed to my house early in the morning, and I took charge of them. In the afternoon five or six more of said British troops, that were taken prisoners in the afternoon, when on the retreat from Concord, were brought to my house, and put under my care. Towards evening, it was thought best to remove them from my house. I, with the assistance of some others, marched them to one Johnson's in Woburn Precinct, and there kept a guard over them during the night. The next morning we marched them to Billerica; but the people were so alarmed, and not willing to have them left there, we then took them to Chelmsford, and there the people were much frightened; but the Committee of Safety consented to have them left, provided that we would leave a guard. Accordingly, some of our men agreed to stay.

"JAMES REED.

"Middlesex ss. January 19, 1835.

"Then the within-named James Reed subscribed and swore to the aforementioned statement, before

"AMOS MUZZY, *Justice of the Peace.*"

In these perilous times the library and public records of Harvard College were deposited in the house of Deacon Samuel Reed, in the westerly part of Woburn Precinct. This house is still standing, although not in possession of the family. The house formerly owned by the late Captain James Reed is still standing, in good condition, and is owned by one of his descendants.

In this connection may be related another tale of the olden time, which is preserved to posterity by the most authentic tradition and record. On the evening of April 18, 1775, Hon. John Hancock and Samuel Adams, with Dorothy Quincy, afterwards the wife of Hancock, were at the house of Rev. Jonas Clark, in Lexington. They had left the Provincial Congress at Concord, which adjourned April 15, and sought the hospitable shelter of the house of the worthy minister of Lexington. Here they remained over night, but were aroused early in the morning of the 19th by tidings of the approach of British soldiers to Lexington. Mr. Clark, alarmed at this news, and fearing danger for his guests, put them in charge of a trusty militia-man, who was instructed to find for them a safe hiding-place. He at first conducted his charge to a woody hill, south-east of Mr. Clark's house, where they might witness whatever should occur at Lexington, and while they waited in this place, Samuel Adams,

hearing the firing of the British troops, exclaimed, with prophetic fervor, "What a glorious morning for America is this!" Little thought the patriot that those should become the household words of a strong and independent nation, already springing into life in that clear April morning. But the little party were soon persuaded by their guide to retreat farther from the scene of danger, and they were conducted to a place of safety, almost four miles from the centre of Lexington. This refuge was the house of Madam Jones, in Woburn Precinct, which we have previously described. This good lady, a friend of Mr. Clark, and a most earnest Whig, gave a cordial welcome to these honored guests. With great hospitality she began at once to make preparations for a good dinner, an enjoyment not to be overlooked, though "regulars" might be at the door. The coachman was at once sent back to Lexington, for a fine salmon, which had been presented to Hancock and Adams, as a rare treat at that season, and had been left behind in their hasty flight. The repast was prepared in due season, and Mrs. Jones, with her guests, who, in the haste of departure had eaten no breakfast, and Rev. Mr. Marrett, then minister of the parish, prepared to discuss the salmon and the other delicacies provided for them. But scarcely were they seated at the table, when a man who had hastened from the bloody green at Lexington, rushed into the room, exclaiming in accents of terror: "My wife, I fear, is by this time in eternity, and as to you (speaking to Hancock and Adams), you had better look out for yourselves, for the enemy will soon be at your heels!" Startled by this sudden alarm, the company rose from the hospitable board and made ready for flight. Fearing that their travelling carriage, or coach, which was standing by the roadside, might be a telltale object to their pursuers, they hastened to order its concealment, and it was drawn away to the thickets of Path Woods, in the northwesterly part of the precinct. Mr. Marrett then conducted Hancock and Adams, with Miss Quincy, to the house of Amos Wyman, in an obscure place near the corner of Bedford, Billerica, and Burlington. Here they found many women and children, who had sought a refuge from the "redcoats" in this remote spot. But now the illustrious refugees, having tasted neither breakfast nor dinner in the confusion of flight, began to feel the pangs of hunger. They therefore begged Mrs. Wyman for a little food, and she

readily took down from the shelf a tray well filled with cold boiled salt pork, cold boiled potatoes, unpeeled, and some brown bread. With this plain, coarse food they satisfied their hunger, not pausing to cast a regretful thought toward the renowned salmon, which, for all they knew, might be profanely seized and consumed by the voracious regulars. The house of Mr. Wyman has been long since torn down, and its site can be traced only with much difficulty. It was a current story in those days that Governor Hancock afterward sent Mrs. Wyman a present of a cow, as a reward for her kindness.

Hancock and Adams, with Miss Quincy, returned to the house of Madam Jones, on the following day, to find that they had been needlessly alarmed. The enemy, closely pursued by the redoubtable Yankees, had returned to Boston, without wasting time in a fruitless search for the important rebels. Madam Jones, who lived until 1814, cherished the memory of this occurrence, and doubtless related it to the author of the *History of Woburn*, by whom it is recorded; and many years after the battle of Lexington, this same historian, Rev. Samuel Sewall, then the owner of the old home of Madam Jones, and son-in-law of Rev. John Marrett, listened to the story of the flight of Hancock and Adams, as it fell from the lips of his kinswoman, Madam Scott, the widow of Governor Hancock, the Dorothy Quincy of ancient fame.

The following is a list of men from Woburn Precinct, now Burlington, who served in the Revolutionary War, 1775-1783, taken from Sewall's *History of Woburn*, and compared with the parish tax-lists for those years:—

Alexander, Abram. ¹	Burton, Lt. Isaac.
Alexander, Giles.	Caldwell, Jacob.
Bennett, James.	Caldwell, John.
Bennett, Stephen.	Carter, William.
Bennett, Thomas.	Cheever, John.
Blanchard, Benjamin.	Cummings, David.
Blanchard, Dea. David.	Cummings, Lt. Ebenezer.
Blanchard, David, Jr.	Cutler, Nathaniel.
Blanchard, Josiah.	Cutler, Nathaniel, Jr.
Blogget, Amos.	Cutler, Samuel.
Bruce, John M.	Dean, Jesse. ²

¹ "Died at Ticonderoga, in the autumn of 1776."—Rev. Mr. MARRETT'S *List of Deaths*.

² Jesse Dean was in Woburn in 1775, and was taxed there in the province tax for that year. In 1776 and 1777 he was taxed in Woburn, among the non-residents, as belonging to Wilmington. But eventually he became a constant inhabitant of Woburn Precinct.

Dean, Thomas.	Reed, Newhall.
Dodge, Andrew.	Reed, Reuben.
Edgell, Capt. Benjamin.	Reed, Dea. Samuel.
Fuller, Silas.	Reed, Swithin.
Giddings, Joseph.	Simonds, Caleb, Jr.
Gleason, Thomas.	Simonds, Calvin.
Gloyd, Benjamin.	Simonds, Jonathan.
Johnson, Abijah.	Simonds, Luther.
Johnson, Azel.	Skelton, Daize.
Johnson, Ichabod.	Skelton, Matthew.
Johnson, Joshua.	Skelton, Thomas, Jr.
Jones, Joshua.	Stratton, William. ^a
Kendall, Benjamin.	Trask, John.
Kendall, Joseph.	Trask, Joseph.
Kendall, Joshua.	Trask, Nathaniel.
Kimball, John.	Tweed, James.
Kimball, Joseph.	Twiss, Edward.
Kimball, Lt. Reuben.	Twiss, Solomon.
Larrabee, or Leatherby, Thos.	Twiss, Stephen.
Lock, Thomas.	Twiss, Timothy.
Lock, Thomas, Jr.	Walker, Edward.
Lock, William. ¹	Walker, James.
Marion, Isaac.	Walker, Capt. Joshua.
Munroe, Andrew. ²	Walker, Josiah.
Nevora, Samuel, Jr.	Wilson, Timothy.
Newman, Thomas.	Winn, David.
Peters, Philip.	Winn, Increase.
Philips, Thomas.	Winn, Jacob.
Rainger, Nehemiah.	Winn, Dea. Timothy.
Reed, Amos.	Winn, Ensign Timothy, Jr.
Reed, George.	Wood, Edward.
Reed, George, Jr. ³	Wood, Capt. John.
Reed, Lt. James.	Wood, Solomon. ⁴
Reed, James, Jr.	Wyman, Abel.
Reed, Joel.	Wyman, Eliphas.
Reed, Capt. Joshua.	Wyman, Ezra.
Reed, Micah.	Wyman, Ezra, Jr.

By this, it appears that there were ninety-seven men who served in the war, and probably others

¹ In Rev. Mr. Marrett's *List of Deaths*, 1776, William Lock is said to have died at Ticonderoga, in the autumn of that year.

² Andrew Munroe, a native of Lexington, taxed in Woburn Precinct 1781, 1782, 1783.

³ "June 26, 1775.—Attended the funeral of George Reed, jun., who died of a fever which was occasioned by a surfeit or heat he got in Charlestown fight, the 17th inst."—REV. MR. MARRETT'S *Interleaved Almanac* for 1775.

⁴ "Died at Ticonderoga in 1776."—REV. MR. MARRETT'S *List of Deaths*.

⁵ Solomon Wood "died of small pox in the Army at the Jerseys, March 16, 1777."—REV. MR. MARRETT'S *List of Deaths*.

whose names do not appear on the tax-list for those years, and are not included in this list.

Burlington furnished eighty-two men for the War of the Rebellion, which was a surplus of four over and above all demands. None were commissioned officers. The whole amount of money appropriated and expended by the town for the war was \$10,651, exclusive of state aid, which was a large sum for a town of about six hundred inhabitants.

At the time of the centennial celebration at Lexington, April 19, 1875, an invitation was extended to the citizens of Burlington to join in the observance of the day. At a town-meeting, March 25, 1875, it was voted to accept this invitation, and also to form a company of cavalry to attend the celebration. It was further voted to raise the sum of three hundred and fifty dollars to defray the expenses of celebrating the day, to be expended under the direction of the selectmen. In accordance with the vote a company of cavalry was formed, numbering forty-six citizens of the town, with four honorary members. On the morning of the 19th this company escorted the carriages containing the selectmen and four aged citizens of the town, invited guests of the town of Lexington, to the scene of the celebration, where they formed a part of the procession.

Probably the most noted native of Burlington in the outside world was Rev. James Walker, D. D., lately deceased, for some time president of Harvard University. He was born in Woburn Precinct, August 16, 1794, the son of General John and Lucy (Johnson) Walker. His mother was a descendant of Captain Edward Johnson, one of the principal founders of Woburn. Both Johnsons and Walkers were numerous and influential families in Burlington at that time.

The late Rev. Nathaniel L. Frothingham, formerly minister of the First Church in Boston, and a noted poet and translator, made his summer home in Burlington for several years. He selected a burial-place in the cemetery, where several members of his family were buried, and where he himself was laid at rest.



Engr. by J. A. J. Wilson Boston

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CAMBRIDGE.

BY REV. EDWARD ABBOTT.

I. — SETTLEMENT. 1631 — 1636.



WITHIN an assigned limit of fifty pages of this work is to be related the history of Cambridge. The undertaking is not an easy one. The space is narrow and the story long. Not only is Cambridge one of the very oldest of the Middlesex municipalities, but its long annals are densely crowded with detail, and are further complicated by reason of peculiar territorial features and an uncommon interlacing of distinct but mutually dependent lines of event. With the parallelism of civil and ecclesiastical structure and life, afforded by the early period of every New England town, is here blended the additional element of the founding of a college and the growth of a university. To pick these three threads out of the general fabric and braid them afresh into one compact and symmetrical strand is the present object.

Fortunately there is a wealth of materials. Cambridge has always stood in a strong historic light. Not only the writings of the colonial fathers, like Winthrop and the Mathers, and the additions of later annalists, like Prince and Holmes, are before the modern writer, but also elaborate and exhaustive monographs upon Harvard College, like those of Librarian Peirce and President Quincy; while very recently the work of Dr. Paige has brought together the results of a quarter of a century of patient, laborious, and loving investigation. Upon the latter special dependence has been placed in the preparation of this sketch.

Such being our opportunity, the most that we can count on taking here is a general survey, — a bird's-eye view as from a summit commanding the whole field, which will not gather in every particular of the landscape, but rather its general expression; not every farm, fence, brook, pond, tree, and stone, as it were, and not more than the main divisions of field and forest, the larger lakes, the more important streams, those alternations of

rural simplicity and urban development which combine to give character and variety to the scene.

Finally, it will not be deemed by the reader an unwarrantable violation of historic perspective if we reverse the lines and give the greater breadth to the more distant view.

The history of Cambridge begins at the point when the era of American exploration and discovery was just merging into that of settlement and occupation. The finger of European enterprise had been busy for a century in tracing the outline of the Atlantic coast of the new-found continent, and in laying down the course of the majestic rivers of the vast limitless interior upon the rude maps of the time. The French had planted their first colonies in Nova Scotia and Canada; the English had followed in Maine and Virginia; the Dutch had established themselves at the mouth of the Hudson River. When, in 1620, the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth, the New World was substantially a virgin wilderness; the territory which was to become New England was, at least, an unbroken solitude, save for the savage. Eight years passed away, and a second colony, chartered by the Plymouth Company of "knights, gentlemen, and merchants," and headed by John Endicott, followed, entered the harbor of what is now Salem, and planted a settlement there. The next two years witnessed other accessions, the most important one being that which included John Winthrop. Charlestown was definitely settled not later than 1629, and the year 1630 found plantations of English settlers at Dorchester, Boston, Watertown, Roxbury, Mystic, and Saugus, as well as at Plymouth and Salem, — nine in all. These were the nine sources of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the confederated New England life; to be, in turn, the fountain of the republic.

The character of the first years of Cambridge history may be well epitomized to the eye by the changes which the earliest name of the settlement underwent. Thus: "The newe towne," "Newe Towne," "Newtowne." That is to say, in the first instance, Cambridge was but a "newe towne,"

without form, and void, and consequently nameless beyond that simple descriptive designation, planted by a section of the Salem-Charlestown Company on the upland which rose out of the Charles River marshes between Charlestown and Watertown. But, as under the brooding spirit of the New England creative power the little settlement acquired substance and character, the words "newe towne" gradually and naturally glided into the proper name, "Newe Towne"; and this, in turn, was compacted by usage into "Newtowne," which served until an important event in the history of the place made it expedient that it be rechristened.

The first intention in the planting of Cambridge was the establishment of "a fortified place" for "a seat of government," the government being constituted as follows: John Winthrop, governor; Thomas Dudley, deputy-governor; Sir Richard Saltonstall, John Endicott, Increase Nowell, William Pynchon, Thomas Sharp, Roger Ludlow, William Coddington, and Simon Bradstreet, assistants. The first place thought of, in December, 1630, was on what used to be the neck, between Boston and Roxbury; but this was presently abandoned, and search continued in other directions. The result was, a few days later, a favorable impression in behalf of a spot on the "N. W. side of Charles River, about three miles W. from Charlestown," and about "a mile beneath" Watertown. Deputy-Governor Dudley's account of the selection is this:—

"We began again in December to consult about a fit place to build a town upon, leaving all thoughts of a fort, because upon any invasion we were necessarily to lose our houses when we should retire thereinto. So after divers meetings at Boston, Roxbury, and Watertown, on December 28th we grew to the resolution to bind all the assistants (Mr. Endicott and Mr. Sharp excepted, which last proposeth to return by the next ship into England), to build houses at a place a mile east from Watertown, near Charles River, the next spring, and to winter there the next year; that so by our examples, and by removing the ordnance and munitions thither, all who were able might be drawn thither, and such as shall come to us hereafter, to their advantage, be compelled so to do; and so, if God would, a fortified town might there grow up, the place fitting reasonably well thereto."¹

Here, accordingly, in the spring of 1631, the actual foundations of Cambridge began to be laid.

¹ Letter to the Countess of Lincoln.

The governor, the deputy-governor, and a few others went forward with the building of their houses; the former, it is said, upon the very spot where first he pitched his tent. The governor was; indeed, so energetic as to have his "house up and seven or eight servants abiding in it by the day appointed"; but, changing his mind, he afterward concluded to establish himself on the peninsula of Shawmut, across the river basin to the eastward, and so, taking down his frame, removed it thither. This, of course, brought disappointment to his associates; it was, indeed, felt as a grievance by some of them; but they remained where they were. It would seem as if for a moment the fate of the future city trembled in the balance; but the enterprise was not to fail. The distinction of being the place of the governor's residence and the seat of government was lost, but other honors were in store. Is not, on the whole, the tower of a Memorial Hall a finer landmark than a State House's gilded dome?

Picturing the locality and surroundings as we must, it is not easy to see what held the body of the settlers to their original purpose. The situation, though by no means remote, was devoid of the natural advantages and attractions which presented themselves elsewhere. It was a broad, irregularly shaped tongue of land bounded by rivers emptying into Massachusetts Bay, without important elevations, generally flat, and bordered on almost all sides by marshes, which, if not unhealthy, must have been unsightly. From this point of view, it cannot be wondered at, we think, that the governor, after a brief trial, concluded to remove his quarters to the inviting three-peaked promontory beyond the river and its inland bay, over whose picturesque outline he looked each day to see the sun rise. The wonder is that his companions did not follow him.

The departure of Governor Winthrop left Deputy-Governor Dudley for a time the leader of the settlers of "the newe towne." He was a man worthy of the place and its singular responsibilities. A native of Northampton, England, he was now about fifty-four years of age. His early life had been spent in the army, and he had commanded a company of volunteers at the siege of Amiens in 1597; but having had his mind turned in religious directions, he identified himself with the Non-conformists, and was ready for a new career in the New World when emigration had fairly set in. Much as we should like to know,

it is not a matter of absolute certainty who remained with Dudley in this lonely upland between Charlestown and Watertown, overlooking the Charles.

"No list of inhabitants is found until after the 'Braintree Company' arrived in the summer of 1632, except this memorandum on the title-page of the Town Records: 'The Towne Book of Newtowne. Inhabitants there — Mr. Tho. Dudley, Esq., Mr. Symon Bradstreet, Mr. Edmond Lockwood, Mr. Daniell Patricke, John Poole, William Spencer, John Kirman, Symon Sackett.' But, this Book of Records was not commenced till 1632, several months after Dudley and Bradstreet performed their promise 'to build houses at the New Town.' Whether more than the before named eight persons, and indeed whether all these resided in the New Town before the end of 1631, I have not found any certain proof."¹

The work of public improvement began with the beginning. In June, 1631, Mr. John Maisters, or Masters, having undertaken "to make a passage from Charles Ryver to the newe towne, 12 foote broad and 7 foote deepe," the Court of Assistants, in session at Boston, promised him satisfaction according to the expense of the same. In July following the sum of thirty pounds was levied by the court upon the surrounding towns for this purpose, "the newe towne," itself being exempt from the tax. This canal was constructed by the enlargement of a natural creek, and "still exists on the westerly side of College Wharf, from Charles River nearly to South Street." From that point it extended originally along the edge of South and Eliot streets to Brattle Street, which it crossed, requiring afterwards the erection there of a foot-bridge and causeway. In February, 1631-32, the sum of seventy pounds was levied by the court on the surrounding towns for the building of a "pallysadoe" around "the newe towne." To this tax Watertown, whose share was eight pounds, objected, the pastor and elder of the church there assembling the people, and delivering their opinions, "that it was not safe to pay moneys after that sort, for fear of bringing themselves and posterity into bondage."² Upon being summoned before the governor and assistants, the Watertown protestants were led to see their error, and humbly recanted it. The palisade thus provided for "was actually made; and the fosse which was then

dug around the town is, in some places, visible, to this day," says Holmes. He continues: —

"It commenced at Brick Wharf (originally called Windmill Hill) and ran along the northern side of the present Common in Cambridge, and through what was then a thicket, but now constitutes a part of the cultivated grounds of Mr. Nathaniel Jarvis; beyond which it cannot be distinctly traced."

Early in March the bounds of "the newe towne," as relating to Charlestown and Watertown, were defined by order of the court, and later in the same month the town itself took the following action, as quoted by Paige, — the first entry on the town records: —

"An agreement by the inhabitants of the New Town, about paling in the neck of land. Imprimis, That every one who hath any part therein shall hereafter keep the same in good and sufficient repair: and if it happen to have any defect, he shall mend the same within three days after notice given, or else pay ten shillings a rod for every rod so repaired for him. Further, it is agreed, that the said impaled ground shall be divided according to every man's proportion in said pales. Further, it is agreed, that if any man shall desire to sell his part of impaled ground, he shall first tender the sale thereof to the town inhabitants interested, who shall either give him the charge he hath been at, or else to have liberty to sell it to whom he can."

The general course of this "pale," or fence, is thus made out by Paige from the ancient records of possession and conveyance: —

"Commencing in the present College yard, near the northwesterly angle of Gore Hall, and extending eastwardly, it passed very near the junction of Ellsworth Avenue with Cambridge Street, to the line between Cambridge and Charlestown (now Somerville), at its angle on Line Street near Cambridge Street, and thence followed that line to the creek, a few rods easterly from the track of the Grand Junction Railroad. Commencing again at the point first mentioned, the fence extended southwardly to the marsh near the junction of Holyoke Place with Mount Auburn Street."

In April, Deputy-Governor Dudley, because of uncomfortable differences which had grown up between him and Governor Winthrop, resigned his office; but, a reconciliation being afterward effected, he accepted of his place again. In May, Mr. Edmond Lockwood was appointed by the court con-

¹ Paige's *History of Cambridge*.

² Savage's *Winthrop*.

stable of "the newe towne." In June a grant of two hundred acres of land across the river was made to the deputy-governor. By November a difference had arisen between "Charles-Towne and Newe-Towne," "for ground," and the same was referred by court to a commission, which shortly effected an amicable settlement.

And thus "Newe Towne" came fairly into being, — a lusty child, with a strong voice, active limbs, and a mind of its own, destined to make itself heard and felt, from the outset, the colony through.

The first event of prime importance in the history of "Newe Towne's" settlement was a considerable accession to its population, in August, 1632, from Mount Wollaston. This accession consisted of what was known as the "Braintree Company," from the place of its English origin, or as "Mr. Hooker's Company," from the name of its pastor, the Rev. Thomas Hooker. Mr. Hooker was a native of Leicestershire, England; born in 1586, and educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Taking up the ministry, and exercising it with great talent, piety, and zeal, he was first silenced for his non-conformity, and afterward compelled to flee to Holland for his life. This was in 1630, and there he remained for three years. Meanwhile a body of the people to whom he had ministered had emigrated to New England, and, after beginning a settlement at Mount Wollaston, made this removal, by order of the court, to "the newe towne." The company would appear to have included about fifty men. On their re-establishment in "the newe towne," word was sent to Mr. Hooker in Holland to come over and unite himself to them again, which he accordingly did in 1633. He was accompanied by an assistant, Mr. Samuel Stone, a native of Hertford; and in October of this year, a church being then or having been previously duly organized, Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone were solemnly ordained to their respective offices of pastor and teacher. A meeting-house with a bell had already been built.¹

Thus the religious life of "the newe towne" was formally begun, though, as it proved, in only a temporary form.

The old division line between "the newe towne" and Charlestown was substantially that which now divides Cambridge from Somerville. That part of the town which lay to the eastward, now Cambridgeport and East Cambridge, passed under the

general name of "the neck," and was a waste of woodland, pasture, swamps, and marshes. Its main portion was divided into the Old Field and Small-Lot Hill. The upland and marsh, since built over by East Cambridge, went by the particular name of "Graves his Neck." The ten or twelve streets which composed "the towne" enclosed and intersected a space corresponding, in the main, to that now bounded by Harvard, Brattle, Eliot, South, Holyoke, and Bow streets. Beyond this centre, toward Watertown, was the West End. Along the river, to the southward, stretched a succession of marshes, each of which had its name; the tract now bounded by North Avenue, Garden, and Linnean streets was set apart as "a cow common"; on the two sides of this joined the West End Field and the Pine Swamp Field; while beyond all lay the Fresh Pond meadows.

The territory we are now surveying, before its adoption as the site of "the newe towne," was traversed by the "path from Charlestown to Watertown," which is to be accounted the most ancient highway of Cambridge. Its course was about that of the present Kirkland, Mason, and Brattle streets, Elmwood Avenue, and Mount Auburn Street. From the town, when planted, radiated the highway to Watertown, now Brattle Street; the highway to Fresh Pond, now Garden Street and Vassall Lane; the highway to Menotomy, now North Avenue; the highway into the neck, now Main Street; and the "highway to Roxbury," now Brighton Street. Access to Boston, as the new tri-mountain capital had been called, could be had only indirectly, through Charlestown, or through Roxbury, the rivers in both cases being crossed by ferries.

Great pains must have been taken in laying out and building "the newe towne," for one of the earliest visitors to it¹ describes it as "having many fair structures, with many handsome contrived streets." "One of the neatest and best compacted towns in New England," he calls it. It made upon him the impression that "the inhabitants, most of them, are very rich." The earliest municipal regulations were well calculated to bring about this result. It was ordered in 1633 that no person should put up any house within the town limits without leave from a majority of the inhabitants; that all houses should "range even," six feet in each lot from the street front; and that roofs should be slated or boarded, and not thatched.

¹ Prince's *Annals*.

¹ Wood, in *New England's Prospect*.

The building of wooden chimneys had been previously forbidden. It was afterwards ordered that whoever felled a tree should not allow it to lie across the highway; that felled lumber should not be sold out of the town; that every inhabitant should keep in orderly and neat condition that part of the highway "against his own ground"; that the town should have the first privilege of buying improved lots which owners might wish to sell; etc.

In October, 1633, the court imposed a tax of £48 each upon Boston, Roxbury, Charlestown, Watertown, and "the newe towne"; three years later (March, 1636) "the newe towne's" share in a tax of £300 was £42, no other of the towns being assessed above £37 10s. Thus early did Cambridge take the leading place it has continued to hold among the towns of the commonwealth in the scale of taxable property.

The reader must keep in mind, as we run over these first sources of Cambridge society and life, the very peculiar but rigid mould in which every such organization was cast. Town and church were but two names for one and the same constituency. The town was the church, acting in secular concerns, and the church was the town, acting in religious concerns. The ecclesiastical and the civil bodies were two forms, which one spirit animated. There was a duality in unity. The members of the church only were the freemen and voters of the town. Those were the times when congregationalism of the purest type was the standing order, and its principles dominated everything. The "dissenter" therefrom was more than a heretic; he was politically an alien. The town was taxed to support the minister. Selectmen and deacons jointly "seated" the meeting-house, which, having served its religious purpose on the Sabbath Day, was used as the town-house on Monday. This was the central edifice of the community; and the ideas which it doubly typified were the core of the communal life.

Of the situation of the first meeting-house of Cambridge, — the rallying-point of "the newe towne," — and of its size and appearance, we know nothing. But we can imagine its eminence in the eyes of the little band of settlers as being their tabernacle in the wilderness, and we can picture the scene, as with devout unanimity they assembled under its lowly roof for the two sacred services of each Lord's Day. We can see the women sitting apart on their side of the house, and the men on

theirs, and the boys herded, awe-stricken, together under the stern eye of the tithing-man; and we can almost hear the weird strains of Sternhold and Hopkins, and the impressive accents of the godly minister, as prayer and praise proceed.

Under the precious droppings of this sanctuary, so to speak, were clustered the first rude cabins of "the new towne." It was barely more than shelter that they gave. The life was new, and there was exposure to all manner of necessities and privations. Conveniences were few. Bread was the first requisite. The "planting fields," whose laying out was the first occupation of the people, supplied prompt crops of corn and fodder. A windmill, for grinding, had been early erected on what was known as Windmill Hill, near what is now the foot of Ash Street, where the old gas-works stood; but it had been removed to Boston, because it would work only in a westerly wind; and the nearest water-power grist-mill was now at Watertown. Meeting-house and windmill were the first of "the new towne's" public buildings.

The church organization of the inhabitants, as above intimated, took precedence, in respect both of time and of importance, of all others, and was the basis of all other; but as early as December, 1632, provision was made for regular town-meetings for the transaction of business. These meetings were at first held on the afternoon of the first Monday of every month, at the meeting-house, "at the ringing of the bell." Here the sturdy settlers roughly hewed and firmly joined the foundation timbers of their municipal structure. The first town officer having been a constable, there was presently added a surveyor, the latter being charged with care of the highways. In February, 1634-35, a new departure was made by the appointment of seven townsmen to manage all town affairs in their discretion, and to serve in that capacity till their successors should be chosen in the November following. At the same time a board of surveyors was appointed, — four men beside the constable, — to make a survey of the town lands. This was in compliance with an order of the court directing such a survey to be made by every town in the colony. The result of this survey, a "Registere Booke of the lands and houses in the New Towne," is preserved to this day in the archives of the city.

These particulars of town business enable us to name a dozen of the chief inhabitants of "New Towne" in 1634. Such may be supposed to have

been James Olmstead, constable; John White, surveyor; John Haynes, "Symon" Bradstreet, John Taylcott, William Westwood, William Wadsworth, of the "townsmen"; John Benjamin, Daniell Denison, Andrew Warner, and William Spencer, of the committee of survey.

The plan of Cambridge in 1635, given in Paige's *History*, shows most of the homestead lots occupied or owned in "the newe towne." Substituting the modern street names for the ancient, Mr. Olmstead lived on Harvard Street, about where the old Wadsworth house stands; Mr. Westwood just west of him; Mr. White on the east side of Holyoke Street, about midway between Harvard and Arrow; Mr. Haynes in the centre of the block bounding Mount Auburn, Eliot, and Winthrop streets, and Winthrop Square; Mr. Bradstreet on the east side of Brighton Street, just south of Harvard; Mr. Wadsworth on the west side of Holyoke, between Harvard and Bow, and opposite Mr. White's; Mr. Benjamin on the south side of South Street, between Dunster and Holyoke; Mr. Warner on the north side of Eliot Street, as you go round from Winthrop to Brighton Street; and Mr. Spencer on the south side of Brattle, just north of the corner of Mount Auburn Street. The names of Taylcott and Denison do not appear, but it is known that the former, who was a large landholder, lived out of "the Towne," at the "West End," namely, at what is now the easterly corner of Brattle and Ash streets; the latter probably on or near Bow Street, between Arrow and Mount Auburn. William Man lived on the road to Fresh Pond; Thomas Judd on or near the site of the Craigie House, now Mr. Longfellow's home; and John Gibson on the hill about where now lives Charles Deane, L. L. D. Atherton Hough had a farm on the East Cambridge upland.

It will be further of interest to note that Rev. Thomas Hooker lived on the north side of Harvard Street, about where Dane Hall stands, but of course nearer the street; and his assistant, Mr. Stone, on Brighton Street, next south of Mr. Bradstreet; while the total number of homestead lots in "the Towne," most of which were occupied, was something like sixty. What is now Winthrop Square was set off very early as a "market-place." At about the same time the present burying-ground on Garden Street, opposite the junction of North Avenue, was ordered to be "paled in," though a lot for graves had, in all probability, been provided previously on the "path

to Watertown," beyond Ash Street. Mr. Thomas Chesholme, a deacon of the church, who lived next to the meeting-house, in Dunster Street, was licensed by the General Court, which at present took jurisdiction of such concerns, "to keepe a house of intertainement," — the first in the town; And Mr. Nicholas Danforth, who lived on the northerly side of Bow Street, near Plympton, was similarly licensed "to sell wine and strong water." Somewhat later a "town spring," convenient for man and beast, was opened in the field west of the present University Press, between Brattle and Mount Auburn streets; and, later still, the extreme northeastern corner of the cow common was set apart as a "gallows place" for public executions.

Such was "the newe towne" in its earliest aspect, — a little network of streets and lanes, laid out on an upland surrounded by marshes, midway on "the path from Charlestowne to Watertowne"; a cluster of forty or fifty houses centred about the meeting-house; a population of a few hundred souls, — sturdy men and brave women, with their children, intent on occupying and improving their place, in the new Christian state, they had crossed the seas to found; these — simply organized, first as a church, with a pastor and a teacher beloved, and secondly as a town, with their constable, surveyor, and selectmen — looked out day by day across the Charles River bay to the horizon line of the Shawmut peninsula, on whose farther slopes were slowly rising the walls of the new colonial capital. Taking a wide sweep around them, beyond the limits of sight, New Hampshire had scarcely emerged from a wilderness; the scattered settlements in Maine and Rhode Island were yet all hidden in the trackless woods; Roger Williams had just made his escape from Salem to the shores of Narragansett; the figure of Verruont lay yet imbedded in the granite of her mountains; New Haven was only just lifting up its head; and the Dutch were intrenching themselves commercially at the mouth of the newly discovered Hudson River, on an island which they had bought of the Indians for \$24 in goods. "The newe towne" was a single grain in the handful of wheat which had been flung by the hand of Providence over on the wild New England shore.

A variety of local events diversified the two or three years immediately ensuing upon the arrival of Mr. Hooker's Company. One of the earliest manifestations was a feeling of some uneasiness on



Booker T. Washington, 1891. The United States.

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the score of too narrow room. The territory of "the newe towne" was felt to be limited, and it seemed to be circumscribed by natural barriers which could not be set aside. The legislation of the court indicates endeavors to ease the town upon this score. Further difficulties arose respecting boundaries, but this time with Watertown, the neighbor on the west. In May, 1634, Mr. Dudley was chosen governor in place of Mr. Winthrop, and in August following the court assembled in "the newe towne," its sessions being held here consecutively till 1636, and again in 1637 and 1638. Little by little, discontent with quarters, confined for the most part, it would appear, to Mr. Hooker's company, took active form and definite direction. In May, 1634, an expedition was sent out to "Merrimack," to prospect for a "fit place" for removal. In July half a dozen men took passage in the *Blessing of the Bay*, the little bark which Governor Winthrop had built at "Mistick," and had launched on the 4th of July, 1631, with the purpose of discovering the Connecticut River, and of removing the town thither. This project of removal, which had received some previous countenance from the authorities, came up in full form before the court at its session in "the newe towne" in September, and provoked much discussion. The discussion grew into "a great difference," to heal which, and to find a wise way out of the exigency, a day of humiliation was resorted to. Mr. Cotton of Boston preached; and so well was the occasion improved, that "the newe towne" people accepted of "the enlargement" which had been proposed to them, and "the fear of their removal to Connecticut was removed." "This 'enlargement' embraced Brookline, Brighton, and [the present] Newton. Brookline, then called Muddy River, was granted on condition that Mr. Hooker and his congregation should not remove. They did remove; and thus this grant was forfeited. But the grant of what was afterwards Brighton and Newton held good."

The removal of Mr. Hooker's company to Connecticut, which was the final result of all this agitation, was not fully accomplished until the spring of 1636; by which time a new chapter had been opened in the history of the settlement of the town, the disclosures of which were sufficiently cheering to offset in a good measure the drawback of such an important departure. This was the arrival of Mr. Shepard's company.

The Rev. Thomas Shepard was in some sense

another Hooker. He was a native of Towcester, Northamptonshire, where he was born in November, 1605. Like Hooker, he was educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, took up the ministry, and encountered persecution because of his Puritanism. After a variety of truly romantic and often pathetic adventures and experiences, colored deeply with the religious hue, he turned his face towards America, and, with his wife and child, a brother, and some sixty followers and friends, arrived in Boston in the *Defence*, October 30, 1635. This was on a Saturday, and as to what followed we may read his own words:—

"Upon Monday, Oct. 5, we came (being sent for by friends at Newtown) to them, to my brother Mr. Stone's house, and that congregation being upon their removal to Hartford at Connecticut, myself and those that came with me found many houses empty and many persons willing to sell, and here our company bought off their houses to dwell in, until we should see another place fit to remove into."¹

On the 15th of October "about sixty men, women, and little children went by land towards Connecticut, with their cows, horses [heifers] and swine,"² the pioneers of Mr. Hooker's company. The temporary entrance of Mr. Shepard's company ended in a permanent occupation, "partly because of the fellowship of the churches, partly because they thought their lives were short and removals to new plantations full of troubles, partly because they found sufficient for themselves." On the 1st of February, 1635-36, they organized themselves into a new church, to take the place of Mr. Hooker's. In May, the weather being settled, "Mr. Hooker . . . and the rest of his congregation" went to Connecticut, "following those who had gone the autumn before, and completing the removal. His wife was carried in a horse-litter; and they drove an hundred and sixty cattle, and fed of their milk by the way." Thus, by a very happy fitting together of circumstances, the places of the departing were immediately taken; and a population for "the newe towne" was perpetuated without interruption.

The exact reasons of Mr. Hooker and his company in taking their departure are enveloped in some obscurity. They alleged lack of sufficient accommodation, too great proximity of towns, superior advantages of the region of Connecticut,

¹ *Life of Shepard*, as quoted by Paige.

² *Savage's Winthrop*.

and a laudable desire to pre-empt the latter from acquisition by the Dutch. Some of these reasons, at least, would seem to have been made untenable by concessions of territory by the court. It is quite likely that there were other reasons which were not mentioned. Mr. Hooker had a mind of his own, and some jealousies and rivalries existed, as we have had glimpses of, between his people and those around them. Whatever the cause, the fact remains, and the issues of it constituted a most important element in the beginnings of Connecticut. The seed of Hartford was carried from Cambridge.

More "enlargement" of the territory of "the newe towne" followed upon the establishment of Mr. Shepard and his company, and though the full growth of it was not reached till 1643-44, the various stages of that growth may properly be noted here as a conclusion to this chapter of settlement. What are now Brighton and Newton having been joined to "the newe towne" in 1634, the Court in 1635-36 extended the bounds eight miles into the country on the north, taking in the whole of the present Arlington, and most if not all of Lexington; and in 1642 and 1643-44 these bounds were again successively further extended so as to include Bedford and Billerica; thus spreading out the domain of "the newe towne" in a figure of curiously elongated crookedness from Dedham to the Merrimack River. Its extreme length was something like twenty-five miles, but its width at the point of original settlement barely above one mile, while its outlines it would be difficult to describe in words. As the colony of Massachusetts grew, one town after another of those named above was cut off from the Cambridge territory; Billerica, first known as Shawshine, in 1655; Newton, or Cambridge Village, as it was originally called, in 1691; Lexington, originally known as The Farms, in 1713; West Cambridge, originally Menotomy, now Arlington, in 1807; and Brighton, sometimes called Little Cambridge, but now a ward of the city of Boston, in 1807. Thus ancient Cambridge, after temporarily swelling up with the incorporated areas of half a dozen Middlesex towns, has undergone a very nearly exact territorial restoration in the city of the present time. The territory west of Sparks Street and south of Vassal Lane, originally belonging to Watertown, was transferred to Cambridge by the General Court in 1754 and after.

II. RELIGIOUS BEGINNINGS. 1636-1637.

THE organization of Mr. Shepard's company into a church—the first permanent church of Cambridge—has already been alluded to, but deserves fuller notice as the first item in the history proper of "the newe towne," whose investment with the rather more dignified and exact title of "Newtown" may be regarded as now complete. Of this transaction an account exists so complete and quaint and interesting, so full of the peculiar form and color of the time, as to belong to the reader in full:¹

"Mr. Shepherd, a godly minister, come lately out of England, and divers other good Christians, intending to raise a church body, came and acquainted the magistrates therewith, who gave their approbation. They also sent to all the neighbouring churches for their elders to give their assistance, at a certain day, at Newtown, where they should constitute their body. Accordingly, at this day,² there met a great assembly, where the proceeding was as followeth:

"Mr. Shepherd and two others (who were afterward to be chosen to office) sate together in the elder's seat. Then the elder of them began with prayer. After this Mr. Shepherd prayed with deep confession of sin, &c., and exercised out of Ephesians v. — that he might make it to himself a holy, &c.; and also opened the cause of their meeting, &c. Then the elder desired to know of the churches assembled, what number were needful to make a church, and how they ought to proceed in this action. Whereupon some of the ancient ministers, conferring shortly together, gave answer: That the Scripture did not set down any certain rule for the number. Three (they thought) were too few, because by Matt. xviii. an appeal was allowed from three; but that seven might be a fit number. And, for their proceeding, they advised, that such as were to join should make confession of their faith, and declare what work of grace the Lord had wrought in them; which accordingly they did, Mr. Shepherd first, then four others, then the elder, and one who was to be deacon (who had also prayed), and another member. Then the covenant was read, and they all gave a solemn assent to it. Then the elder desired of the churches, that, if they did approve them to be a church, they would give them the right hand of fellowship. Whereupon Mr. Cotton (upon short speech with

¹ Savage's Winthrop.

² February 1, 1636-36.

some others near him), in the name of their churches, gave his hand to the elder, with a short speech of their assent, and desired the peace of the Lord Jesus to be with them. Then Mr. Shepherd made an exhortation to the rest of his body, about the nature of their covenant, and to stand firm to it, and commended them to the Lord in a most heavenly prayer. Then the elder told the assembly, that they were intended to choose Mr. Shepherd for their pastor, (by the name of the brother who had exercised,) and desired the churches, that, if they had anything to except against him, they would impart it to them before the day of ordination. Then he gave the churches thanks for their assistance, and so left them to the Lord."

A pathetic incident formed the sequel to these interesting proceedings. Mrs. Shepard was lying at her house at this time in the last stages of consumption, and her reception into the new-formed church followed, as thus affectingly described in her husband's own words:—

"After the day was ended, we came to her chamber, she being unable to come unto us. And because we feared her end was not far off we did solemnly ask her if she was desirous to be a member with us; which she expressing, and so entering into covenant with us, we thereupon all took her by the hand and received her as become one with us, having had full trial and experience of her faith and life before. At this time and by this means the Lord did not only show us the worth of this ordinance, but gave us a seal of his accepting of us and of his presence with us that day; for the Lord hereby filled her heart with such unspeakable joy and assurance of God's love, that she said to us she had now enough; and we were afraid her feeble body would have at that time fallen under the weight of her joy. . . . And thus, a fortnight almost before her death unto her departure, in the midst of most bitter afflictions and anguishes, her peace continued." ¹

The date of Mr. Shepard's ordination is not definitely known, but it could not have been long after the constitution of the church; and his eminent character must have had much to do with the part the church was called to take in an important proceeding which soon followed, of which the little meeting-house on Dunster Street was the scene, and in which all the churches around were the actors. This was nothing less than a synod composed of "teaching elders" and messengers from all the

churches of New England; and the object of it was to put down the dangerous and disturbing doctrines of Mistress Anne Hutchinson.

Anne Hutchinson was the first strong-minded woman who made herself known in New England history. She had come over from England in 1634, bringing a mild and submissive husband with her. She was a woman "of a ready wit and a bold spirit." Connecting herself with the church in Boston, she at once made herself useful by various charitable offices. Being debarred from speaking in the ordinary meetings of the church, she gathered meetings of her own, and began to teach views which conflicted with those of the church. The novelty and vigor of her utterances attracted immediate attention. Parties were formed for and against her. Some espoused her doctrines; others denounced them. Her sharp tongue spared nobody, but cut right and left. Whether in the right or in the wrong, she was a disturber of the peace, and the little town of Boston was in peril of being rent in twain.

What was to be done with Anne Hutchinson?

To obtain an answer to this question the synod was called. Newtown was selected as the place, not alone, probably, because of the piety and learning of its minister, but also because its people had not been infected with the alleged poison. The excitement in Boston had already risen to so high a pitch that it had been deemed advisable for the court to meet in Newtown, and at an election on the Common, Governor Vane, then in office, who had sided with Mrs. Hutchinson, was superseded by John Winthrop. Tradition runs that this election took place under an oak-tree on the north side of the Common, a little west of North Avenue; and that on this stormy occasion Mr. Wilson, the minister of the afflicted church in Boston, a man upwards of fifty years old at the time, climbed the tree in his zeal, for the purpose of addressing the crowd. A sermon by Mr. Shepard, on this election day, undoubtedly contributed to its issues, and the synod followed.

The synod assembled on the 30th of August, 1637. We must picture to ourselves the scene presented by the little town and its meeting-house while in possession of the council. Though not large, the council was weighty. It began with the "emptying of private passions," continued three weeks, and ended "comfortably and cheerfully." Mr. Hooker of Hartford and Mr. Bulkeley of Concord presided as moderators; Mr. Shepard

¹ Sermon by Cotton Mather, quoted by Paige.

opened the services with a "heavenly prayer." "A most wonderful presence of Christ's spirit" was noted throughout the assembly. As an immediate result, eighty-two erroneous opinions were condemned, among them those promulgated by Mrs. Hutchinson. As a later result Mrs. Hutchinson was arraigned before the General Court for persisting in her railing accusations and heretical teachings, and sentenced to be banished. Thus to Newtown fell the honor of accommodating the first general council of the New England churches, and such was the solemn atmosphere amid which its interior history was begun.

III. THE FOUNDING OF HARVARD COLLEGE.

1636-1638.

THE event was now to occur which was to determine "the newe towne's" destiny. The expected honor of being the capital of the colony it had lost, through no fault, however, of its own; but there was reserved for it the unexpected and higher honor of being the seat of the oldest, and what was to prove the amplest and noblest, institution of learning in the country.

On the 28th of October, 1636, the General Court had "agreed to give £400 towards a school or college, whereof £200 to be paid the next year, and £200 when the work is finished, and the next Court to appoint where and what building." The sum appropriated was equal to the whole colony tax for the year. In November, 1637, the Court selected "Newtowne" as the place for the college. And in May, 1638, the town granted two and two thirds acres of land, being the forefront of the present college yard towards the west, "for a public school or college," forever.

The foot of civilization was still struggling for a hold upon the shore of the New World; frail human life was faced and threatened by hardship, toil, and peril; fortifications remained to be completed, and roads were waiting to be opened; savage foes were in front, the seas behind, and political factions beyond the seas; but a "public school or college" there must be.

At the time of this very important action there was living at Charlestown the Rev. John Harvard, a young dissenting minister of about thirty, a graduate also of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, England, who had become a freeman of the Massachusetts colony in 1637. We may suppose that he knew the way by "the path to Watertowne"

as far as Newtown, and that he had some interest in the place itself, as well as in the project of planting a college there. For when he died, in September, 1638, it was found that he had bequeathed to the projected college the whole of his library, and the half of his other property, which latter in its entirety amounted to something like £1,500. In May, 1638, it had been ordered by the court "that Newetowne shall henceforward be called Cambridge"; and in March, 1639, the order followed, from the same authority, that the college agreed upon to be built there should be called by Harvard's name. Nothing certainly could have been more appropriate than to give the name of the university town of Old England to the university town of New England, and the name of the first benefactor of the institution to the institution itself.

Other gifts to the college followed, both of money and of books. Mr. Nathaniel Eaton had been chosen "Professor" in 1637, and to him by name, in time, was made the town grant of land. To him also was assigned the care of donations for the college and of disbursements for the building; and under him was begun the instruction of the first class in 1638. Mr. Eaton was a scholar, but he was hardly a gentleman; and he was not a success either as a teacher or an administrator. His abuses led to his ignominious discharge from office, and Rev. Henry Dunster, who succeeded him in 1640, was really the first president of the college. Under him was graduated, in 1642, the first class, of nine: "young men of good hope," who "performed their acts so as gave good proof of their proficiency in the tongues and arts." There were "Latine and Greeke Orations, and Declamations, and Hebrew Analasis, Grammaticall, Logical, and Rhetoricall of the Psalms"; and "answers and disputations in Logically, Ethicall, Physicall, and Metaphysicall questions"; and the young men were presented by the president to the magistrates and ministers, and by him, upon their approbation, solemnly admitted unto "their degree," and "a booke of arts delivered into each of their hands, and the power given them to read lectures in the hall upon any of the arts, when they shall be thereunto called, and a liberty of studying in the library."¹ Most of the members of the Court were present at this first Commencement, "and dined at the college with the scholars ordinary commons," reads Governor Winthrop's journal, "which was

¹ *New England's First Fruits.*

done of purpose for the students encouragement, and it gave good content to all."

A description of the college's outward appearance at this time is fortunately preserved in the same tract from which we have quoted the account of the Commencement above, which was dated at Boston in 1642:—

"The edifice is very faire and comely within and without, having in it a spacious hall; where they daily meet at commons, lectures, and exercises; and a large library with some bookes to it, the gifts of diverse of our friends, their chambers and studies also fitted for, and possessed by the students, and all other roomes of office necessary and convenient with all needful offices thereto belonging: And by the side of the Colledge a faire Grammar Schoole for the training up of young scholars and fitting them for Academical learning, that still as they are judged ripe, they may be received into the Colledge of this Schoole: Master Corlet is the Mr.," etc.

This first college building was of wood. The same year which saw the first Commencement saw also the creation of a board of overseers for the infant college, consisting of the governor, deputy-governor, and magistrates of the jurisdiction, *ex-officio*, and the teaching elders of Cambridge, Watertown, Charlestown, Boston, Roxbury, and Dorchester. In the overseers were vested the funds and general management of the institution. In 1650 the court granted the college a charter, under which it became a corporation with the title of "The President and Fellows of Harvard College." And so the foundation was completed. This was nearly half a century before the founding of the next oldest college in the English colonies in North America,—that of William and Mary in Virginia, whose date is 1693. How deep down the foundations lie in the history of the past! Shakespeare had been dead barely a score of years; "Rare Ben Jonson" had but just died; Massinger was yet alive; so were Rubens and Van Dyke; Isaac Newton was not yet born; Charles I. was still on the British throne; and Cromwell's Commonwealth was only a castle in the air.

The founding of Harvard College was the supreme event in the early history of the young town, and under its perceptible influence the town life flowed along. The histories of town and church and college were henceforth for years to be knitted closely together. The college gave an impulse to the town; the church gave its impulse to the college: here was a spiritual tri-

mountainism which made of Cambridge another Shawmut in its outline against the heavens. Each fibre in the triple strand waxed bigger and stronger. The town grew; the ministry of the godly Mr. Shepard towered forth commandingly to all the region round about; the college drew to itself a steady stream of gifts. Cambridge had already been made one of the four towns in which the judicial courts were held; presently, on the division into counties, it was made the shire-town of Middlesex County. The building of a jail and of a courthouse followed in time, though not immediately. The ferry across Charles River at Charlestown was made to yield a profit for the college, and gifts of lumber, live-stock, and labor swelled the institution's schedule of receipts. But the church was not supplanted in the public attention by these incidents of civil and educational progress, as our glimpse of the synod of 1637 has shown.

Cambridge was not only the scene of the first New England synod and the seat of the first college in the colonies, but within its limits, and in connection with that college, was set up the first printing-press in what is now the territory of the United States. The history of this press, in its origin and products, is, however, so important as to demand a separate chapter.

IV. THE CAMBRIDGE PRESS. 1638-1674.

UPON the earliest records of Harvard College appears this item: "Mr. Joss Glover gave to the college a font of printing letters, and some gentlemen of Amsterdam gave towards furnishing of a printing-press with letters forty-nine pounds, and something more."

Nearly a hundred years before this a handbook of devotion and instruction had been printed in Mexico for the use of Roman Catholic priests in their missions among the natives; but the Cambridge press was the first press known in the English colonies of North America. Thus early was laid the foundation of what has proved the town's distinguishing industry, her skill in which has helped to give her a world-wide fame.

The Rev. Josse Glover was an English Dissenter, who had become actively interested in the settlement of Massachusetts. The project of a printing-press for the young colony and its college, if it did not originate with him, was peculiarly his charge; and in 1638, having engaged one Stephen Daye for a printer, he embarked in the ship John,

with his family, to come to New England. Daye and his family, and one or two others, took passage in the same vessel. Mr. Glover died on the voyage; but the rest of the company arrived at Cambridge, with the materials for the press, in the autumn. And there the "printery," as Hugh Peters of Salem called it, was set up, the time being toward the end of 1638, or early in 1639. It was nearly forty years before the printing-press was at work anywhere else in New England, and from 1640 to 1675 Cambridge did all the printing for America.

At the outset this Cambridge press was a college institution. It was "set up" in President Dunster's house, which was probably on Holyoke Street, nearly opposite to the spot where Wilson's Press lately stood; and it was "run" more or less under the president's supervision. Daye was hardly an accomplished printer, if, indeed, he was not a locksmith by trade rather than a printer at all, though he is believed to have served an apprenticeship at the case in London, and it is not likely that he would have been brought over by Mr. Glover if he had not possessed some knowledge of the craft. In 1641 President Dunster married the Widow Glover, so taking her as well as the press into his own house. By 1647 Daye's incompetence — he was probably a better pressman than compositor — cost him his place, and he was succeeded by his son, Matthew Daye, who in turn was followed by Samuel Green in 1649. Green had arrived in New England with Governor Winthrop in 1630, when he was but sixteen years of age, and had evidently lived in "the newe towne" nearly, if not quite, from the beginning. Though unknown as a printer till 1649, he was destined to manage the Cambridge press for the rest of the century, and to found a long and honorable line of craftsmen.

An absolutely complete and accurate list of the publications of the Cambridge press prior to 1650 is not now probably within the limits of possibility; the following is believed to include all known existing materials, doubt applying only to one or two titles: —

1. The Freeman's Oath. Printed by S. Daye. 1639. [On the face of a half-sheet of small paper.]
2. An Almanac for 1639. Compiled by William Pierce, Mariner. [The year begins with March.]
3. An Almanac for 1640. 1640.
4. The | Whole | Booke of Psalmes | Faithfully | Translated into English | Metre. | Whereunto is prefixed a discourse declaring not only the lawfulness, but also | the

necessity of the heavenly Ordinance | of singing Scripture Psalmes in | the Churches of | God. 1640.

5. An Almanac for 1641. 1641.
6. A Catechism agreed upon by the Elders at the Desire of the General Court. 1641.
7. The Body of Liberties. Folio. [?] 1641.
8. The Capital Laws of the Massachusetts Bay, with the Freeman's Oath. 1642.
9. Theses, etc. of the first graduates of Harvard College. 1642.
10. A | DECLARATION OF FORMER | Passages and Proceedings betwixt the English | and the Narragansets, with their Confederates, Wherein | the grounds and iustice of the ensuing warre are opened | and cleared. | Published, by order of the Commissioners for the united Colonies. 1646.
11. An almanac for 1648. [Only one copy known, the title page of which is missing. Believed with a good degree of certainty to have been printed by Stephen Daye.] 1648.
12. An | Almanack | for the Year of our | Lord | 1647 | — | Calculated for the Longitude of 315 | degr. and Elevation of the Pole Ar- | ctick 42 degr. & 30 min. and may ge- | nerally serve for the most part | of New England. | By Samuel Danforth of Harvard Colledge | Philomathemat. pp. 16. Matthew Daye. 1647.
13. The Psalms in Metre, etc. 2d ed. 1647.
14. An | Almanack | for the Year of Our | Lord | 1648 | — | Calculated [etc.] [Probably printed by Matthew Daye, though no name appears in the imprint.] 1648.

15. MDCXLIX. | An | Almanack | for the Year of | our Lord | 1649 | — | Calculated [etc.] [Undoubtedly printed by Samuel Green, though no name appears in the imprint; and the first work known to be his.] 1649.

16. The Book of the General Lawes and Libertyes concerning the Inhabitants of the Massachusetts, collected Out of the Records of the General Court for the several years wherein they were made and Established. And now revised by the same Court, and disposed into an Alphabetical order, and published by the same Authority in the General Court holden at Boston, in May 1649. 1648 or 1649.

17. Samuel Whiting, Oratio quam Comitj's Cantabrigiensibus Americis peroravit, Anno MDCXLIX. 8° pp. 16. No date in imprint. 1649 [?].

18. A | PLATFORM OF | CHURCH-DISCIPLINES | gathered out of the Word of God : | and agreed upon by the Elders : and Messengers of the Churches | assembled at the Synod at Cambridge | in New England | To be presented to the Churches and Generall Court | for their consideration and acceptance, | in the Lord | 4° S. G[reen]. 1649.

To the *Freeman's Oath* (No. 1) belongs, then, the distinction of being the first work printed in what are now the United States of America. No. 4 was the famous *Bay Psalm Book*, the first book printed in this country, and the circumstance should be enough to cause the name of Stephen Daye to be held in everlasting remembrance. At this time the churches were commonly

using the metrical version of the Psalms, by Sternhold and Hopkins, set forth nearly a hundred years before; but there was growing dissatisfaction with it, and a new version had been now undertaken by the New England fathers. The leaders in the work were Thomas Welde and John Eliot of Roxbury, and Richard Mather of Dorchester. They labored at their task under the inspiration of such exhortation as this from Rev. Thomas Shepard, the minister of Cambridge:—

"Ye Roxbury poets, keep clear of the crime
Of missing to give us very good rhyme:
And you of Dorchester your verses lengthen,
But with the texts own words you will them strengthen."

The work of the Roxbury and Dorchester "poets" was better than the exhortation, as witness these lines from their version of the Twenty-third Psalm:—

"The Lord to mee a Shepheard is,
want therefore shall not I.
Hee in the folds of tender-grasse
doth cause mee downe to lie.
To waters calme me gently leads
Restore my soule doth hee:
he doth in pathis of righteousness
for his names sake lead me."

When the new version was finished, it was sent over to the Cambridge press to be printed. It was afterwards revised by President Dunster, and in course of years passed through many editions, serving the purpose of some of the New England churches on into the times of the Revolution, and after.

Of the other publications mentioned in this list, it is by no means certain that No. 7 was a publication at all, there being some reason for believing that the compilation was kept in manuscript. No. 8 was *ordered to be printed* in the year named. No. 13 was a second edition of the *Bay Psalm Book*. Nos. 12 and 14 are evidently the handiwork of the same printer, Matthew Daye. The printing of No. 16 was begun, at least, in 1648. No. 18 was the first edition of the famous *Cambridge Platform*.

Matthew Daye was the first steward of the college, as well as its second printer. He died in 1649, leaving 20*s.* to his minister, and "a tablecloth and napkins not yet made up" to his minister's wife. To the college he gave, jointly with Mr. John Buckley, its first Master of Arts, a garden lot of something over an acre, for the use of the Fellows. This lot stood east of the college yard, fronting on Harvard Street, and was known there-

after as "the Fellows' Orchard." Gore Hall stands on what was its northerly end.

At least a hundred works bear the full Cambridge imprint of date prior to 1700. The chief of all were Eliot's Indian Bible and his other translations into the Indian language. The printing of the Indian Bible was a stupendous achievement, considering the circumstances, and brings the highest honors to Samuel Green, in the early years of whose management of the press it was effected. Before 1656 a second press, with furniture and type to suit, had made its appearance in Cambridge, sent out from England by the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England"; and the enlarged establishment was presently put in possession of the brick building which had been previously erected near the other college halls for the service of the Indian mission, but which was now no longer in use for that purpose. The endowment of the press was increased by grants from the General Court, and its large fonts of type had Hebrew and Greek letters. From this press in the wilderness was issued, in 1661, the first edition of *The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Translated into the Indian Language*; and in 1663 the first edition of *The Holy Bible: containing the Old Testament and the New, translated into the same*. A second edition appeared in 1685.

Eliot's Indian Bible must forever remain a unique example of apostolic zeal, literary energy, and industrial enterprise. "The whole translation," says Dr. Cotton Mather, "he [Eliot] writ with but one pen." And what has become of the pen,—implement worthy of precedence even over that with which Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, illustrious modern son of Cambridge, testifies that he has used continuously in all his writing from the days of *The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table* until now? The title-page of the Bible was certainly enough to stagger even a Cambridge printer:—

Mamuffeo
Wunneetupanatamwe
UP—BIBLUM GOD
Nanecfwe
NURKONE TESTAMENT
kah wonk
WUSKU TESTAMENT.

And what shall be said of a text which contains a word like this, in Mark i. 40,—

"Wutappesittukqussunmoolwehtunkquoh,"—

a word long enough to try a compositor's patience, if not his case, and to test the skill of a proof-reader to the utmost? The printing of such a book at such a time, with such resources, was certainly a typographic feat far more wonderful than the lightning edition of the Bible got out in England under Mr. Henry Stevens' direction at the time of the recent Caxton Celebration, or the microscopic edition of Dante which has appeared even more recently in Florence, in type so infinitesimally small that it can hardly be said to have appeared at all, inasmuch as a magnifying glass is needed to read it. History does not tell us how many eyes were spoiled; and how many jaws were broken, in Cambridge, in the course of printing John Eliot's Indian Bible; but doubtless Mr. Samuel Green and Mr. Marmaduke Johnson could have furnished materials for a record.

It was a "big job," indeed, in printers' parlance; big for the press, big for the times, and big for the Indians; and would not one like to see the actual press which did it? Franklin's press has been preserved; why did not a like worthy honor befall the older and more illustrious press of Stephen Daye and Samuel Green? All that is known of it now is, that, having been in constant use in Cambridge up to the close of the seventeenth century, it was probably sold, after Green's death in 1702, and removed elsewhere; while, about 1800, relics of it are said to have been in existence, and, indeed, still in use, in a printing-office at Windsor, Vermont.¹ Is it too late, even at this day, for the craftsmen of Cambridge to identify, recover, and suitably install for permanent preservation the possibly surviving remains of the first printing-press used in the territory of the United States of America?

The details of the printing of the Indian Bible are full of interest, though we must not tarry long over them here. Marmaduke Johnson, "an able printer," was sent over from England in 1660 by the Society for Propagating the Gospel amongst the Indians to aid Mr. Green in the undertaking. He proved a better workman than citizen, and managed to make a good deal of trouble in the town, in his private capacity, as Stephen Daye had done before him. The Old Testament was three years passing through the press, at the rate of about a sheet a week. Isaiah Thomas² calculated that "the whole expense attending the carrying through the press 1000 copies of the Bible, 500

¹ Holmes.

² *History of Printing.*

additional copies of the New Testament, an edition of Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted*, an edition of the *Psalter*, and two editions of Eliot's *Catechism*, all in the Indian language, including the cost of the types for printing the Bible, and the binding a part of them, and also the binding of a part of Baxter's *Call*, and the *Psalters*, amounted to a fraction more than £1200 sterling."

The Cambridge press was not an independent press. As we have already seen, it was responsible to powers above it, and furthermore it was under a censorship established by the General Court, and was even amenable to the court itself. In 1667 the court ordered "a more full revisall" of "a book that Imitates of Christ, or to that purpose, written by Thomas Kempis, a popish minister," then reprinting in the "Presse"; of which some suspicion was entertained, and work on which was stopped until the fuller revisal could be made.

Among the more important publications of the Cambridge press, under Green's administration, beside those already mentioned, were John Cotton's *Spiritual Milk for Boston Babes in either England*, 1656; *The Dying Speeches of Several Indians*, 1663; several pamphlets, essays, or tracts, by Rev. Thomas Shepard, bearing various dates; Nathaniel Morton's *New England's Memorial; or, a Brief Relation*, etc.; a long list of sermons, tracts, etc., by the Mathers; and the election sermons, year by year.

It may be mentioned, as a concluding item in the list of Cambridge contributions to the early development of printing in America, that Mr. Samuel Green was the progenitor of a long line of printing Greens, — sons, grandsons, great-grandsons, great-great-grandsons, and great-great-great-grandsons, — who during their generations have done much to spread the practice of the art throughout New England.

V. A BUSY DECADE. 1640-1650.

THE printing of Eliot's Indian Bible — a feat which, by reason of its important relation to the separate history of the early press in Cambridge, has been fully noted above, a little out of proper chronological order — was only a part, and an after part, of a general missionary work among the Indians around Massachusetts Bay; a work the glory of which Cambridge may justly share with Roxbury, and in which Rev. Thomas Shepard stood shoulder to shoulder with that true apostle, Rev.

John Eliot. As has been eloquently said by one of Mr. Shepard's successors,¹ "Let it be remembered, to the honor of our fathers, that the first Protestant mission to the heathen in modern times began in Cambridge; the first Protestant sermon in a heathen tongue was preached here; the first translation of the Bible by an Englishman into a heathen tongue was printed here; the first Protestant tract in a heathen language was written and printed here." When as yet the settlers of "the newe towne" had "scarce houses to shelter themselves, and no doores to hinder the Indians accesse to all they had in them,"² the dusky men of the forest had entered into familiar relations with the strangers. An old name for the Cambridge peninsula was "Wigwam Neck." The Charles River was the boundary between two hostile tribes. The tribe which frequented the Newtown settlement lived up Menotomy way. Their chief, Nanepashemet, was dead, and his wife, known as Squaw Sachem, reigned in his stead. From her the settlers took full legal title to their lands, paying a sum down in cash, and obligating themselves to give her "a coate every winter while shee liveth." These and other just and generous measures induced Squaw Sachem and some other chiefs, in 1644, to put themselves under the Massachusetts jurisdiction.

Such were the favorable circumstances under which John Eliot, in 1646, began his mission. He held his first conference with the Indians near Watertown Mill, on the south side of the Charles River, within the present limits of Newton, then called Nonantum, and within the then limits of Cambridge. "As soone as ever the fiercenesse of the winter was past, March 3, 1647," writes Mr. Shepard,³ "I went out to Noonentantum to the Indian Lecture, where Mr. Wilson, Mr. Allen of Dedham, Mr. Dunster, beside many other Christians, were present." Mr. Dunster's presence may be taken as a very practical evidence of the interest felt for the evangelization of the Indians by the young college over which he presided. A later helper of John Eliot in these godly labors was Daniel Gookin, who had moved to Cambridge from Virginia in 1644, attracted by the religious privileges here to be enjoyed. He became Eliot's "constant, pious, and persevering companion," and a most valuable and highly respected citizen and public servant. He was made, by turns, captain,

major, and major-general of the militia; representative, magistrate, and licenser of the public press; general superintendent of all the Indians within the jurisdiction of the colony; and was author of *Historical Collections of the Indians*.

In the midst of all these interesting movements was the beginning also of the public school system of Cambridge. Mr. Elijah Corlet, before mentioned, was the town's first schoolmaster. Just when he began his work we do not know, but he was a graduate of Lincoln College, Oxford, England, and he had taught long enough in Cambridge before 1643 to have "well approved himself for his abilities, dexterity, and painfulness."¹ Mr. Corlet lived on the easterly side of Dunster Street, between Mount Auburn and Winthrop streets. The house in which he appears first to have taught the "young ideas" of Cambridge was on the westerly side of Holyoke Street, between Harvard and Mount Auburn streets, just about where Wilson's Press lately stood. In 1647 a stone school-house was built here by President Dunster and Edward Goffe. Mr. Goffe was a large landholder in the town, wealthy, and a selectman for many years. Mr. Dunster seems to have been prominent in the enterprise, and to have made a large outlay for it, which was afterwards assumed by the town. This school-house was rebuilt about 1670, and replaced in 1700. Midway between these dates, however, Mr. Corlet died, after a good and faithful service of nearly if not quite half a century. "Memorable old schoolmaster in Cambridge," Mather calls him, "from whose education our college and country have received so many of its worthy men."² Master Corlet had at one time as many as five "Indian youtnes" in his "lattin schoole," fitting for Harvard; one of whom, Caleb Cheeshahteumuck, a native of Martha's Vineyard, graduated in 1665; but the number of his pupils was never very large, nor was his work self-supporting. An occasional tax upon the town, or a grant or sale of public lands, was of necessity resorted to "for his encouragement" to remain.

Before Cambridge was a dozen years old, then, its character was fixed; it had its church, its school, its college, its printing-press, its mission to the Indians, and had taken its first turn at a synod of all New England; and it is interesting to note that these features — the religious, the educational, the literary, the philanthropic, the controversial —

¹ McKensie.

² *Wonder-Working Providence.*

³ *The Clear Sunshine of the Gospel, etc.*

¹ *New England's First Fruits.*

² *Magnalia.*

have distinguished its growth ever since, and determine its position and influence at the present day.

The ten years from 1640 to 1650 were filled up with a variety of events contributive in one way or another to the development of the town, including some hardships and trials, but marking, as a whole, considerable progress. About the beginning of the decade an effort seems to have been made to procure Rev. John Phillips as "teacher" of the church. Mr. Phillips was an English clergyman, who had come to Cambridge from Salem in 1639 and built him a house "anent Charles-towne lane," now Kirkland Street, in the ox-pasture on its northwesterly side, not far from where the Lawrence Scientific School now stands. He declined the proposal, and removed to Dedham, and his house afterwards passed into the possession of Deputy-Governor Thomas Danforth.

In 1647 the townsmen took a census and appraisal of the inhabitants and their estates, the showing of which was: 135 ratable persons; 90 houses, valued at £2,537; 776 acres of broken land, valued at £5 an acre; 1,084 acres of unbroken land, at 10s. an acre; 500 acres of marsh, at 10s. an acre; 258 acres of "flarr medowes," at 6s. an acre; 208 cows, at £5 each; 131 oxen, at £6 per head; 20 horses, at £7 each; 37 sheep, at £1 10s. each; 62 swine, at £1 each; 58 goats, at 8s. each; and some other cattle.

In 1648 the town witnessed the assembling of another synod, which was even a more momentous affair than that of 1637. The solid men of New England, ministers and messengers of the churches, were all here. They gave solemn assent to the Westminster Confession of Faith, and set forth an elaborate system of church polity, which has passed into history as the "Cambridge Platform." This document, which still underlies the Congregational denomination as the charter of its outward form and order, is in seventeen chapters, each of several sections, and is a massive framework. It may be described as a declaration of all known opposites to the ecclesiastical principles of that Church of England which had been left behind, and which it was proposed to keep from following. The synod of 1648, like the former, was held in the little meeting-house on Dunster Street.

In 1649 Mr. Shepard died, to the great grief of his people. "Returning home from a council at Bowley, he fell into a quinsie, with a symptomatic fever, which suddenly stopped a silver trumpet,

from which the people of God had often heard the joyful sound."¹ He was in his forty-fourth year. Rev. Jonathan Mitchell was chosen to succeed him. Mr. Mitchell was a native of Yorkshire, England; had been brought to New England by his father in 1635; had entered Harvard College in 1645; had become religiously and devoutly disposed under the ministry of Mr. Shepard; had developed unusual talents of mind and graces of character; and had been invited to Hartford, Connecticut, with a view to his becoming Mr. Hooker's successor in the church there. But Mr. Shepard's eye had been already upon him, and he had promised to return to Cambridge free. This he did; preached to Mr. Shepard's people in August, 1649, and succeeded him a year later. Meanwhile, the old first meeting-house on Dunster Street having worn out, or proving insufficient for a growing congregation, the wants of multiplying synods, and the like, it was voted by the town to build a new house about forty feet square, and the "watch-house hill" was selected as the site. "Watch-house hill" was at the southwesterly corner of the college yard, near the present building of the Law School.

Bright light as Mr. Shepard was in the Cambridge candlestick, Mr. Mitchell, it would seem, outshone him. There is odd reflection of his rays in the descriptions given by Cotton Mather and other writers of the time. As a preacher, "he ordinarily meddled with no points but what he managed with such an extraordinary invention, curious disposition, and copious application, as if he would leave no material thing to be said of it by any that should come after him. . . . The colledge was nearer unto his heart than it was to his house, though next adjoining to it. . . . He loved a scholar dearly; but his heart was fervently set upon having the land all over illuminated with the spirit of a learned education. . . . His utterance had such a becoming tunableness and vivacity to set it off as was indeed inimitable. . . . Though he were all along in his preaching as a very lovely song of one that hath a pleasant voice, yet, as he drew near to the close of his exercises, his comely fervency would rise to a marvellous measure of energy. He would speak with such a transcendent majesty and liveliness, that the people would often shake under his dispensations, as if they had heard the sound of the trumpet from the burning mountain, and yet they would mourn to think that they were going

¹ Mather's *Magnolia*.

presently to be dismissed from such an heaven upon earth."

This prodigy of the Cambridge pulpit, having been parted, by her "immature death," from the daughter of Rev. John Cotton, to which "hopeful young gentlewoman" he was engaged to be married, was left at liberty to strengthen the tie which bound him to his new people by marrying the widow of his predecessor, which he did in November, 1650, amid the acclamations of the town, the students included. But his course, thus happily begun, was not destined to be exempt from the trials which are said to be the usual lot of the minister. Early in his pastorate there set in an agitation for a division of the church, whereby such of its members as lived south of the river might set up worship and ordinances for themselves. The seam thus opened, though it spread but slowly, ended in the separation of Newton into a distinct town. A trial much more serious was the defection of President Dunster.

When, about 1640, Mr. Dunster had been received into the church, he had signified his assent to its doctrine and practice of infant baptism. He now began to take open ground in opposition thereto, and carried it so far on one occasion as to interrupt Mr. Mitchell in the administration of the ordinance by a public protest. Such contumacy was not to be borne by men who had got their feet firmly planted on the Cambridge Platform. The anabaptistical Mr. Dunster was first labored with by the minister, then indicted by the Grand Jury, and finally reprimanded in public and required to give a bond for his good behavior. But he was not the sort of man to suppress his convictions at anybody's bidding, and the requirement having been set forth by the General Court that persons unsound in the faith should not be allowed to teach in the college, Mr. Dunster presently resigned his office, and retired to Scituate, where he died in 1659. Scituate also furnished his successor, President Charles Chauncy. It is to be mentioned to the credit of the principal parties to this controversy, that the good feeling between them was not by it impaired. Mr. Mitchell delivered a sincere and appreciative elegy over Mr. Dunster, and Mr. Dunster bequeathed books from his library to both Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Chauncy, styling them alike his "trusty friends and brethren."

Under the administration of President Dunster, the school which had been planted in Mr. Eaton's

time had advanced to true collegiate proportions, and its solidifying growth proceeded as steadily as could be expected, and was measurably unvexed by disputes in church and state. The very first class it graduated had taken up the work of additional endowment, as witnessed by a deed to the institution from John Bulkley, a member of the class, of about an acre of valuable land nearly in the centre of the town. It is the earliest conveyance on the college records, and is in Latin. But the increase of funds was naturally slow, and at the time of President Chauncy's accession to office the institution was in some straits. The one building which then served the common purpose was badly out of repair. Not less than £100 was needed to "recover" it, and put it otherwise in decent and usable condition. The actual college revenue was only about £27 a year, of which more than half was for scholarships. The income derived from the press and the ferry was small and uncertain.

The college at this time, it must be remembered, was quite as much a theological as a literary institution. Biblical study entered largely into the course, and the students lived under a monastic code of rules. Their place of worship on the Sabbath was in the meeting-house near by. Corporal punishment was in force, and the instructors inflicted it at discretion in the form of "boxing." There was also a system of fines for the better preservation of order. The town watch was given full jurisdiction over the college precinct. The main end of the student's life was "to know God and Jesus Christ, which is eternal life." He was to read the Scriptures twice a day. He was not "to pragmatically intrude or intermeddle in other men's affairs." He was not to "buy, sell, or exchange anything, to the value of sixpence," without the permission of parents, guardians, or tutors. He was never to use his mother tongue, except in such public exercises as he should be required to make in English. Without the leave of the president and his tutor he was to attend no public civil meeting in the town of any kind, during college hours. He was not to "take tobacco," unless by permission of the president and approval of parents and guardians, or by valid prescription of a physician, and then only "in a sober and private manner."

Such were the features of life within the college at this juncture. Outside, the life of the little town was slowly expanding, and branching out in new directions. The opening of the college

precinct had given an impulse to its growth in that quarter. Harvard Square was beginning to take form out of the fields and pastures around. The streets were getting widened and trodden. There was a noticeable improvement in the style of building. The new meeting-house, with its "4-square roof and covered with shingle," emphasized the advancing tastes and enlarged resources of the people. A second house of public entertainment had been opened on the northeast corner of Brighton and Mount Auburn streets, from which was hung out later the sign of the Blue Anchor. Orchards were beginning to display their bloom and yield their fruit. The ferry at the foot of Brighton Street, the use of which was attended by growing inconvenience and peril, was replaced by a "Great Bridge," which cost at least £200, and which was by far the largest and finest yet built in the colony. Homesteads began to be laid out, down along the neck, and farms up in Menotomy and beyond. A convenient horse-block and causeway were ordered by the townsmen to be provided at the meeting-house door for mounting and dismounting of such of the congregation as rode to and from meeting. As yet few wheels rumbled in the streets of Cambridge.

VI. THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CENTURY.

1650-1730.

In 1660 two strangers arrived in Cambridge and took up a temporary residence there, whose coming, had it been in a time when news travelled faster and thought acted more promptly, would have created an immense sensation. These were Edward Whalley and his son-in-law, William Goffe, the English regicides. On the restoration of the Stuarts they fled to America, and, landing at Boston in July, reported themselves to Governor Endicott, who received them courteously. A companion of their voyage was Daniel Gookin, of whom mention has been made before; at whose invitation it was that the fugitives established themselves at Cambridge, and indeed under his own roof. An Edward Goffe was already a resident of the town, but there is no evidence of any relationship between him and William. The Lord's Day after their arrival they attended the ministration of Mr. Mitchell; later, they supped with Mr. "Chancey," who made himself their comforter. They remained in Cambridge until February following, when a movement in Boston looking to their detention

made it prudent for them to move on, which they did, with horses and a guide, toward New Haven.

In July, 1668, the talented Mitchell died, and his successor, Urian Oakes, was not ordained till 1671. In the mean time the pulpit was supplied by President Chauncy and others, and the catechizing of the youths of the town was systematically carried forward by the lay members of the church, the families being assigned among them. A few godless and profane fellows, who had got into the way of absenting themselves from public worship, were handed over to the constable to look after. "Mistress" Mitchell was provided for by an annuity; and, by way of expediting, perhaps, the work of getting a new minister, order was taken by the church for the building of a parsonage. This was in 1669. The selectmen and deacons, with three others, were appointed a committee for the same, and the cost was met by the sale of the church's farm at "Billica." A parsonage lot of four acres, on the northerly side of Harvard Street, nearly opposite Holyoke, was bought of the Widow Beale, and "in the year 1670 there was a house erected upon the said land of 36 foote long and 30 foote broad; this house to remayne the churchis and to be the dwelling-place of such a minister and officer as the Lord shall be pleased to supply." The following is the bill of "the chargis layd out for the purchas of the land and building of the house and barne, inclosing the orchyard and other accomodations to it,"—the first parsonage of Cambridge:—

The purchas of the land in cash	£	40	0s.	0d.
The building and finishing the house	263	5	6	
The building the barne,	42	0	0	
The inclosing the orchyard and yards, repaving the fencia, building an office-house, and planting the orchyard with trees, and scaling some part of the house and laying a duple floore on some part of it.	22	1	10	

The picture of this old parsonage, on page 325, taken from Rev. Alexander McKenzie's *First Church in Cambridge*, gives what must be one of the oldest views extant of the architecture of the town. And a very respectable-looking house it is; of two stories, or a story and a half, sharp-roofed, with an L, and with irregular windows, provided with a massive stack of chimneys, fronted with some graceful trees, and well fenced in.

Mr. Oakes, whose good fortune it was first to occupy the new parsonage, was a graduate of Har-

ward in 1649, and had already preached in the colony, but had returned to England, where he was born. It was thence he was loudly called back by the Cambridge church, which paid the cost of his removal, and ordained him in generous style, as witness this bill of provisions for the ordination dinner:—

It. 3 bushells of wheate	£0 15s. 0d.
It. 2 bushells of malt	0 10 0
It. 4 gallons of wine	0 18 0
It. for beefe	1 10 0
It. for mutton	1 4 0
It. for 30 $\frac{1}{2}$ of butter	0 15 0
It. for foules	0 11 9
It. for sugar, spice, and frute, and other small things	1 0 0
It. for labour	1 8 6
It. for washing the table lining	0 6 0
It. for wood 7s.	0 7 0
It. Suit 7 lb. 3s. bread 6s.	0 9 0
	£9 17s. 3d.

No sooner was Minister Oakes fairly settled and at work than President Chauncy died, namely, in

February, 1672; and the latter was succeeded by Rev. Leonard Hoar, who came over from England with a strongly backed application for the vacant chair. Mr. Hoar was a graduate of the college, though not a native of the colony, and had removed to England upon his graduation. His assumption of office was followed by the granting to the college of a new charter, but not by a newness of life corresponding thereto. Before the death of President Chauncy the college had fallen into a necessitous condition. Its buildings were sadly dilapidated, the number of its scholars reduced, and all its available funds did not amount to £1000. Under President Hoar it languished still more, and in 1675 he was obliged to resign. Dislike on the part of the students, perhaps, had something to do with his resignation; envy and jealousy among his associates in the government probably had more. The conduct of Mr Oakes, who was a member of the corporation, was not altogether transparent in connection with the trouble. He, however, accepted the "superintendence" of the college, with



The Old Parsonage: Built in 1670.

the rank and duties of president, and in 1679 allowed himself to be made president in full. This arrangement led to the engagement of Mr. Nathaniel Gookin as his assistant in the care of the church. Mr. Gookin was a son of General Gookin, before mentioned, and on Mr. Oakes's death, in 1682, he succeeded him as pastor.

The year of President Oakes's death saw the completion of the much-needed new college building, Harvard Hall, subscriptions for which had been begun by the New Hampshire town of Portsmouth in 1669, and a commencement upon which had been made in 1672. It was a brick edifice, of rather an ambitiously whimsical exterior, but

stately and imposing for the time, and one that must have been universally recognized as a considerable addition to the furniture of the town.

There are traces of shipbuilding in Cambridge about 1672.¹

From 1680 to 1688 the number of taxable residents of Cambridge increased from 169 to 191. The number of families in 1680 was 121. At Mr. Gookin's ordination "provision" was made for eighty persons. The salary of the minister was about £50 in cash, and between £70 and £80 in supplies, besides an abundance of firewood. The contributions of the church for benevolent objects were frequent, and averaged something like a pound each. The sick and poor were liberally and tenderly cared for. Such items open glimpses into the life of the time.

The history we are pursuing received its chief distinction, during the closing years of the century, from the college administration of President Increase Mather. "The period which elapsed while the college was under his superintendence is the most interesting, the most critical, and the most decisive of its destinies, of any of its history."² It was also a period of great moment in the affairs of the colony, to whose fluctuations of prosperity a town so intimately related as Cambridge was of course peculiarly sensitive.

It was in the summer of 1685 that news reached Boston of the abrogation of the charter. In the following year arrived Sir Edmund Andros, proclaiming himself "captain-general and governor-in-chief" of New England. Upon the accession of William and Mary to the British throne, Andros and his unwelcome government were overthrown, and the colony resumed its old forms until they were displaced by the province charter of 1692. The administration of Phips, Stoughton, Belknap, and Dudley succeeded in quick turn. These were political changes which played an important part in preparing the way for final colonial independence. And the fifteen years which they occupied corresponded substantially to the term of Increase Mather's presidency of Harvard.

President Mather did not immediately succeed President Oakes on the latter's death. One or two

candidates were first chosen to the office, and declined it. Rev. John Rogers filled it for a short season. Mr. Mather finally consented to assume its duties in June, 1685, and continued to discharge them for sixteen years, though only for a part of the time so far yielding his preferences as to become a resident of Cambridge. He was largely mixed up in the political controversies of the period.

It was in the very midst of this time, too, that the witchcraft delusion rose to its height: In this melancholy chapter of New England history the name of Mather—father and son, and especially son—is conspicuous above almost all others. Such a stormy period as this cannot be supposed to have allowed many blessings to the little university town on the banks of the Charles. A new charter did indeed come to the college from the General Court, but the first uses of it were adroitly turned by the ambitious president to his own advantage. When afterward it was negated by the crown, the affairs of the college were left in greater embarrassment than ever. Other complications ensued, and the double-mindedness of the president added constantly new elements of difficulty to the situation. The reorganization of the college came to be the politico-ecclesiastical issue of the hour. Finally, the president's firm refusal to remove his residence from Boston to Cambridge, notwithstanding the explicit order of the General Court for him so to do, led to his displacement, and Rev. Samuel Willard, as vice-president, assumed the duties of superintendence.

The year 1701, which found Mr. Willard at the head of the college, was the fifth year of the ministry of Rev. William Brattle to the church in Cambridge. In 1703 the town deemed it necessary to build a new meeting-house. The edifice then in use had been standing about half a century. The usual tax was levied, and the college made a grant of £60. The new house stood near the site of the former, perhaps exactly upon it, and would appear to have been taken possession of in the fall of 1706. Ten years passed away, and Mr. Brattle died, but not before some happy changes had been made by his agency in the constitution of the church as respected the admission of new members. The day of his burial, February 15, was marked by an extraordinary snow-storm, one effect of which was that ministers and other notable men from all over the county were detained in town for nearly a week. Mr. Nathaniel Appleton, a native of Ipswich, was pretty promptly chosen to succeed Mr.

¹ Hubbard has an account of a ship built at Cambridge which sailed in 1631 for the Canaries, having fourteen pieces of ordnance and about thirty men. She fell in with "an Irish man-of-war" of superior force, and fought her a whole day at close quarters, but finally escaped with the loss of two men and "damified in her merchandise between £200 and £300."—*Es.*

² Quincy.

Brattle, and on his ordination, in October, 1717, began a pastorate which lasted nearly sixty-seven years. The early stages of Mr. Appleton's ministry were signalized by a rebuilding of the parsonage, and an addition of galleries to the meeting-house, in which more room seems to have been needed for the "scholars" of the college. Of the social spirit of the town at this time — its care over itself and suspiciousness toward strangers — a curious instance is given in the following action of "freeholders and inhabitants" "orderly convened" in December, 1728: —

"*Whereas*, of late years, sundry persons and families have been received and entertained amongst us, to the great trouble of the Selectmen and damage of the town: for preventing such inconveniences for the future, *Voted*, That henceforth no freeholder nor inhabitant in said town shall receive or admit any family into our town to reside amongst us, for the space of a month, without first having obtained the allowance and approbation of the freeholders and inhabitants of said town, or of the Selectmen for the time being, on penalty of paying to the Treasurer of said town, for the use of the poor, the sum of twenty shillings. Also *Voted*, That no inhabitant in said town shall receive and entertain any person into their family (excepting such as are received by reason of marriage, or such as are sent for education, or men or maid servants upon wages, or purchased servants or slaves), for the space of a month, without having the allowance and approbation of the freeholders and inhabitants, or selectmen, as aforesaid, on penalty of paying the sum of twenty shillings for the use of the poor, as aforesaid."

Thus at the beginning of the last century did Cambridge undertake to put up the social bars.

The first quarter of the last century was the heart of the period (1692–1736) to which President Quincy assigns the second stage of the growth of the college; and it is the college history which, during that term of years, gives outline, body, and countenance to the history of the town. In 1708, greatly to the disappointment of the Mathers, Mr. Willard had been succeeded in the presidency of the college by John Leverett, a grandson of Governor Leverett, who held office until 1725, when he in turn gave place to President Wadsworth. Mr. Appleton's long ministry to the church was meanwhile well begun. The church was destined to some suffering by reason of defection in life on the part of its membership, the care and discipline of which came to be an onerous part of the pastor's burden; but the college flourished like a green bay-tree. The Mathers withdrew from active participation in its affairs. President Leverett threw himself into his work with both zeal and discretion, and though his administration had

its stormy passages, it was marked by many important gains. These were times when both religious and political feeling ran high; but the college forged steadily ahead, despite the battering waves. It was during this administration that the stream of Thomas Hollis's benefactions to Harvard began to flow, — an experience one of the brightest in its history.

The point now before us is a good one, perhaps, to pause for another hasty survey of the college walls and inspection of that college world which was so largely the Cambridge world. The year 1720 saw the completion of Massachusetts Hall, substantially as it appears to-day; which building, with Harvard Hall opposite, and the first Stoughton against the eastward opening between the other two, formed the three sides of the college "quad." The president's house had been pulled down to make way for the new building, which was erected by legislative bounty at a cost of about £3,500 provincial currency. The general course of study and discipline, the college life and atmosphere, at the time before us, are vividly revealed, not only in the diaries of the presidents, but in the report of a solemn "visitation" of the college, which had been instituted by the overseers in some spirit of dissatisfaction a year or two earlier. Points in the report of the committee of visitation are that "there is too common and general a neglect of the stated exercises among the undergraduates"; that "the Masters' disputations and Bachelors' declamations . . . have been a long time disused"; that there has not been "any great recommendation of books in Divinity to the students, but that they have read promiscuously, according to their inclinations"; that "the Greek Catechism is recited by the Freshmen without exposition"; that "there has been a practice of several immoralities, particularly stealing, lying, swearing, idleness, picking of locks, and too frequent use of strong drink"; that "the tutors and graduates do generally give their attendance on the prayers in the Hall, though not on the readings"; that "the scholars are, many of them, too long absent from the college"; that "the scholars too generally spend too much of the Saturday evenings in one another's chambers; and that the Freshmen, as well as others, are seen, in great numbers, going into town, on Sabbath mornings, to provide breakfasts"; and so on.

At the time of President Leverett's accession to office an "ancient and laudable practice" had been

revived, of having the undergraduates read at morning prayer a verse out of the Old Testament into Greek, and at evening prayer, when the president was officially present, a verse out of the English or Latin New Testament into Greek. This duty was exacted of all except the Freshmen, who were permitted to use their English Bibles. Under President Wadsworth the duty was permitted to be performed in tutors' chambers. Morning and evening prayer included each, in fact, two prayers, with a Scripture reading and exposition, and on Saturday the singing of a psalm. On the Sabbath the expositions gave place to a report at evening, by scholars in course, of the sermon which had been preached in the morning at the meeting-house near by, where the members of the college regularly attended, occupying seats in the front gallery. Besides his eight or ten expositions of Scripture in the week, the president was charged with general oversight and administration, and occasionally looked in on the weekly declamations. There were four classes of students then as now, but the two upper were called respectively senior and junior "Sophisters." The Freshmen were "fags" to the whole college out of hours. To eat in commons was compulsory. So likewise, except for the Freshmen, was the study of Hebrew under one Judah Monis, a converted Jew. Discipline was promoted by daily visits of tutors to students' rooms, and enforced by fines, reprimands, degradation, and expulsion. The extreme penalty was publicly and solemnly administered. Card-playing subjected the offender to public admonition. Commencement had already begun to be a gala day, — drawing to Cambridge, by the roundabout way of Roxbury, the governor and his guards, marked by a prefatory procession of authorities, dignitaries, and invited guests, and relieved by a dinner in Harvard Hall. The literary exercises, which were divided into two sessions by the dinner, took place in the meeting-house, which, for the occasion, was the centre of a strange and animated scene. The Cambridge Common, during Commencement week in those days, was built over with a city of booths, laid out in regular streets, where all the diversions and refreshments of a muster or a country fair were dispensed to a miscellaneous and too often uproarious crowd. By the middle of the century these wild abuses of the occasion led to strenuous efforts to make college commencements private affairs; but as early as the first years of President Wadsworth's rule recourse was had to the civil

authorities to forbid the booth system. And before this, even, the government of the college had found it expedient to prohibit "Commencers" from "preparing or providing either plumb cake, or roasted, boiled, or baked meats, or pies of any kind," and from having in their chambers "distilled liquors, or any composition made therewith." The president would visit the rooms of the "Commencers" on Commencement Day, to see that this decree was enforced, and the attempted evasion of it "by plain cake" — so quaintly reads the record — was met by a stern threat of withholding honors of graduation from the offender.

President Wadsworth was inaugurated on one of these Commencement Days, namely, the 7th of July, 1725; and he distinguished the occasion by pronouncing *memoriter* a Latin oration. For his encouragement the General Court, which all this time was the college's fostering hand, not only established his salary at £400, but voted £1000 to be used "for the building a handsome wooden dwelling-house, barn, and out-houses, on some part of the College land," for the accommodation of him and his successors. Both salary and dwelling languished, however, and of the latter the president was obliged to take possession for himself and family "when not half finished within." Then and thus arose upon the south frontage of the college yard, not far from the lot which nearly a hundred years before had been assigned to the Rev. Thomas Hooker, that seemly and venerable gambrel-roofed mansion which stands to day on Harvard Street, next to the Square, and nearly opposite Dunster Street, — one of the most conspicuous landmarks of the modern city, because one of the most honored links with the ancient town. For a hundred and twenty years this was to be the official residence of the college presidents. "Probably no private mansion in America has seen so many illustrious personages under its roof-tree."¹

In 1721-22 the General Court was driven out from Boston over to Cambridge, and in turn out of Cambridge, by the prevalence of the small-pox; which unpleasant pestilence raged again, with an even increased violence, in 1730, breaking up the college exercises and scattering the students for a season, and occasioning no less than nine town-meetings to devise measures for its extermination. Twice again, within a comparatively short time, were the exercises of the college similarly interrupted — in 1740 by a "throat distemper," which

¹ Drake.

proved so fatal in the town that the students were dismissed in June, and the Commencement postponed until autumn; and in 1750 by the small-pox once more, in connection with which latter visitation very nearly one person in every three of the entire population of the neighboring town of Boston was down with the malady in its ordinary form, while upwards of two thousand took it by inoculation. The population of Boston was then about 15,000, and Cambridge suffered in proportion.

Among the victims of the "throat distemper" of 1740 were President Holyoke's wife and son.

VII. WHITEFIELD IN CAMBRIDGE. 1740-1764.

THE reader must bear in mind that the present stage of this history lies in the very midst of that powerful religious movement which, originating in 1734, at Northampton, Massachusetts, under the fierce and lurid preaching of Jonathan Edwards, had spread through the colonies, and is known in American annals as "The Great Awakening." It is not, of course, within the intent of this sketch to give any detailed description of this remarkable revival, or to spread out the variety of causes which contributed to it, and the complicated forces which carried it forward. It was a time when the theological caldron was seething furiously; when controversies over doctrine were growing bitter and divisive, and when the spiritual life of the churches was correspondingly on the decline. The head was having more to do in the service of religion than the heart, and there was doubtless need of some radical and rousing measures of reformation. In this, as in all other important changes in the New England character, Cambridge was destined to play a leading part, and the central figure around which rolled "the shock and shout of battle" was that mighty warrior of the church militant, the Rev. George Whitefield.

Mr. Whitefield was an ordained clergyman of the Church of England, who had caught the infection of Wesleyanism, had cut loose from the conventionalities of the Establishment, and had given himself with a prodigious enthusiasm and vigor to a general evangelical mission. It was in the pursuit of this career that he made his several visits to America between 1737 and 1770. He was the Moody of his age, on a larger scale; and came hither much as our American evangelist of this century has visited England in our own times.

On his second visit to America, Whitefield reached Boston in September, 1740, being then but twenty-five years of age. His first sermon in Boston he preached on Friday, the 29th of the month, the day after his arrival. His fame, and the suspicion and opposition which his peculiarities aroused in the minds of many of the standing order, invested his advent with much of the quality of a first-class sensation. The incidents which attended his progress increased its natural effect and impressions. His first congregation, in Dr. Colman's meeting-house, he estimates at four thousand; but he had a great gift for overrating his congregations, and his figures are to be taken with considerable reduction. On Saturday he preached in the morning to about "six thousand" in the Old South Meeting-House, and in the afternoon to about "eight thousand" on the Common. On Monday afternoon, when the New South Meeting-House on Summer Street was filled with an eagerly expectant congregation, a panic broke out just before Mr. Whitefield reached the house, and in the efforts of the crowd to escape from the building by the doors and windows, five persons were actually killed and several others wounded. Though the weather was wet, the service was immediately adjourned to the Common.

On Wednesday, Mr. Whitefield came out to preach at Cambridge, and the prefatory incidents above related may suffice to suggest the excitement which must have filled the little university town at his coming. "Here," he writes, is "the chief college of New England for training the sons of the prophets. It has," he continues, "one president, four tutors, and about a hundred students. The college is scarce as big as one of our least colleges at Oxford; and, as far as I could gather from some who knew the state of it, not far superior to our universities in piety. Discipline is at a low ebb. Bad books are become fashionable among the tutors and students. Tillotson and Clark are read instead of Sheppard, Stoddard, and such-like evangelical writers; and, therefore, I chose to preach from these words: 'We are not as many, who corrupt the word of God'; and God gave me great freedom and boldness of speech. A great number of neighboring ministers attended, as indeed they do at all other times. The president of the college¹ and minister of the parish² treated me very civilly."³ This discourse would appear to

¹ Edward Holyoke, who succeeded Wadsworth in 1737.

² Mr. Appleton.

³ Whitefield's Journal.

have been preached under an elm-tree which stood at the northwest corner of the Common, a few rods from what is now known as the "Washington Elm."

In the afternoon he preached again, this time in the college "court," as he calls it, meaning thereby, evidently, the enclosure between the buildings. He describes the services on this memorable day as attended with "manifest power." A minister soon after wrote him "that he believed one of his daughters was savingly wrought upon at the time"; and among other "converts" was Daniel Emerson, a student, who became in 1743 first minister of Hollis, New Hampshire, and remained such till his death in 1801,—"a son of thunder, a flaming light,"¹ and "the means of extensive revivals of religion."²

After making a brief circuit through a series of New England towns, Mr. Whitefield returned, and preached in Cambridge on Saturday, the 11th of October, holding forth on this occasion from the meeting-house door in the Square "to a great body of people, who stood very attentively (though it rained), and were much affected. It being the town of the university," he continues, "I discoursed in these words, 'Noah, a preacher of righteousness'; and endeavored to show the qualifications for a true evangelical preacher of Christ's righteousness. After sermon the president kindly entertained me and my friends." The instrumentality of these sermons was instantaneous and marked. "The college is entirely changed," wrote Dr. Benjamin Colman, the minister of the Brattle Street Church in Boston. "The students are full of God. Many of them appear truly born again. The voice of prayer and of praise fills their chambers; and joy, with seriousness of heart, sits visibly on their faces. I was told yesterday that not seven out of the one hundred in attendance remain unaffected."

Much of Mr. Whitefield's particular preaching was as little relished by the Congregational ministers as his general course had been by the clergy of the Episcopal Church. On both sides doors were closed against him, and he was forced to gather his hearers in the open air. Thus it had been in Cambridge. He was very severe on "unconverted ministers," as he called them. "How can dead men beget living children?" he cried. This was the offence, doubtless, which barred the

Cambridge meeting-house against him, even though the college yard was opened, compelling him to speak from the meeting-house steps in the rain, or under the falling leaves of the great elm-tree. Yet Mr. Appleton probably was among his listeners, and, upon the testimony of Tutor Flynt, "was more close and affecting in his preaching after Mr. Whitefield's being here." About three weeks after Mr. Whitefield's second visit to Cambridge, Mr. Appleton preached a sermon on the words, "I have planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the increase." The sermon was published as having been "occasioned by the late powerful and awakening preaching of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield," and would seem to have grown out of the pastor's sense of a discriminating judgment on the part of his people as to the relative agencies of "itinerants" and others in doing the works of God. The Rev. Gilbert Tennent, writing to Whitefield in April following, reported of "the fruits" of the latter's ministry which he had found in Cambridge, that, "in the college and town, the shaking among the dry bones was general; and several of the students have received consolation"; the response to which report was a letter from Mr. Whitefield to the students, addressed to them in company with their fellows at New Haven. Despite Mr. Whitefield's strictures upon the ministry in general and the college in particular, and notwithstanding the hard feeling and opposition thereby engendered, it must be conceded, we think, that in the college consciousness a sense of resulting benefit prevailed; for "the overseers of the college thought it proper to set apart the forenoon of June 12, 1741, humbly to bless and praise the God of all grace for his abundant mercy to that society."

Neither Whitefield nor Cambridge, however, was yet done with each other. The florid and fervent apostle, after having returned to Great Britain, was once more in New England. The old agitation set in with greater force than before, and the practical question before the ministers was: Shall we admit him to our pulpits? The exigency was grave, and Harvard College felt bound to lift up its "Testimony" against the innovator. In a remarkable document, under date of December 28, 1744, the faculty formally arraigned him as "an uncharitable, censorious, and slanderous man," "guilty of gross breaches of the ninth commandment," "a deluder of the people," and an "itinerant" and "exciting"¹

¹ Tyerman's *Life of Whitefield*.

² Belcher's *Biography of Whitefield*.

¹ *The Great Awakening*.

preacher"; and recommended the pastors to confer in their associations "whether it be not high time to make a stand against the mischiefs coming through him upon the churches." This recommendation Mr. Appleton lost no time in adopting and carrying into effect. He had already received a request from a number of his parishioners that he would invite Mr. Whitefield into his pulpit. A ministerial Association met at Cambridge on the 1st of January, 1745. Besides Mr. Appleton, there were present Mr. Hancock of Lexington, Mr. Williams of Westou, Mr. Cotton of Newton, Mr. Warham Williams of Waltham, Mr. Storer of Watertown, Mr. Turell of Medford, Mr. Bowes of Bedford, and Mr. Cooke of Cambridge. To these brethren Mr. Appleton applied for advice as to what he should do. "After supplications to God, and mature consideration of the case, . . . it was unanimously *Voted*, That it is not advisable, under the present situation of things, that the Rev. Mr. Appleton invite the Rev. Mr. Whitefield to preach in Cambridge"; and the ministers present, suiting the action to the word, declared "each of them for themselves respectively, that they would not invite the said gentleman into their pulpits."

Before the end of the month Mr. Whitefield published a reply to the "Testimony" of the college faculty, defending himself at every point, but with candor acknowledging where he had been in error and the wrong; and declaring that "if the pulpits should be shut, blessed be God, the fields are open." To this characteristic deliverance both President Holyoke and Professor Wigglesworth returned a pamphlet fire; and so intense was the public feeling against the "itinerant," that in June following, Mr. Whitefield, having had the courage to preach in Cambridge notwithstanding, the *Boston Weekly News Letter*¹ was desired, in order "to prevent misapprehensions and some ill consequences," to give notice that "he preached on the Common, and not in the pulpit; and that he did it not only without the consent, but contrary to the mind, of the Rev. Mr. Appleton, the minister of the place."

Again in 1754, at the time of his fifth visit to America, and once more, on the 28th of August, 1770, Mr. Whitefield preached in Cambridge. This last occasion was but a few weeks before his death, and Mr. Appleton now invited him into his pulpit. He lived long enough to take a secret revenge on the college; for when, in 1764, its

library was destroyed by fire, and while President Holyoke and Professor Wigglesworth were yet in office, Mr. Whitefield not only presented for the new library a new edition of his journals, but "procured large benefactions from several benevolent and respectable gentlemen" in England; "instances of candour and generosity" which the president and fellows could not do less than gratefully acknowledge.

This whole Whitefield episode forcibly illustrates the close relation which Harvard College sustained to the religious thought and life of the New England of the last century, and throws a strong beam of light upon this Cambridge "city set upon a hill." We can safely leave to the imagination the gossip, the disputings, and the excitement which the proceedings of these particular years occasioned in what had once been "the newe towne" on the banks of the Charles.

VIII. PRE-REVOLUTIONARY DAYS. 1750-1770.

THERE are many other interesting facts and incidents of this period, both within and without the college circle, which might well detain our attention; but we must pass on to the date of 1750, and to the events which give character to the period immediately preceding the Revolution. If the Revolution be the most stately and inspiring chamber in the temple of Cambridge history, the events of the period named constitute a very fitting portal.

In 1750, Captain Goelet, riding out with two friends to see Cambridge, finds that it "is a neat, pleasant village, and consists of about an hundred houses and three colleges, which are a plain old fabrick of no manner of architect, and the present much out of repair, is situated on one side of the towne, and forms a large square; its apartments are pretty large."¹

Cambridge had now considerably enlarged its borders of a hundred years before, as a curious old map of the time fac-similed in Paige's *History* well shows. Half a dozen blocks, or squares, of buildings still constituted the "town," but the straggling streets which led north, south, east, and west had begun to show a very respectable distribution of houses. Harvard Square took its shape and proportions from the boundary of the college yard, from the junction of the "way down ye neck" with that to Watertown, and from the "burying-place," as the old graveyard opposite the college

¹ Issue of June 27.

¹ N. E. Historical and Genealogical Register.

was called. The meeting-house stood in a little jog at the southeast angle of the Square, and the town-house close to the western wall of the meeting-house. The president's house, Dr. Wigglesworth's, and Mr. Appleton's gave dignity to the beginning of the Harvard Street that was to be. The college yard was a rude rectangle of narrow dimensions, already almost crowded with its little family of halls. Against the market-place, toward

the west, crouched the prison. Toward the north opened the spacious Common, and beyond it lay the Square. Perhaps a hundred houses are down upon this map, though whether the representation was intended to be exhaustive does not appear. The broad "way to Charlestown" and the "causey" leading down to the Great Bridge across the river in the direction of Brookline and Roxbury pointed out the two routes to Boston.



Meeting-house erected in 1756-57.

These were yet primitive times in Cambridge. The forest was still near at hand, and the wild beasts thereof contributed to the sensations of the hour. "A great many bears killed at Cambridge and the neighboring towns about this time," writes student Belknap of Harvard in 1759, "and several persons killed by them." The *Boston News Letter*, under date of September 19, 1754, tells of a bear that had made his appearance in what is now East Cambridge a few days before, and, being closely pursued, took to the river, in which he was finally despatched.

The town had not yet a hundred and fifty taxable inhabitants, but it was growing. A signal proof of this was the building of a new meeting-house in 1756 and 1757. The college authorities had something to say with respect to the planning of this new sanctuary, with a view to its better accommodation of the academic household; and therefore

contributed to its cost. There was a long and creditable list of public subscriptions, on which are to be seen the historic names of Whittemore, Bradish, Brattle, Wyeth, and Vassall; and the structure was an imposing one for its time. It was large and square, with projecting tower and tapering spire, side porch, and two stories of windows; looking much, in fact, in its exterior, like the Old South Meeting-House in Boston. Within, the pulpit and deacons' seat upon the side, the tiers of square box-pews, and the surrounding gallery, corresponded to the traditional arrangement. A plan of the house, with the allotment of pews, is printed by Paige, and the contiguous names of Appleton, Holyoke, Vassall, Phips, and Brattle make a solid row against the wall opposite the pulpit. This new meeting-house was to do signal service in the university town. In it "all the public Commencements and solemn inaugurations,

during more than seventy years, were celebrated; and no building in Massachusetts can compare with it in the number of distinguished men who at different times have been assembled within its walls. Washington and his brother patriots in arms there often worshipped during the investment of Boston by the provincial army in 1775. In 1779 the delegates from the towns of Massachusetts there met and framed the constitution of the commonwealth, which the people of the new state ratified in 1780. There Lafayette, on his triumphal visit to the United States in 1824, was eloquently welcomed during the presidency of Dr. Kirkland." The house was taken down in 1833, and its site was sold to the college.

The college precinct, too, was being amplified meanwhile. In 1741 a donation from a London family, a widow and her daughters, had enabled the erection of a chapel, which, bearing their name, Holden, stands to this day; and in 1761 measures were initiated resulting in the building of Hollis Hall, which was completed two years later, and dedicated, January, 1764, in presence of Governor Bernard, with becoming ceremonies. The exhilaration produced by this event was short-lived. Within three days of the dedication the outbreak of the small-pox drove the General Court out of Boston into Cambridge, and Harvard Hall was surrendered to their occupancy; in course of which, on the night of the 24th of January, it took fire and was totally destroyed. Let the *Massachusetts Gazette* of February 2, 1764, recite the mournful tale:—

"CAMBRIDGE, January 25, 1764.

"Last night Harvard College suffered the most ruinous loss it ever met with since its foundation. In the middle of a very tempestuous night, a severe cold storm of snow, attended with high wind, we were awaked by the alarm of fire. Harvard Hall, the only one of our ancient buildings which still remained, and the repository of our most valuable treasures, the public library and philosophical apparatus, was soon in flames. As it was a time of vacation, in which the students were all dispersed, not a single person was left in any of the colleges, except two or three in that part of Massachusetts most distant from Harvard, where the fire could not be perceived till the whole surrounding air began to be illuminated by it. When it was discovered by the town, it had risen to a degree of violence that defied all opposition. It is conjectured to have begun in a beam under the hearth

in the library, where a fire had been kept for the use of the General Court, now residing and sitting here, by reason of the small-pox at Boston: from thence it burst out into the library. The books easily submitted to the fury of the flame, which with a rapid and irresistible progress made its way into the apparatus chamber, and spread through the whole building. In a very short time, this venerable monument of the piety of our ancestors was turned into a heap of ruins. The other colleges, Stoughton Hall and Massachusetts Hall, were in the utmost hazard of sharing the same fate. The wind driving the flaming cinders directly upon their roofs, they blazed out several times in different places; nor could they have been saved by all the help the town could afford, had it not been for the assistance of the gentlemen of the General Court, among whom his Excellency the Governor was very active; who, notwithstanding the extreme rigor of the season, exerted themselves in supplying the town engine with water, which they were obliged to fetch at last from a distance, two of the College pumps being then rendered useless. Even the new and beautiful Hollis Hall, though it was on the windward side, hardly escaped. It stood so near to Harvard, that the flames actually seized it, and if they had not been immediately suppressed, must have carried it.

"But by the blessing of God on the vigorous efforts of the assistants, the ruin was confined to Harvard Hall; and there, besides the destruction of the private property of those who had chambers in it, the public loss is very great, perhaps irreparable. The library and the apparatus, which for many years had been growing, and were now judged to be the best furnished in America, are annihilated."

The loss, indeed, was, in some respects, irreparable, and the calamity to the college was the sorrow of the town and of the province. The library numbered above 5,000 volumes, including the entire collections of Dr. John Lightfoot and Dr. Theophilus Gale, and a good general variety of the works of the fathers, the classics, tracts, theological treatises, transactions of learned societies, histories, and biographies; together with a few ancient and valuable manuscripts, several portraits, and a font of Greek type, the gift of the then late Thomas Hollis. The apparatus, the nucleus of which was also the gift of Mr. Hollis, was ample and fine for the time.

A new Harvard Hall, however, rose speedily

from the ashes, the General Court responding generously to the emergency of which it had been unwittingly the occasion, and private gifts of books and apparatus and money flowing plentifully in from all directions. The misfortune of 1764 having been thus repaired, the college was planted on a higher vantage-ground than ever before.

In June, 1769, President Holyoke departed this life at the age of eighty, after an administration of his office for nearly thirty-two years, leaving a record of good and faithful service which is one of the bright pages in the history of Harvard.

It must ever be a matter of regret to the faithful historian of the times before us that he cannot hold up the selectmen of Cambridge as a model to our present city fathers. But, alas! the habit of junketing was formed thus early, and the following bill, which Dr. Paige has rescued from the dusty files, shows how the public business was mingled with private pleasure:—

The Selectmen of the town of Cambridge,

To Eben^r. Bradish, Dr.

March, 1769,	To dinners and drink	20 17s. 8d.
April, "	To flip and punch	0 2 0
May 1, "	To wine and eating	0 6 8
May, "	To dinners, drink, and suppers	0 18 0
" "	To flip and chetsee	0 1 8
" "	To wine and flip	0 4 0
June, "	To punch	0 2 8
July, "	To punch and eating	0 4 0
August, "	To punch and cheese	0 3 7
Oct., "	To punch and flip	0 4 8
" "	To dinners and drink	0 13 8
Dec., Jan., 1770, and Feb.,	sundries	0 12 0

£4 10s. 7d.

Bradish's tavern, where town affairs were then transacted, was on the westerly side of Brighton Street, between Harvard Square and Mount Auburn Street.

One event of importance belonging to this pre-Revolutionary period deserves a separate chapter.

IX. THE PLANTING OF CHRIST CHURCH.

1759-1761.

THE planting of Christ Church has several aspects of interest and importance, one of which is found in the fact that it was a new and radical ecclesiastical departure, the beginning of what may be called the second stage in the organic religious history of the town. Up to this time there was but one church in Cambridge, the Congregational. The First Parish and the town were almost synony-

mous terms; the two bodies had been, though in a constantly diminishing degree, substantially co-extensive and coincident. Intrusion was now to come.

It will be unnecessary to remind the reader that, at the time before us, the Church of England had few friends in New England. It was to get away from the English Church that our first American fathers crossed the seas; but the Church they had turned from was not long in following after and planting itself in the new state they had founded on these shores. The first of its more successful efforts were directed, though in a desultory way, toward the younger of the American colonies, at the southward; and out of these efforts grew, in 1701, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The Church-of-England clergy who had attempted in the first instance to preach in New England had been unceremoniously shipped homewards as "factious and ill-conditioned," and it was not until 1679 that the Episcopal Church was fairly planted in Boston. By 1750 the number of places of Episcopal worship in Massachusetts had increased to twelve. In the theological warfare which had been progressing of late the Episcopal clergy had taken little or no part, for they were working generally under the auspices and at the charges of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, whose standing injunction to its missionaries was to "avoid controversy, and to make the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, and the duties of a sober, righteous, and godly life, as resulting from such doctrines, the chief subjects of their sermons."

The result was a general gain to the good reputation of the church, its internal peace, and its outward prosperity. In September, 1722, there had occurred at New Haven the very unexpected and alarming event of the conversion into the Episcopal Church of no less than seven Congregational ministers, including Timothy Cutler, the rector of Yale College; an event which "shook Congregationalism throughout New England like an earthquake, and filled all its friends with terror and apprehension."¹ Mr. Cutler, who was a graduate of Harvard, went to England, received Episcopal ordination, and came back to Boston in 1724 as a missionary. One of his first acts, in connection with Mr. Samuel Myles, rector of King's Chapel, was to apply for seats at the board of overseers of Harvard College under the terms of the charter.

¹ Quincy's *History of Harvard College*.

This attempt—so it was construed throughout the province—to introduce Episcopal influences into the college management produced a fresh commotion; but though persistently followed up in various forms for several years, it failed of success, as might have been expected. When, then, a generation later, a veritable missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts arrived in Cambridge, and an Episcopal Church was actually planted within a stone's throw of the college ground and the meeting-house of the Congregational parish, it is not strange that the movement was regarded as a renewal of the old scheme in another quarter.

The Rev. East Apthorp, the Episcopal missionary who was thus the first to bring permanently within Cambridge precincts the liturgy, the surplice, and the suggestion of a bishop, was the fifth in a good old-fashioned Boston family of eighteen children. His father, Charles Apthorp, was one of the wealthy and aristocratic citizens of that town, and one of the most prosperous and distinguished merchants of the country. He was paymaster and commissary to the land and naval forces of England quartered in Boston, and at his death, in 1758, left a fortune equal to \$150,000.¹ Mrs. Apthorp was a native of Jamaica, a woman of rare qualities of person and character. The family had a country-seat at Quiney, and in Boston Mrs. Apthorp in her widowhood lived at one time near the site of the Central House, Brattle Square. Mr. Apthorp was one of the founders of Trinity Parish. East Apthorp, who was the fourth son of this worthy couple, and who was named for his grandfather, was born in Boston in 1733. His preparatory education was at the Latin School, under the care of Mr. Lovell; and he went thence to Jesus College, Cambridge, England, where he received his first and second degrees in 1755 and 1758, won several prizes, and was made Fellow of his college.² Taking orders in the Established Church, he was deemed a proper person to be intrusted with the mission at Cambridge, in Massachusetts, and he was appointed thereto by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in 1759. Coincidentally with this appointment a subscription was set on foot by citizens of Cambridge for funds for the building of a church edifice. The originators of this movement were Henry Vassall, Joseph Lee, John Vassall, Ralph Inman, Thomas Oliver, David Phips, Robert Tem-

ple, and James Apthorp. The latter was an elder brother of the young minister for whose labors these preparations were undertaken. In September, 1759, a building committee was appointed, of which Mr. East Apthorp himself was one. Mr. Peter Harrison of Newport, Rhode Island, who had designed the Redwood Library in that town and King's Chapel, Boston, was engaged as architect. A suitable lot of land fronting on the Common was secured by consolidating some adjoining purchases. And in October, 1761, the church was solemnly opened for public worship, Mr. Apthorp conducting the services. There being no bishop in "the parts," formal consecration was not possible. The edifice was sixty feet by forty-five; contained forty-four pews,—two double rows of square pews occupying the nave; and was completed at a cost, not including that of the land, of about £1,300, a sum which considerably exceeded the original estimate. A variety of generous benefactions testified to the wide-spread interest in the enterprise outside the "standing order," and stamped it with distinction. Mr. Apthorp's brother-in-law, Barlow Trecothick of London, alderman, and afterwards lord mayor of the city, gave an organ, a fine instrument by Snetzler of London, the first maker of his day. On being set up, the instrument was dedicated with a special prayer and sermon. Captain Edward Cahill of London gave a bell; Mr. Apthorp's mother, a silver dish for baptisms; Mrs. Mary Faneuil, a large Bible for the reading-desk; Hon. Thomas Lechmere, two folio prayer-books; plate and linen for the communion-table were lent or given by Governor Bernard, Governor Shirley, Dr. Caner of King's Chapel, and others.

Thus was founded Christ Church in Cambridge, the second parish in the town. For a hundred and thirty years the organized religious life of the community had been one and homogeneous; it was now for the first time divided.

Mr. Apthorp had already taken to wife Elizabeth, daughter of Foster Hutchinson, Esq., and in 1761 there was erected for him, and apparently by him, what was for the times a spacious and splendid mansion just on the eastern edge of the town, a little to the south of "the way down the neck," on the brow of the slope overlooking the Charles River meadows. This house, since capped with an additional story, still stands conspicuously in its open lot between Linden and Chestnut streets, the first of the historic structures of Old Cambridge to confront one approaching from Boston.

¹ Manuscript Records.

The settlement of Mr. Apthorp in the university town, the building of so artistic a church almost directly opposite the college yard, the lavish hand with which it was equipped and embellished, and above all the erection of so imposing a residence for the young rector and his bride, combined to make up a situation which the watchful and sensitive Congregationalists of Boston and vicinity could not but regard with disturbance if not with dismay. Dr. Jonathan Mayhew, the minister of the West Church, Boston, a man of great learning and spirit, was moved to raise his voice against the intrusion, and in a series of pamphlets sought to offset this "formal design to carry on a spiritual siege of our churches, with the hope that they will one day submit to a spiritual sovereign."¹ Dr. Mayhew seems to have been particularly troubled by Mr. Apthorp's rectory, for we find him saying: "Since the mission was established in Cambridge, and a very sumptuous dwelling-house (for this country) erected there, that town hath been often talked of by the Episcopalians as well as others as the proposed place of residence for a bishop." Again he lets out the suspicion that "a certain superb edifice near Harvard College was even from the foundation designed for the palace of one of the humble successors of the Apostles." There was a considerable pamphlet war over the points thus raised, in which Mr. Apthorp took due part; but in 1765, worried, perhaps, if not worn out, in a controversy which his quiet and scholarly temper must have found extremely distasteful, he resigned his mission and removed to England, where he continued to exercise his ministry, with a growing influence and fame, until his death in 1816.² Christ Church, with its congregation of about twenty families and forty communicants, including a sprinkling of "collegians," fell presently to the pastoral care of the Rev. Winwood Serjeant, destined to hold permanently the ground it had thus venturesomely won.

X. CAMBRIDGE IN 1775.

THE founding of Christ Church, which from one point of view closes the period immediately preceding the Revolution, may be taken, from another point of view, as an introduction to the

Revolutionary chapter in the history of Cambridge. There is certainly no better point of departure for that survey of the town in its social aspects which is a necessary preliminary to a clear understanding of the part it played in the great struggle. The founders of the church already named, with its ten or twelve additional families, all of whom were in "easy circumstances," and at least six of whom were "possessed of ample fortunes," made "a superior figure to most in the country."¹ Christ Church was a new and shining centre in the town; and the social and political atmosphere which was concentrated about it justly invested Cambridge, for a time, with the not over enviable title of "the 'Tories' paradise."

We have reached, then, a suitable point for a fresh and somewhat careful survey of the town, in order the better to comprehend the stage of the dramatic events soon to follow.

Upon a map of the environs of Boston in 1776 the territory of Cambridge presented the aspect of a broad and wholly rural tract of marsh-enveloped upland bounded on the east by the unweeded waters of the broad Charles River basin, on the south by the Charles River itself, and on the north by Willis' Creek, now Miller's River. Cambridge proper was a small village lying well back towards the western confines of this tract. One road led from it, as of old, southerly towards Roxbury; another northeasterly to Charlestown, with branches diverging towards the pastures and farms of what are now Cambridgeport and East Cambridge; while a third and fourth roads led away northerly towards the farms of Menotomy, Lexington, and Concord, and westerly towards Watertown. These four great highways corresponded substantially to the present Brighton Street, Kirkland Street, North Avenue, and Brattle Street. Cambridge was emphatically "out in the country," and the roundabout ways of reaching Boston made the distance from the latter not less than eight miles.

Making Harvard Square as it would be now our place of departure, we must imagine its limits straiter than at present, but less sharply defined, and its area dignified if not encumbered by some objects which have long since passed away. The meeting-house, the court-house, and the jail, those three factors of the old society, were all here; and in the midst stood a spreading elm, which only within a few years has been removed to accommodate the necessities of horse-car traffic. The

¹ *Observations on the Charter and Conduct of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts.*

² Mr. Apthorp's youngest daughter was married to a son of Archdeacon Paley; and their son, Frederick Apthorp Paley, is a professor in the University of London.

¹ Rev. Winwood Serjeant.

town-pump also was here. Just out of the Square, on the west side of Brighton Street, was Bradish's Tavern, "The Blue Anchor," a house of repute and popularity, as already instanced in this record. On "the way down the neck," first to be passed on the right was the Apthorp house, occupied, after the rector's departure to England, by Mr. John Borland, a Boston merchant; next, Colonel David Phips's, the large house still standing on Arrow Street, near Bow, known in later years as the Winthrop place; and below this, on the north side of the road, on the swell of land now bounded by Inman and Bigelow streets, the spacious mansion of Ralph Inman, most imposing in itself and its surroundings, perhaps, of all. Far away in the northeast, beyond woods and marshes, was the estate of Richard Lechmere, substantially the East Cambridge territory of to-day. Thus the whole easterly part of the town, since grown to be its most thickly inhabited part, was then divided into a few great farms, whose isolated buildings alone redeemed the landscape from being a seeming waste of woodland, swamp, and pasture.¹

Going north from the Square, the college yard and its small but growing family of buildings filled the eye on the right. On the left, the present site of the First (Unitarian) Society's house of worship was occupied by the residence of Judge Trowbridge, of the Supreme Court, who had been attorney-general of the province, and whose lot it was to preside at the trial of Captain Preston, the British officer concerned in the Boston Massacre of 1770. Between Judge Trowbridge's and Christ Church lay the old burial-ground, already rich historically with the bones of Stephen Daye, and Samuel Green, and Elijah Corlett, and Thomas Shepard, and Henry Dunster, with others, their successors in the nurture of the ancient town, —

"Each in his narrow cell forever laid."

Across the unfenced Common stood the since famous "gambrel-roofed house," then the home of Jonathan Hastings, flanked probably with a row of Lombardy poplars on the west. The northern limit of the Common was marked by the Waterhouse house, lately occupied by one of the Vassall family, and at or about the time now before us by



The Old Gambrel-roofed House.

Rev. Winwood Serjeant, Mr. Apthorp's successor at Christ Church. On the corner of Mason and Garden streets — Mason Street being then part of the highway to Watertown — where in recent days has risen the Shepard Memorial Church, stood another two-storied gambrel-roofed house, the home of Deacon Moore, whose family were in a good

position to observe the memorable event which was soon to take place under the great elm before their door. Such, in brief, were the chief landmarks of the Common. Christ Church, as it may interest the reader to know, preserves its ancient aspect most unchanged to the present day, the elongation of the building in 1857 having hardly altered the general effect.

¹ Paige.

The wealthy and aristocratic families who gave such social strength and standing to Christ Church parish were for the most part congregated in a series of ample and luxurious estates so stretching along on Brattle Street and the highway to Watertown as to win for that avenue *par excellence* the title of "Tory Row." It was also sometimes designated as "Church Row." The residences of Mr. Phips and Mr. Inman have been already pointed out. Mr. William Brattle, son of Rev. William Brattle, one of the respected early ministers of the First Parish, was not one of the Churchmen of the town, but he was drawn more or less into connection with them by his tory sympathies and services. The homestead of the Brattle family embraced the precinct where now stands the University Press, and the old dwelling still remains, next to it on the west. The grounds around were spacious and beautiful. Next to it, beyond Ash Street, in the house known to us as that of the late venerable Samuel Butchelder, lived widow Penelope Vassall, whose husband, Colonel Henry Vassall, youngest brother of Colonel John Vassall, had died in 1769. Across the street stood the stately mansion built by Colonel John Vassall's son, John the younger, about 1759, soon to be used as Washington's headquarters, afterwards known as the Craigie house, and now Mr. Longfellow's home. At the corner of Brattle and Sparks streets was the residence of Jonathan Sewall, built by Richard Lechmere; next to the corner of Appleton Street, on the same side of the way, the house of Judge Joseph Lee; at the corner of Fayerweather Street, in what is now known as the Wells house, lived Thomas Fayerweather, who had lately succeeded Captain George Ruggles in occupation; and on Elmwood Avenue, then a part of the Watertown highway, which here made a sharp serpentine sweep to the southward, lived Lieutenant-Governor Oliver. All these families — Lechmere, Phips, Inman, the Vassalls, Sewall, Lee, Ruggles, and Oliver — were tories; and all, with the exception of Mr. Sewall, were, as we have seen, prominent among the founders and early supporters of Christ Church. Mr. Sewall was one of the wardens of that church in 1773; while other incumbents of that office from 1762 to 1775 were David Phips, John Vassall, Robert Temple, Richard Lechmere, Thomas Oliver, and Joseph Lee. Mr. Temple was a fitting representative of a circle of Christ Church families who lived out of the town proper. His residence was at Ten Hills, now in West Somerville. General Isaac Royall lived at

Medford; and Benjamin Faneuil and James and Thomas Apthorp, brothers of the Rev. East Apthorp, in what is now Brighton.

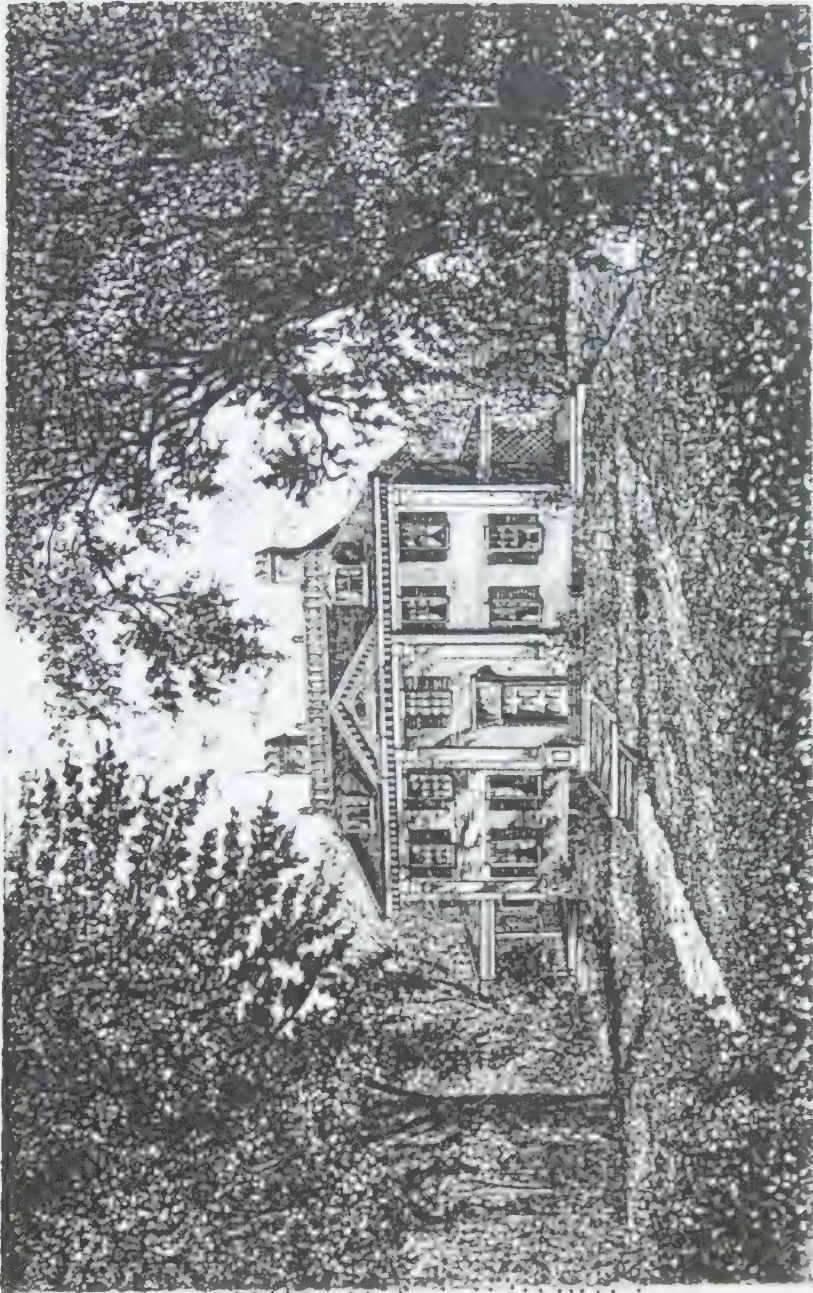
The social tie between several of these families was further strengthened by curious complications of relationship. Colonel John Vassall, senior, married one daughter of Lieutenant-Governor Spencer Phips, Richard Lechmere a second, and Joseph Lee a third. A daughter of Colonel Vassall was the wife of Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Oliver. Mrs. Penelope Vassall, widow of Henry, was a daughter of Isaac Royall of Medford. Colonel John Vassall, the younger, married a sister of Lieutenant-Governor Oliver, Mrs. Borland. The Baroness Riedesel, who with her captured husband, an officer of Burgoyne's army, afterwards occupied enforced quarters in the Sewall house at the corner of Brattle and Sparks streets, thus speaks of this social circle as she chanced to see it:—

"Never had I chanced upon such an agreeable situation. Seven families, who were connected with each other, partly by the ties of relationship and partly by affection, had here farms, gardens, and magnificent houses, and, not far off, plantations of fruit. The owners of these were in the habit of daily meeting each other in the afternoons, now at the house of one and now at another, and making themselves merry with music and the dance, — living in prosperity, united and happy, until, alas! this ruinous war separated them, and left all their houses desolate, except two, the proprietors of which were also soon obliged to flee."

Such are the details by which we may construct a tolerably full view of the sunny landscape of Cambridge in 1775; upon which, however, the advancing shadows of the Revolutionary cloud had already begun to fall.

XI. PREPARATIONS FOR CONFLICT. 1765-1775.

THE storm did not burst until the spring of 1775, but as early as 1761 the ominous mutterings of its approach were heard. In that year the British Parliament had issued the Writs of Assistance, empowering officers of the crown in the American colonies to enter buildings in search of merchandise supposed to have been imported without the payment of duties; and in 1765, by further act of parliament, the obnoxious provisions of the Stamp Act were extended to the colonies. Massachusetts, by voice of her representatives, in General Court assembled, under date of October 29,



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1765, raised a vigorous protest against this encroachment; but may we not look to Cambridge for some part at least of the impulse which effected this protest? For on the 14th of October, two weeks before this action of the General Court was taken, the citizens of the town, in town-meeting convened, "*Voted*, That (with all humility) it is the opinion of the town, that the inhabitants of this province have a legal claim to all the natural, inherent, constitutional rights of Englishmen, notwithstanding their distance from Great Britain; that the Stamp Act is an infraction upon these rights," etc.; and summed up their sentiments upon the matter in the following sturdy and spirited terms:—

"The town, therefore, hereby advise their representatives by no means whatsoever to do any one thing that may aid said act in its operation; but that, in conjunction with the friends of liberty, they use their intense endeavors that the same might be repealed: that this vote be recorded in the Town Book, that the children yet unborn may see the desire their ancestors had for their freedom and happiness: and that an attested copy of it be given to said representatives."

Previous to the above date the town had formally and officially expressed its disapprobation of the riotous proceedings in Boston in August, directed against Secretary Oliver and Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson, though it now instructed its representatives not to vote any public money to reimburse the victims for their damage, notwithstanding the governor's recommendation to the General Court to do so. Thus the head sought to curb the passions of the popular heart.

In September, 1768, the town sent its delegates to the convention of the towns of the province which Boston, in view of Governor Bernard's refusal to convene the legislature, had summoned to meet at Faneuil Hall. Ninety-five towns besides Cambridge were represented in that convention, her delegates being Thomas Gardner and Samuel Whittemore, two typical patriots of their time. Captain Whittemore, at the age of seventy-nine, was to bear his musket on the coming 19th of April, 1775, and Colonel Gardner to lay down his life at Bunker Hill.

In May, 1769, the month before the death of President Holyoke, the college halls were taken possession of by the House of Representatives, whose sitting had been adjourned to Cambridge in consequence of its dignified protest against assembling in the State House while menaced there by the strong military armament which had arrived

in Boston in November previous. The legislators appear to have occupied the college in the first instance by the right of eminent domain, there being no record of leave either asked or granted.¹ Permission was, however, subsequently obtained to use the new chapel instead of the old, the accommodations of the latter proving insufficient. At Commencement, Professor Winthrop presiding in the stead of the deceased President Holyoke, the house dined with the corporation in the College Hall.

On the 8th of March, 1770, the solemn tolling of the meeting-house bell fell upon the waiting Cambridge ear. In a still air might have been detected, mingling with it, the tones of the bells in Charlestown and Roxbury. *The victims of the Boston Massacre were being carried to their burial in mournful procession through the main street of Boston.* A week later Governor Hutchinson, who had succeeded Governor Bernard, convened the legislature at Cambridge against its will. Preferring to be restored to "its ancient place,"—the Court House in Boston,—the body proceeded to business only under protest. In the end of May a new legislature was convened at Cambridge, only anew to remonstrate against being dispossessed of its right to the Town-House in Boston.

By 1772 events were moving with rapidly accelerating speed towards the crisis, and Cambridge history remained fully within the confines of the current. In November steps were initiated in a Boston town-meeting, under the lead of Samuel Adams, to organize a system of "Committees of Correspondence" among the several towns of the province. Cambridge joined promptly and heartily in the movement, and in town-meeting, on the 14th of December, despite a protest from the moderator, the cautious William Brattle, elected as its committee of correspondence Captain Samuel Whittemore, Captain Ebenezer Stedman, Captain Ephraim Frost, Captain Eliphalet Robbins, Captain Thomas Gardner, Joseph Wellington, Abraham Watson, Jr., Nathaniel Sparhawk, and Samuel Thatcher, Jr. "It is with the greatest pleasure we now inform you," wrote this committee a few days later in a letter to the Boston committee, published in the *Boston Gazette* of December 28, "that we think the meeting was as full as it has been for the choice of a representative for a number of years, if not fuller; and the people discovered a glorious spirit, like men determined to be free."

Of Cambridge's committee of correspondence,

¹ Quincy.

Captain Whittemore was a sturdy-minded and able-bodied farmer living in Menotomy, on the main road, near Alewife Brook. For sixteen years prior to 1762 he had been a selectman, and was a captain of dragoons in his early days. Captain Stedman was a selectman at or about this time. He lived on the old homestead, which had been in the family from nearly the planting of the town, between Winthrop, Holyoke, Dunster, and Mount Auburn streets, and had kept a tavern for many years on Mount Auburn Street. Mr. Frost and Mr. Wellington were apparently Menotomy farmers. Captain Robbins lived on the south side of the river. Captain Gardner is the Colonel Gardner already referred to. Mr. Watson was a tanner, living on the southwesterly side of North Avenue, near Cogswell Avenue. Mr. Sparhawk, a member of one of the oldest, largest, and best known families of the town, was a selectman. Mr. Thatcher was the son of a weaver, though it is not stated whether he followed his father's trade. He inherited the family homestead on the easterly corner of Mount Auburn Street and Coolidge Avenue, afterwards sold to Governor Gerry; but during the latter part of his life resided on the westerly corner of Mount Auburn and Brighton streets. He was an active citizen. None of these men were under forty years of age at this time; five of them were above fifty; one, Captain Whittemore was seventy-six; and Captain Stedman and Mr. Wellington were upwards of sixty.

On the 22d of November, 1773, the Cambridge committee of correspondence, in convention with committees from other towns in Faneuil Hall, Boston, joined its voice with theirs in advising resistance to the landing of taxed tea; and on the 26th of November, at a very full meeting, the town adopted a series of ringing resolutions, of which the following are specimens sufficient to show the spirit:—

"That a virtuous and steady opposition to this ministerial plan of governing America is absolutely necessary to preserve even the shadow of liberty, and is a duty which every freeman in America owes to his country, to himself, and to his posterity.

"That the resolution lately come into by the East India Company, to send out their tea to America, subject to the payment of duties on its being landed here, is an open attempt to enforce the ministerial plan, and a violent attack upon the liberties of America.

"That it is the duty of every American to oppose this attempt.

"That whoever shall, directly or indirectly, countenance

this attempt, or in any wise aid or abet in unloading, receiving, or vending, the tea sent or to be sent out by the East India Company, while it remains subject to the payment of a duty here, is an enemy to America.

"That this town can no longer stand idle spectators, but are ready, on the shortest notice, to join with the town of Boston and other towns, in any measure that may be thought proper, to deliver ourselves and posterity from slavery."

Within three weeks from this time the first entering cargo of tea was thrown overboard in Boston Harbor.

The enactment by parliament of the Boston Port Bill speedily followed, and close upon this came an amendment of the charter of the province, transferring the appointment of the council from the General Court to the king, forbidding the convening of town-meetings, except for the choice of town-officers, without the permission of the governor, with other measures of similar import. Of the new council, known as the Mandamus Council, because constituted by royal behest, two members, Samuel Danforth and Joseph Lee, were residents of Cambridge, as was also Thomas Oliver, the new lieutenant-governor. The last two names have appeared before in this record. Mr. Danforth had been a Cambridge schoolmaster in early life, and was now living on the easterly side of Dunster Street, between Harvard and Mount Auburn streets. He had been selectman and representative by turns, and for more than thirty years in succession a member of the old council. He had also served successively as justice of the peace, register of probate, judge of probate, and judge of the Court of Common Pleas. He was an undemonstrative Royalist.

In August, 1774, Mr. William Brattle, who had been put under bonds of loyalty to the crown by being appointed major-general of the militia throughout the province, conveyed information to General Gage, who had assumed the civil general command in Boston, that the towns were removing their powder from the powder-house in Charlestown. This magazine, believed to have been originally a windmill, an ancient structure even in Revolutionary times, stood on what was known as Quarry Hill, at the junction of roads leading to Cambridge, Mystic, and Menotomy, in what is now the western part of Somerville. General Gage determined at once on removing whatever powder was left to Castle William, in the harbor. Early on the morning of the 1st of September an expeditionary force embarked in boats at Long Wharf and proceeded

to the spot by way of the Mystic River. A considerable stock of powder was secured, and a detachment of the troops, pushing on to Cambridge, took possession of a couple of field-pieces which had been sent there for the use of the militia. The news of the seizure produced an intense excitement. Of what followed a sufficiently full and clear account is preserved in the *Boston Gazette*. The entire county took the alarm, and by Thursday evening large numbers of men, armed and provisioned, were on their way to Cambridge. That same evening a noisy rabble, "mostly boys and negroes," surrounded the house of Mr. Jonathan Sewall, the attorney-general, on the corner of Brattle and Sparks streets, and, "being provoked by the firing of a gun from a window, they broke some glass, but did no more mischief."

The sound of this disturbance must have reached Lieutenant-Governor Oliver, farther down Brattle Street, on what is now Elmwood Avenue, and as early as eight o'clock the following morning (Friday) he was on his way to Boston to carry tidings to General Gage of "the true state of matters and the business of the people." At the same time the Cambridge Committee of Correspondence, confronted with the spectacle on the Common of "some thousands" of men who had arrived during the night, sent an express to Charlestown and Boston, summoning the respective committees to Cambridge without delay. "When the first of the Boston committee came up, they found some thousands of people assembled round the court-house steps." The court-house occupied substantially the site of the present Lyceum Hall, on the western side of Harvard Square. The venerable Judge Danforth, who had just been appointed a Mandamus Councillor, was in the midst of an address to the crowd, using the steps as a rostrum. He was now nearly seventy-seven. Referring to his advanced age, and to the fact that the greater part of his life had been spent in the public service, he expressed his regret at having incurred the censure of his fellow-citizens, but assured them that, in deference to their sentiments, he had resigned his seat in the council, and that he would never thereafter accept any office "inconsistent with the charter-rights of his country"; in token of which he handed over a certificate in writing, duly signed and attested. Judge Joseph Lee followed with a like declaration. The "body" then signified by a unanimous vote its "satisfaction" with the "declarations and resignations." It signified also its "abhorrence of

mob, riots, and the destruction of private property." Colonel Phips, the High Sheriff of the county, residing at East Cambridge, next came forward, and defended himself for giving up the powder to the soldiery the day before, for which act he was duly excused on the ground that he had acted in "conformity to his order from the commander-in-chief." At the same time he handed in his written declaration that he would execute no more precepts that should be sent him under the new acts of parliament altering the constitution of the province, and that he would recall all the *venires* he had sent out "under the new establishment."

It was now probably noon, or after, and Mr. Oliver had returned from Boston, and from his interview with General Gage. It became his turn to appear before the committee. Being both lieutenant-governor and president of the council, he called the attention of the committee to the double office he held, and the peculiar complications under which he thereby labored; yet he went so far as to say that if the whole province, in congress or otherwise, should desire his resignation, it should be forthcoming. This proposition was received with favor, and the committee was on the point of communicating it to "the body," when an unlooked-for incident interrupted the enforced harmony of the proceedings.

"Commissioner Hallowell" came through the town on his way to Boston. The sight of that obnoxious person so inflamed the people, that in a few minutes above one hundred and sixty horsemen were drawn up and proceeding in pursuit of him on the full gallop. Captain Gardner of Cambridge first began a parley with one of the foremost, which caused them to halt till he delivered his mind very fully in dissuasion of the pursuit, and was seconded by Mr. Deavens of Charlestown and Dr. Young of Boston. They generally observed that the object of the body's attention that day seemed to be the resignation of unconstitutional counsellors, and that it might introduce confusion into the proceedings of the day if anything else was brought upon the carpet till that important business was finished; and in a little time the gentlemen dismounted their horses and returned to the body.

"But Mr. Hallowell did not entirely escape, as one gentleman of a small stature pushed on before

¹ Benjamin Hallowell was comptroller of the customs, and, as such, a typically unpopular man of the time. His house, on Hanover Street, Boston, had been already mobbed in 1765 at the same time with Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson's.

the general body, and followed Hallowell, who made the best of his way till he got into Roxbury, when mr. — overtook him and stopped him in his chaise. mr. Hallowell snapped his pistols at him, but could not disengage himself from him till he quitted the chaise and mounted his servant's horse, on which he drove into Boston with all the speed he could make; till, the horse failing within the gate, he ran on foot to the camp, thro' which he spread consternation, telling them he was pursued by some thousands who would be in town at his heels, and destroy all friends of government before them.

"A gentleman in Boston, observing the motion in the camp, and concluding they were on the point of marching to Cambridge from both ends of the town, communicated the alarm to Dr. Roberts, then at Charlestown Ferry, who, having a very fleet horse, brought the news in a few minutes to the committee, then at dinner. The intelligence was instantly diffused, and the people whose arms were nearest sent persons to bring them, while horsemen were despatched both ways to gain more certain advice of the true state of the soldiery. A greater fervor and resolution probably never appeared among any troops."¹

This momentary panic was soon over, but it had the effect of bracing the committee up to a resolution "to leave no unconstitutional officer in possession of his place." A paper similar to those signed by Judge Danforth and Judge Lee was drawn up, and Mr. Oliver was waited on *ex masse* at his house on the Watertown road, for his signature, which he surrendered in the following reluctant terms:—

"My house at Cambridge being surrounded by about four thousand people, in compliance with their command I sign my name.

"THOMAS OLIVER."

All of which important public business having been thus successfully accomplished, "the gentlemen from Boston, Charlestown, and Cambridge having provided some refreshment for their greatly fatigued brethren, they cheerfully accepted it, took leave, and departed in high good humor and well satisfied."

Altogether the 2d of September, 1774, must have been a stirring day for Cambridge; but days more stirring were rapidly approaching.

Under date of the 1st of September, General Gage had issued writs convening the General

¹ *Boston Gazette*, Sept. 3, 1774.

Court at Salem on the 5th of October; but just before October came in he countermanded the summons. On the 3d of October the inhabitants of Cambridge gave instructions to their representatives not to recognize the Mandamus Council, and to their selectmen to procure a carriage for the cannon owned by the town, and to buy a second cannon, with ammunition for both; and authorized the use of public funds for the purchase of fifes, the instruction of fifiers, the wages of fifiers and drummers, and the "refreshments" of soldiers. On the 5th the court met at Salem, according to the original summons, without regard to the subsequent order of General Gage; resolved itself into a Provincial Congress; adjourned first to Concord, where John Hancock was chosen president and Benjamin Lincoln secretary, and then to Cambridge, where it assembled on the 17th, first in the court-house and immediately afterward in the meeting-house, Mr. Appleton being called on to officiate as chaplain. One of the first acts was the creation of two important executive authorities for the province,—a Committee of Safety and a Committee of Supplies. The Committee of Safety were John Hancock, Joseph Warren, Benjamin Church, Richard Devens, Benjamin White, Joseph Palmer, Abraham Watson, Azor Orne, John Pigeon, William Heath, and Thomas Gardner. The Committee of Supplies were Elbridge Gerry, David Cheever, Benjamin Lincoln, Moses Gill, and Benjamin Hall. Of these, Abraham Watson, John Pigeon, and Thomas Gardner were Cambridge men. Mr. Pigeon was one of the original Christ Church coterie, but had now espoused the patriotic cause. Besides appointing these committees, the congress adopted a plan for organizing and maintaining the militia, and authorized the collecting of military stores.

The immediate causes of the Revolution were now fairly in operation. Military organization went forward in the towns at large, and military stores began to accumulate at Concord and Worcester. In February, 1775, the Provincial Congress was again in session in Cambridge, and a committee of five were appointed to watch for suspected movements of British troops toward Concord. General Gage's officers were known to be out in disguise, studying the posture of affairs in the towns and making plans of the roads. In addition to the legislative committee, John Pigeon was ordered by the Committee of Safety, of which he was clerk, to establish a nightly watch over

the stores at Concord, and to provide means for their removal at a moment's warning, as well as to arrange a system of couriers in Cambridge, in Charlestown, and in Roxbury, to alarm the country if occasion should arise.

Cambridge, so soon to be the fortified camp of the first Revolutionary army, was thus erected into a post of observation and direction.

XII. THE CAMBRIDGE CHAPTER OF THE REVOLUTION. 1774-1776.

PLACING ourselves in imagination in Cambridge at the juncture of affairs which we have now reached, let us try to observe the progress of events as they must have appeared to the actual spectator at that point.

By the middle of April the general attention had become concentrated along the line leading from Boston out through Charlestown, or by way of Roxbury, through Cambridge, to Menotomy, Lexington, and Concord; surmise having settled down into a certain expectation that the military stores at Concord would be the next object of seizure on the part of General Gage. On the 17th of April the Committees of Safety and Supplies came down from Concord to Wetherby's tavern at Menotomy, and, in view of some suspicious movements which had been noted in Boston, order was given to secrete the cannon then at Concord, and remove some of the stores to Sudbury and Groton. This was on Monday. On Tuesday a party of British officers dined in Cambridge. Their presence served as another straw to show which way the wind was blowing, and cannot have failed to excite still more the already excited mind of the town. The committees were in session the same day in Menotomy; and the two circumstances together gave Cambridge enough to think of.

That night the lantern was hung out from the North Church steeple in Boston as the signal that the British were coming, and Paul Revere set out on his midnight ride.

Cambridge soil was the first to feel the advancing tread of the invader. The expedition, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, embarked in boats at Boston a little before midnight, and crossed over to Lechmere's Point, whence it took up its line of march across the marshes to what is now Milk Street, Somerville, and entered North Avenue by Beech Street, passing around the corner on which the old Davenport Tavern

stood. The tradition is that an alarm was speedily given to the centre of the town from Lechmere's Point, and the muster-roll of the Cambridge company of the militia says that it "marched on the alarm," and credits it with twenty-eight miles out and back, which would cover the distance to and from Concord. "There is good reason to believe," says Paige, "that the Cambridge militia pursued the foe very early in the morning, and fully participated in the perils and glory of that day." The company referred to was commanded by Samuel Thatcher, and had on its roll a total of seventy-seven names. Among them are three Dicksons, four Frosts, and five Wyeths; also three "scholars," meaning thereby students of the college; and two negroes. It would appear that only one of the "scholars," namely, Edward Bangs, of the class of 1777, actually rendered service on this day. He was spending the spring vacation in Cambridge, and "on the 19th of April, as soon as intelligence of the hostile movement was received, he hastily equipped himself from the armory of the college company, repaired to the scene of action, and fought gallantly during the day."¹

Later in the morning, while the air must have been thick with rumors respecting the progress of events along the Menotomy road to Lexington and Concord, there was a temporary excitement of some intensity around the Great Bridge, across the Charles River, on the road to Roxbury. Marching over this road, coming toward Cambridge, appeared in due time the reinforcements under Lord Percy, which had left Boston about nine o'clock, in response to a message to General Gage from Lieutenant-Colonel Smith. The planks were first removed from the bridge and piled on the causeway on the Cambridge side, by order of the selectmen, to impede the advance of these reinforcements; and again, later in the day, as General Heath says, by his order, to impede the *retreat* of the British, should they attempt to reach Boston by that way. In the first case the planks were unluckily left within too easy reach, and the bridge was soon made passable.

It is not our province here to follow the Cambridge men to Lexington and Concord; nor hardly is it our duty to study the fortunes of the day as they turned on the plains of Menotomy. Suffice it to say that all along through the western part of Cambridge the retreating British suffered their severest losses. Paige says, "The carnage

¹ Lincoln's *History of Worcester*.

was greater in this town than in any other. . . . As many as four native citizens were killed on the southerly side of North Avenue, a few feet eastwardly from Spruce Street, near the house then owned by Jacob Watson. These four, with the twenty-two slain in the northwest precinct, make a total of twenty-six, — more than half of the whole number of Americans whose lives were sacrificed on that memorable day."

The Cambridge casualties proper were as follows: killed, William Marcy, Moses Richardson, John Hicks, Jason Russell, Jabez Wyman, and Jason Winship; wounded, Samuel Whittemore; missing, Samuel Frost and Seth Russell. Marcy was a laborer, in the employ of Dr. William Kneeland; tradition says, a man of feeble intellect, who was sitting perched upon a fence, enjoying the spectacle as if it were a sham fight, when he was shot. Richardson was a carpenter, living at the northeasterly angle of Holmes Place. Hicks lived on the southeasterly corner of Dunster and Winthrop streets. These three men were all killed near the same spot, — North Avenue, near the easterly end of Spruce Street. Mr. Hicks's son, a boy of fourteen, was sent by his mother in the afternoon to look for his father, who had been out since morning, and found his dead body and those of Marcy and Richardson lying together. Russell was a Menotomy man. He had made a breast-work at his gate with bundles of shingles, and was shot and bayoneted in his own doorway. Winship and Wyman were killed at Cooper's tavern, in Menotomy. Frost and Russell were taken prisoners.

The wounded Captain Whittemore was one of the heroes of the day. Though an old man, nearly eighty years of age, he was one of the first to answer the summons, hastening from his house on the main street, near the Menotomy River, armed with a gun and a horse-pistol. "If I can only be the instrument of killing one of my country's foes," he exclaimed, "I shall die in peace."¹

"On the return of the troops he lay behind a stone-wall, and, discharging a gun, a soldier immediately fell; he then discharged his pistol, and killed another; at which instant a bullet struck his face and shot away part of his cheek-bone, on which a number of the soldiers ran up to the wall, and gorged their malice on his wounded head. They were heard to exclaim, 'We have killed the old rebel!' About four hours after he was found in a mangled situation; his head was

covered with blood from the wounds of the bayonets, which were six or eight; but providentially none penetrated so far as to destroy him. His hat and clothes were shot through in many places; yet he survived to see the complete overthrow of his enemies, and his country enjoy all the blessings of peace and independence."¹

He died on the 2d of February, 1793.

Cambridge property suffered some damage on this day, as was definitely ascertained by a committee of the Provincial Congress, sitting a few weeks later. That to buildings was estimated at £76 5s. 6d.; that to goods and chattels, £1108 13s. 1d.; that to the meeting-house and school-house in the North Precinct, including property carried off, £17 10s.; being a total of £1203 8s. 7d.

From and after the 19th of April, 1775, for nearly a year Cambridge was the headquarters of the American army, and presented all the aspects of a fortified camp. Its territory was the background to the battle of Bunker Hill and the base line of the siege of Boston; its buildings were turned into barracks for the soldiery or hospitals for the sick and wounded; within its precincts the commander-in-chief first unsheathed his sword, and here he established his temporary home.

The battle of Lexington and Concord was fought on Wednesday, by whose evening hours the discomfited British had accomplished their return to a position of safety on Bunker Hill, under cover of the guns of the fleet. By the end of the week the fragments of a rude army of from fifteen to twenty thousand men had assembled in Cambridge, General Artemas Ward in command, with his headquarters at the house of Mr. Jonathan Hastings on the Common, before described.² The Committee of Safety were also established here. Some of the college buildings were emptied of students and given up to the troops; and officers were lodged in private houses, including the President's. Even Christ Church and the Apthorp palace were put to a similar purpose, greatly to the damage of the former. Fortifications were begun, some of the earliest leading from the college yard towards the river. There could be of course no carrying on of college exercises under such circumstances, and order was given by the General Court for the removal of the library and apparatus to Andover.

Through May the organization and consolidation of the little army steadily progressed, and Cam-

¹ *Columbian Centinel*.

² See engraving on p. 337.

¹ *Columbian Centinel*, February 6, 1793.

bridge was still alive with the varied objects and events incident to such a situation. By the middle of June the military position had become well defined; and Cambridge was fixed as the seat of the centre division of the American forces around Boston; the right wing, under General Thomas, being at Roxbury, the left at Chelsea, Medford, and Charlestown.

"It [the centre division] consisted of fifteen Massachusetts regiments; the battalion of artillery, hardly organized, under Colonel Gridley; and General Putnam's regiment, with other Connecticut troops. They were quartered in the colleges, in the church, and in tents. Most of the Connecticut troops were at Inman's Farm; part of Little's regiment was at the tavern in West Cambridge; Patterson's regiment was at the breastwork near Prospect Hill; and a large guard was at Lechmere's Point."¹

On Friday evening, the 16th of June, there was a stir in the Cambridge camp. Parts of three regiments and a detail of two hundred Connecticut troops had been ordered to parade on the Common at six o'clock. They were furnished with packs and blankets, and twenty-four hours' rations. A detachment of artillery was included in the order. The whole force numbered about 1,200 men, and was under command of Colonel William Prescott of Pepperell, whose directions were not to be communicated until he had passed Charlestown Neck. At nine o'clock, after a fervent and impressive prayer by President Langdon of Harvard, the expedition set out on its mysterious march. It proved to be a march to Charlestown, and this was the eve of the memorable battle of Bunker Hill, more famous, perhaps, than any other of the Revolution.

Other troops followed out of Cambridge the next morning, — the morning of the eventful 17th of June, — notwithstanding General Ward's fear that an attack on Cambridge was meditated by General Gage. As the first cannonading of the day began, Cambridge held its breath; while, as it became known that the British had actually crossed to Charlestown, something like a panic set in. The letter of an eyewitness gives a vivid description of the moment: —

"Just after dinner on Saturday, 17th ult., I was walking out from my lodgings quite calm and composed, and all at once the drums beat to arms, and bells rang, and a great noise in Cambridge.

¹ Frothingham, *Sigs of Boston*.

Captain Putnam came by on full gallop. 'What is the matter?' says I. 'Have you not heard?' 'No.' 'Why, the regulars are landing at Charlestown,' says he, 'and father says you must all meet, and march immediately to Bunker Hill to oppose the enemy.' I waited not, but ran and got my arms and ammunition, and hastened to my company (who were in the church for barracks), and found them nearly ready to march. We soon marched, with our frocks and trousers on over our other clothes (for our company is in uniform wholly blue, turned up with red), for we were loth to expose ourselves by our dress; and down we marched."

"The bell was ringing," says another eye-witness, Simeon Noyes, also quoted by Frothingham; "our adjutant, Stephen Jenkins, rode up and hallooed, 'Turn out! turn out! the enemy's all landed at Charlestown!'"

One immediate effect of the battle of Bunker Hill was to transform Cambridge as a camp into Cambridge as a hospital. Among other houses taken sooner or later for this purpose were Mr. Fayerweather's and Lieutenant-Governor Oliver's on Brattle Street, Colonel Vassall's, and a Mr. Hunt's.

Within a week after the battle of Bunker Hill General George Washington, who had been appointed by the Second Continental Congress commander-in-chief of the Continental army, left Philadelphia to assume the command. He came by way of New York and Springfield, receiving news of the battle at the former place, and being met by a committee of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress at the latter. On the 2d of July, at about two o'clock in the afternoon, he entered Cambridge by the Watertown road, "escorted by a cavalcade of citizens and a troop of light-horse," and proceeded to the Hastings house, where temporary quarters had been provided for him.

The massive stone beneath the Washington Elm, in Garden Street, opposite Mason, commemorates in terms familiar to the reader the picturesque historic event which took place on that spot the day following, and which has forever consecrated it as one of the shrines of Cambridge: —

UNDER THIS TREE
"WASHINGTON
FIRST TOOK COMMAND
OF THE
AMERICAN ARMY
JULY 3d 1775.

A platform was subsequently erected aloft in the branches of the tree; a "crow's nest," whence Washington with his glass might survey the country around.

A graphic picture of the Cambridge interior at this juncture has been left by Rev. William Emerson. We quote from Frothingham:—

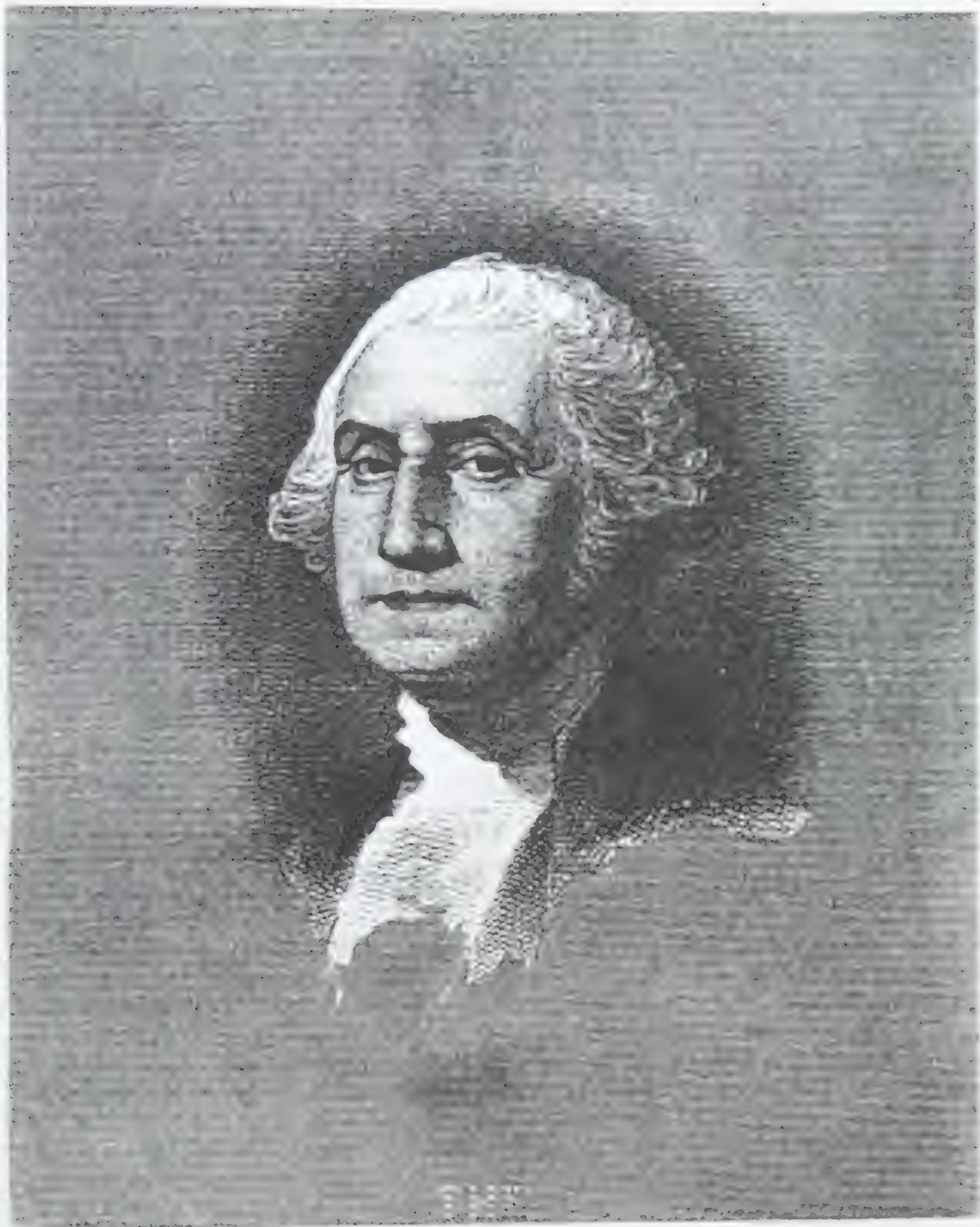
"There is great overturning in the camp, as to order and regularity. New lords, new laws. The Generals Washington and Lee are upon the lines every day. New orders from his Excellency are read to the respective regiments every morning after prayers. The strictest government is taking place, and great distinction is made between officers and soldiers. Every one is made to know his place, and keep in it, or be tied up and receive thirty or forty lashes, according to his crime. Thousands are at work every day from four till eleven o'clock in the morning. It is surprising how much work has been done. The lines are extended almost from Cambridge to Mystic River, so that very soon it will be morally impossible for the enemy to get between the works, except in one place, which is supposed to be left purposely unfortified, to entice the enemy out of their fortresses. Who would have thought, twelve months past, that all Cambridge and Charlestown would be covered over with American camps, and cut up into forts and intrenchments, and all the lands, fields, orchards, laid common,—horses and cattle feeding in the choicest mowing land, whole fields of corn eaten down to the ground, and large parks of well-regulated locusts cut down for firewood and other public uses? This, I must say, looks a little melancholy. My quarters are at the foot of the famous Prospect Hill, where such great preparations are made for the reception of the enemy. It is very diverting to walk among the camps. They are as different in their form as the owners are in their dress; and every tent is a portraiture of the temper and taste of the persons who encamp in it. Some are made of boards, and some of sail-cloth. Some partly of one and partly of the other. Again, others are made of stone and turf, brick, or brush. Some are thrown up in a hurry; others curiously wrought with doors and windows, done with wreaths and withes, in the manner of a basket. Some are your proper tents and marquees, looking like the regular camp of the enemy. In these are the Rhode-Islanders, who are furnished with tent-equipage and everything in the most exact English style."

The days and weeks following the battle of Bunker Hill were diligently improved for perfecting the organization of the army and carrying forward the fortifications; with more of the customary diversifying incidents of reconnoissance and skirmish. The centre division of the army, under General Putnam, was arranged in two brigades of six regiments each, all but one made up of Massachusetts men. At various times during the summer and autumn Lechmere's Point was occupied and strongly fortified, and two batteries were thrown up between it and the mouth of the Charles River to the southwest, one of which, known as Fort Washington, has been carefully preserved, and is one of the cherished localities of the modern city. There was "a strong intrenchment" at Sewall's Farm, and a complete series of detached forts and redoubts stretched across the neck from the Mystic to the Charles, as thus described by Drake:¹

"Of the former there were three, numbered from right to left. No. 1 was on the bank of the Charles River, at the point where it makes a southerly bend. Next was a redoubt situated a short distance south of the main street leading to the colleges, and in the angle formed by Putnam Street. . . . Connected with this redoubt were the Cambridge lines, called No. 2., a series of redans, six in number, joined together by curtains. These were carried across the road, and up the slopes of what was then called Butler's, since known as Dana Hill, terminating at their northerly extremity in another redoubt, situated on the crest and in the angle of Broadway and Maple Avenue, on the Greenough estate. The soil being a hard clay, the earth to build this work was carried from the lower ground on the Hovey estate to the top of the hill. To the north of Cambridge Street a breast-work was continued in a northeasterly direction through Mr. C. M. Hovey's nursery. Cannon-shot and other vestiges of military occupation have been unearthened there by Mr. Hovey. A hundred yards behind this line, but of less extent, was another rampart of earth, having a *tenaille*, or inverted redan, in the centre. The right flank rested on the main road, which divided the more advanced work nearly at right angles. Remains of these works have existed within twenty-five years [of 1873].

"Continuing to trace the lines eastward,—their general direction being from east to west,—

¹ *Historic Fields and Mansions of Middlesex.*



BOSTON-LIBRARY
SOCIETY

G. W. Humphreys

we find that too little half-moons were thrown up on each side of the Charlestown road, at the point where it crossed the west branch of Willis' Creek. . . .

"The advanced post of the Americans on old Charlestown road, which was meant to secure the camps on this side, was near the point where it is now intersected by Beacon Street. It was distant about five eighths of a mile from Cambridge Common. The road, which has here been straightened, formerly curved towards the north, crossing the head of the west branch of Willis' Creek (Miller's River), by what was called Pillon Bridge. . . . The works at Pillon Bridge were on each side of the road; that on the north running up the declivity of the hill now crossed by Park Street, and occupying a commanding site."

Through the summer of 1775 there were considerably fewer than 10,000 soldiers actually quartered in Cambridge, and of these probably not more than 6,000 were at any one time fit for duty. Patriotism was not wholly equal to the situation. In the latter part of the season the Connecticut troops manifested a spirit of insubordination, because of an unsatisfied demand for bounty. A few men were killed here and there by stray cannon-shots thrown over into the town by the enemy. The general health, however, was good, provisions were plenty, and the only drawbacks seemed to be the scarcity of powder, and, as winter came on, a lack of firewood. The fences and the trees of the vicinity suffered badly in supplying the latter deficiency.

On account of the exigencies of the situation the college had dispensed with a public Commencement this summer, and contented itself with the conferring of degrees by "general diploma"; and in the autumn the work of the new college year was begun at Concord, where accommodations for one hundred and twenty-five students were provided, and whither the library and apparatus were transported from Andover, where, in the first instance, they had been removed. While the army was busy over its intrenchments and with its skirmishes and expeditions, the selectmen were hunting up guns to supply soldiers who were yet unarmed, and the town was protesting against the abuses of which the army contractors were showing themselves guilty.

Meantime General Washington, not finding the permanent quarters which had been finally secured for him in the president's house suited to his

wants, had been established at Colonel Vassall's, on Brattle Street. Here he remained from the middle of July until the departure of the army the following spring. The southeast chamber he selected to sleep in, and the room beneath for his business apartment. About him here he gathered his military family, and here he set up the august and stately private and official life which well became his character and position. Here, too, he was joined by Mrs. Washington, who came riding into Cambridge from Virginia on the 11th of December, having for companions Mrs. Gates, Mr. and Mrs. John Custis, and George Lewis. On Sunday, the 3d of September, it is noted that the General attended public worship at the parish meeting-house, Mr. Appleton's, the Rev. Abiel Leonard preaching to the troops. On a later occasion, probably the last Sunday, which was also the last day, of the year, he was present with his family at Christ Church, where, at Mrs. Washington's request, service was read by Colonel William Palfrey. The church had only just been vacated by the troops, and was in a sorry condition. Mr. Serjeant, the rector, was a fugitive.

The first day of the new year was signalized by the unfolding to the army in Cambridge of the new Union flag of thirteen stripes, — the first national symbol of the thirteen colonies. Boston still lay yonder in a state of siege, and Cambridge still maintained its fortified character and menacing attitude toward the beleaguered town. The disposition of troops was substantially unchanged. In February a stir was occasioned throughout the camp by the arrival of Colonel Knox, with a train of forty-two sleds loaded with artillery, drawn by eighty yoke of oxen. It was the artillery from Crown Point on the Hudson, pluckily transported by a slow and toilsome route through Great Barrington and Springfield. There were more than fifty pieces of ordnance, besides upwards of a ton of lead and a barrel of flints. It was a great acquisition for the army in view of its offensive plans in the direction of Boston. The works at Lechmere's Point were at once properly equipped, and on the 2d of March the booming of cannon and mortar announced for miles around that the bombardment of Boston had begun. The ball which was lodged so long in the wall of the old Brattle Street meeting-house was undoubtedly one of those thrown at this time.¹

This fire, which was participated in by batteries

¹ Drake.

in Roxbury and Charlestown, was intended by General Washington as a cover for a movement to occupy Dorchester Heights, which was successfully accomplished on the night of the 4th. For the moment a sortie and attack by the British were confidently expected, and four thousand picked men were on parade at Cambridge to meet the emergency. But circumstances interfered, and the evacuation of Boston followed instead. On the 17th, as the British moved out, the whole American camp was on foot to move in, and by the 20th the town was once more in rightful possession.

The military days of Cambridge were ended.

Washington left for New York on the 4th of April, but it was reserved to Cambridge to have one more visit from him. This was in 1789, when he spent about an hour at his old quarters, and received a salute from the militia on the Common.

XIII. COLLEGE RECOVERY AND GROWTH. 1776-1836.

As has been already intimated, the college was a principal sufferer by the military occupation of Cambridge, and its slow recovery from the damages of war, and accompanying growth into an advanced strength and influence, may be regarded as giving shape to Cambridge history in the period immediately succeeding the Revolution. The patriotism of neither students nor government had been wanting from the outset. As early as 1768 the Senior class had voted to take its degrees in "the manufactures of this country," and at the Commencement that year the class appeared dressed accordingly. On the 3d of April, 1776, the day before General Washington's departure, he was honored with the degree of Doctor of Laws, conferred by a unanimous vote of the corporation and overseers sitting at Watertown. Later in the same month the governors and instructors were required to make a satisfactory declaration to the overseers of their political principles. By May the students quartered at Concord were clamorous for a return to Cambridge, and this was permitted in June. More than a year had elapsed since the college buildings had been given up to military occupation. More than a year was yet to elapse before the material injury to the buildings was to be repaired. That injury was estimated at nearly £450.

In the autumn of 1777 the peace of the college

was again threatened by the arrival of Burgoyne's army, which had been taken prisoners at Saratoga on the 17th of October, and ordered to Cambridge to await transportation to Europe. The captive soldiers, to the number of several thousands, entered Cambridge by the Watertown road early in November, and a forlorn spectacle they presented, both British and Hessians. General Burgoyne was quartered in the Aphorp "palace," and General Biedesel in the Sewall house, and application was made by General Heath for the college buildings for the rank and file. Indeed, the application was reinforced by an order to clear the buildings for that purpose; but happily the execution of this plan was averted, and the "troops of the Convention," as the prisoners were rather euphoniously styled, were provided for in barracks. The captured artillery was parked on the Common, and for another year Cambridge was alive with the scenes of an extraordinary military life. The presence of so large a body of foreign troops, enemies, demoralized and idle, had unfortunate effects upon both the college and the town, notwithstanding the strict discipline which it was attempted to enforce. Friction was constant, quarrels were frequent, and vice and disorder abounded. Some peculiarly unhappy incidents occurred, and it was a day of general thankfulness when, in November, 1778, the last of the captive troops took their departure.

About 1771 the alphabetical arrangement of students' names was adopted in place of the un-republican arrangement by social rank which had been previously followed. The college officers at this time were a president, three professors, four tutors, a treasurer, and a librarian; the former receiving nominally a salary of £300, each of the professors one of £200, the treasurer £80, and the librarian £60. The derangement of the public currency by the war made great havoc with the college funds, the repair of which was the occasion of long-continued and varyingly successful negotiations with the General Court. The time was one of great natural trial to the financial condition of the College, and the embarrassment was enhanced by the culpable and obstinate course of the treasurer, John Hancock, who from 1773 till 1793 abused his office by neglect and contempt of its duties and responsibilities, to the great inconvenience of the college and his own disgrace. It was not until two years after his death that the college succeeded in obtaining from his estate its own.

Up to 1779 the corporation, with the exception of the treasurer, had consisted exclusively of clergymen, or professors and tutors; but in that year a new departure in this respect was signalized by the election to the board of Hon. James Bowdoin. In 1780 the college was authorized by the Constitution of Massachusetts to assume the title of University. In 1786 a college uniform was prescribed for the students, with particulars of form and color, and a system of distinctions for classes by means of "frogs" on the cuffs and around the buttonholes. The wearing of this uniform was compulsory, and the regulation continued in force without modifications for a number of years. The general system of college rules during these years embraces some curious items. For example:—

"No Freshman shall wear his hat in the college yard, unless it rains, hails, or snows, provided he be on foot, and have not both hands full.

"No Undergraduate shall wear his hat in the college yard, when any of the Governors of the College are there; and no Bachelor shall wear his hat when the President is there.

"Freshmen are to consider all the other classes as their Seniors.

"No Freshman shall speak to a Senior with his hat on; or have it on in a Senior's chamber, or in his own if a Senior be there.

"When any person knocks at a Freshman's door, except in studying time, he shall immediately open the door, without inquiring who is there.

"The Freshmen shall furnish bats, balls, and foot-balls for the use of the students, to be kept at the Buttery."

In 1772 the provincial legislature had authorized a lottery for the benefit of the college, with a view to the erection of a new building. The authority was subsequently extended, as respected both the amount to be raised and the time allowed for it; and in 1804 a sufficient sum had been realized to warrant a beginning of the building. The present Stoughton Hall was the result. Hol-



Quadrangle, Harvard College.

worthy Hall, built by the proceeds of another lottery, was completed in 1813, and the same year saw the laying of the corner-stone of University Hall. The office of college proctor was instituted in 1805; and between 1808 and 1815 solid foun-

dations for the Medical department were laid. At the same time the Divinity School was in a state of transition from a mere professorship to an individual department, its latter character being perfected in 1830. In 1814 a separate church was

organized within the college, and separate worship begun in a chapel in University Hall. In 1815 a professorship of law was founded by the bequest of the late Hon. Isaac Royall, formerly of Medford, who had removed to England at the beginning of the Revolution; and the full establishment of the Law School followed in 1817. The seeds of the Botanic Garden were planted in 1807.

It would be quite beyond the scope of this sketch to attempt anything like a complete recital of the particulars of the growth of Harvard College during this period. A few points only have been touched upon to show how the current, released from the restrictions imposed by the Revolution, was broadening and deepening under the impulse of the times. This chapter in the development of the institution was largely coincident with the administration of President Kirkland, whose name stands out even from the honored list of Harvard's presidents with a lustre peculiarly its own. The following paragraphs, from the hand of his successor, are a just estimate of his personal worth and the ability of his career.

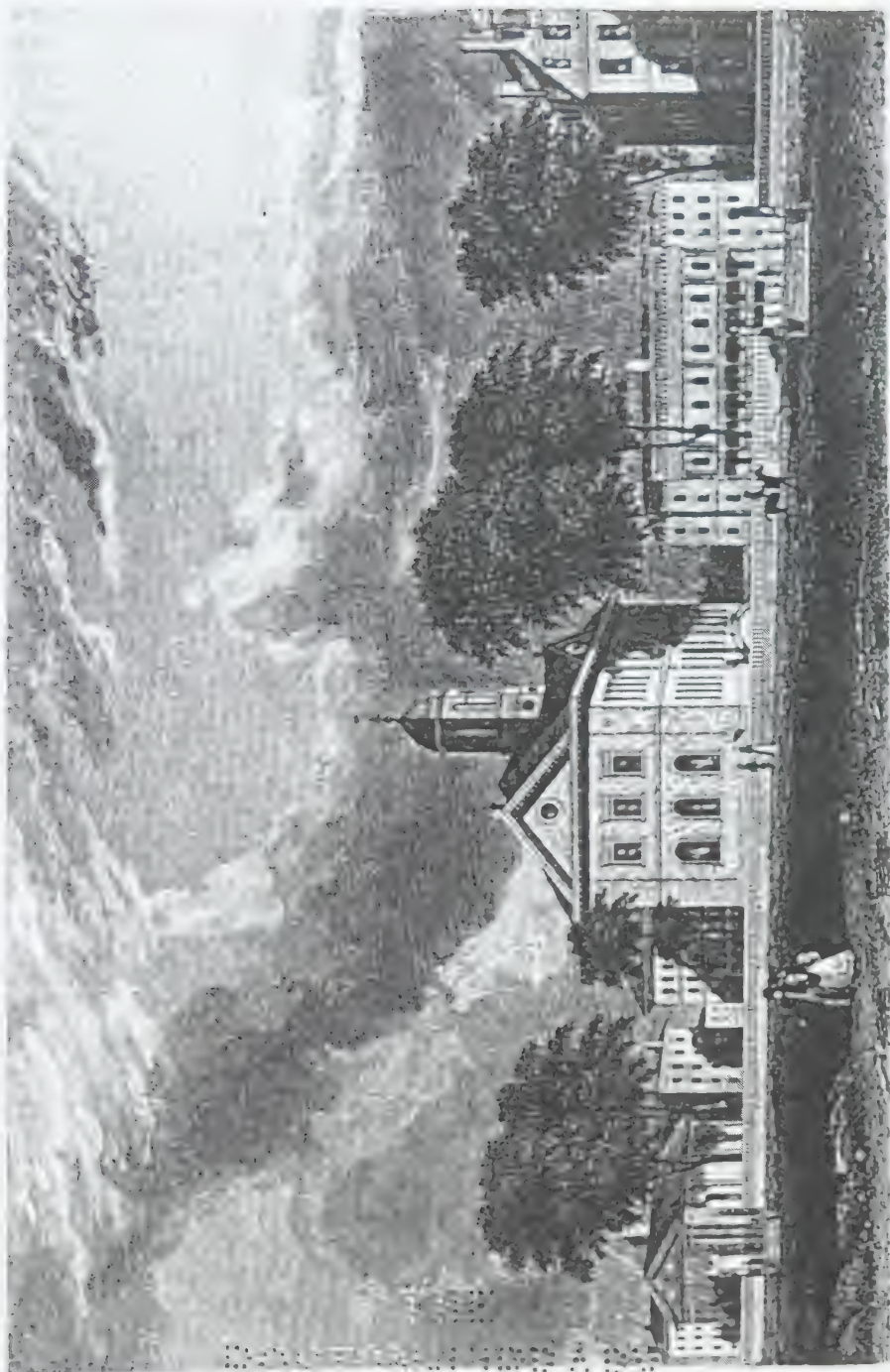
"The early period of the administration of President Kirkland was pre-eminently distinguished for bold, original, and, in many respects, successful endeavors to elevate the standard of education in the University, and to extend the means of instruction and multiply accommodations in every department. Holworthy Hall, University Hall, Divinity Hall, and the Medical College, in Boston, were erected. Liberal expenditures were incurred for furnishing University Hall, and for extensive repairs and alterations in Holden Chapel and in Harvard, Stoughton, Hollis, and Massachusetts Halls. The library, the chemical, philosophical, and anatomical apparatus of the University, and the mineralogical cabinet were enlarged; and rooms for the lectures of the medical professors, and for the preservation of their collections and wax preparations, were fitted up in Holden Chapel. The grounds surrounding the College edifices were planted with ornamental trees and shrubberies, contributing to their beauty and usefulness. The salaries of the president and professors were satisfactorily raised. As professorships became vacant they were filled with young men of talent and promise. Fifteen new professorships were added to the ten which had previously existed. . . .

"The extraordinary enlargement of the means, and advancement of the interests, of learning in the University during this period are to be attributed

to the fortunate influx of the liberal patronage of individuals and the legislature; to the spirit of an age of improvement; but most of all to the eminent men who then composed the corporation and brought into it a weight of talent, personal character, and external influence, combined with an active zeal for the advancement of the institution, previously unparalleled; and who, placing an almost unlimited confidence in its president, vested him with unprecedented powers in the management of its affairs, which he exercised in a manner liberal and trustful of public support. This confidence not only was known and avowed, but is distinctly apparent on the records of the college, and had unquestionably a material influence on all the measures and results of that administration."

No wonder that, as 1836 drew nigh, resolution was taken to commemorate the bi-centennial of the founding of the University, or that the resolution was carried into effect in form and spirit worthy of the occasion and the place. The plan originated with the president and fellows. It was heartily entered into by the alumni. Extensive preparations were made. And the 8th day of September, 1836, was honored with a splendid ovation. A canvas-covered pavilion, enclosing nearly 18,000 square feet, was erected within the college grounds, appropriately decorated with flowers, evergreens, and streamers. Arches, mottoes, and other devices embellished the college buildings and grounds at large. By nine o'clock on the morning of the festal day a company of more than fifteen hundred had assembled in University Hall. Under the marshalship of Robert C. Winthrop, assisted by Benjamin B. Curtis, Robert T. S. Lowell, William Gray, Joseph Lyman, and others, a procession was formed through the yard to the meeting-house on the Square. Here there were devotional exercises, an ode, and an address by President Quincy. A banquet followed in the pavilion, at which Edward Everett presided and gave an eloquent address; a long series of toasts and speeches filling out the time till eight in the evening. A grand illumination of the college edifices, and of many of the private buildings of the town, and a thronged reception by the president at his residence, closed the impressive festivities of the day.

The bi-centennial of the founding of Harvard University may properly be regarded as bringing its history down to the close of the period immediately preceding the present; and the characteristic features of the remarkable growth of the



Harvard College Buildings in 1820

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institution during the past forty years are reserved for notice in the concluding chapter of this sketch.

XIV. MUNICIPAL DEVELOPMENT. 1776-1876.

THE population of Cambridge in 1776 was 1,586; in 1876 not far from 48,000; and the growth of the town into the city, as suggested by this multiplication of figures, may be characterized as the period of municipal development.

The most immediate effect of the Revolution upon the social aspect of the town was the breaking up and scattering of the circle of Royalists, whose homes and habits have been touched upon in previous chapters. The extent of the changes thus introduced is well set forth in this paragraph by Dr. Paige:—

"Judge Danforth retired soon after the outbreak in September, 1774, to the house of his son in Boston, where he died October 27, 1777, aged about eighty-one. Judge Lee is said to have dwelt in Boston during the siege, after which he returned to his estate, which he enjoyed unmolested until his death, December 5, 1802, at the age of ninety-three. Captain Ruggles sold his estate October 31, 1774, to Thomas Fayerweather, and removed from Cambridge; his subsequent history is unknown to me. All the others were regarded as enemies to the movement in behalf of liberty; they became 'absentees,' and their estates, together with the estates of Ralph Inman, Esq., and Edward Stow, a mariner, were seized for the public use, and were leased by the Committee of Correspondence. . . . Five of these estates were subsequently confiscated and sold by the commonwealth: the estates of Lechmere (144 acres) and Oliver (96 acres) to Andrew Cabot, Esq., of Salem, November 24, 1779; the estate of Sewall (44 acres) to Thomas Lee of Pomfret, Conn., December 7, 1779; the estate of Phips (50 acres) to Isaiah Doane of Boston, May 25, 1781; and the estate of Vassall (116 acres) to Nathaniel Tracy, Esq., of Newburyport, June 28, 1781. Inman returned soon, and his estate was restored to him. The heirs of Borland and the Widow Vassall succeeded to the ownership of their estates in Cambridge; but several houses and stores in Boston, formerly belonging to Borland, were advertised by the agents of the commonwealth to be leased at auction, March 1, 1780. General Brattle conveyed all his real estate in Cambridge, December 13,

1774, to his only surviving son, Major Thomas Brattle, and died in Halifax, N. S., October, 1776. By the persevering efforts of Mrs. Katherine Wendell, the only surviving daughter of General Brattle, the estate was preserved from confiscation, and was recovered by Major Brattle after his return from Europe,—having been proscribed in 1778, and having subsequently exhibited satisfactory evidence of his friendship to his country and its political independence. Besides the persons already named, there were a few other loyalists, or Tories, in Cambridge, but not holding such a prominent position: John Nutting, carpenter, was proscribed in 1778; Antill Gallop, a deputy-sheriff, who had promised conformity in September, 1774, is said by Sabine to have gone with the British troops to Halifax in 1776; also George Inman (H. C. 1772, died 1789) and John Inman, sons of Ralph Inman, Esq.

"After the close of the war, it was proposed to permit the proscribed loyalists to return,—not indeed to share in the administration of the government, but to reclaim their confiscated estates."

To this proposition the citizens of Cambridge did not, however, accede, and in a town-meeting in 1783 explicit instructions were given to their representatives in the legislature to oppose any such return by all means in their power.

A valuation of Cambridge in 1781 yields the following items: 417 polls, 229 houses, 246 barns, 1 store, 4 "distill-houses," mills, etc., 1,446 acres of English mowing, 777 acres of tillage land, 1,402 acres of salt and fresh meadow, 3,523 acres of pasture, 1,185 acres of wood and unimproved land, £8,619 money at interest and on hand, £990 in goods, wares, and merchandise, 219 horses, 182 oxen, 624 cows, 258 sheep and goats, 131 swine, £650 in "coaches, chaises, etc."

The first and most important step in the progress of the century was the building of West Boston Bridge, and the consequent opening of Cambridgeport to population and travel. In 1792 authority was given by the General Court to Francis Dana and associates to construct a bridge "from the westerly part of Boston, near the Pest House (so called), to Pelham's Island in the town of Cambridge," and to build a "good road from Pelham's Island aforesaid, in the most direct and practicable line, to the nearest part of the Cambridge road." Pelham's Island was the name borne by a tract of upland and marsh, once belonging to Herbert Pelham, originally part of Simon

Bradstreet's estate, whose boundaries "very nearly coincided with Columbia Street on the west, School Street on the north, and Moore Street on the east; the east and west lines being extended across Main Street, beyond Goffe's Cove, so far as to embrace sixty acres in the whole lot."¹ Work on the bridge was promptly begun, and the structure was opened to the public in November, 1793. The cost was \$76,700.

The opening of this bridge (which remained a toll-bridge until 1858), revolutionizing, as it did, travel between Cambridge and Boston, had an instantaneous effect upon the whole eastern part of Cambridge; and the possibilities of the future were eagerly grasped by the speculators. Foremost among these was Royal Makepeace, a young man from Western, then Warren, Massachusetts, who had just come of age. In partnership with a townsman, Robert Vose, he established himself in this newly opened part of Cambridge, and proceeded to business. On the north side of Main Street, directly opposite Osborn, the young firm built a store, and in addition to their regular trade as grocers embarked in real-estate operations on a large scale. Judge Dana, Leonard Jarvis, and others joined in the general movement. Lots were laid out, streets were opened, buildings went up, canals were dug, dikes were built, and last, but not least, in 1805, with a view to the further development of the enterprise, an act of congress was obtained making Cambridge "a port of entry," and this ambitious end of the town received the name of Cambridgeport. The "paper city" was now fully under way. The better to adapt it to commercial good fortune, an elaborate and costly system of canals and docks was planned and in part constructed, with a view to improvement of the water-front, and preparation was made for the erection of spacious warehouses.

The speculative mania spread. Mr. Andrew Craigie, who had been apothecary-general of the northern department of the Revolutionary army, began, meanwhile, quietly to buy up land at Lechmere's Point, until, in 1807, by successive purchases, he had become the owner of some three hundred acres, including pretty much the whole of what is now East Cambridge, and running up along the line afterwards followed by Cambridge Street toward the Common. Proprietorship thus secured, the building of a bridge to Boston, known as Craigie's Bridge, followed; and under the auspices

of a Lechmere Point Corporation the opening of the whole precinct to settlement was vigorously prosecuted. Later, a very brilliant stroke secured for this new quarter of the town the location of the county buildings.

Meantime a spirited contest set in between Cambridgeport and East Cambridge for control of the travel to and from Boston; and this contest was the means of opening the great thoroughfares which now traverse the city from east to west, and the occasion, at the same time, of heart-burning rivalries and almost endless litigation. The existence and course of Main Street had already been determined by the building of West Boston Bridge and the communicating causeway to Pelham's Island. The charter of a turnpike to Concord was granted in 1803; Concord Avenue was originally its easterly end. So was Broadway, in the first instance, an extension of that turnpike to strike the West Boston Bridge "near the house of Royal Makepeace"; and Hampshire Street was a section of the Middlesex Turnpike, the charter of which was granted in 1805. To offset these advantages of communication thus conferred on Cambridgeport in connection with the West Boston Bridge, Cambridge Street was opened in the interest of the Craigie Bridge; but when, to shorten the distance between Watertown and West Boston Bridge, it was proposed to lay out Mount Auburn Street from what is now the southerly end of Elmwood Avenue to Brattle Square, Mr. Craigie, who was then living in the Brattle Street house known by his name, offered to give the land for an extension of what is now Mason Street to the corner of Elmwood Avenue, the effect of which would have been to divert the Watertown travel into Cambridge Street, and so through East Cambridge to Boston. There was a great deal of town quarrelling over the question of these various roads, and at last, when disputes seemed amicably adjusted, an event occurred which upset all the plans of the real-estate operators, and gave to the development of Cambridgeport, especially, a check from which it was a long time in recovering.

This was the embargo proclaimed by President Jefferson in 1807, which arrested American commerce, and put an end to all schemes like those in which Royal Makepeace had been a leader. The bubble which had been expanding so glitteringly at the mouth of the Charles River burst, and the prospects of Cambridgeport as a "port" faded away. The War of 1812 gave another blow to

¹ Paiga.

the prosperity of both Cambridgeport and East Cambridge, and the character of each was materially affected if not permanently changed.

These drawbacks to the outward prosperity of the town had their parallel in the important divisive changes which were taking place in the religious organization of the town. To the two parishes, the First Congregational and Christ, Episcopal, which had occupied the field jointly since immediately before the Revolution, was added amicably, in 1808, a third, the Cambridgeport Parish, the constitution of which was one of the natural incidents of the rapid development of that part of the town, and the growth of which was in the Unitarian direction. The meeting-house corporation here was formed in 1805, the parish in 1808, and the church in 1809. An event of a very different sort was the rending of the First Parish, after a united and harmonious life of nearly two centuries, by theological causes. Under the ministry of the Rev. Abiel Holmes, who had succeeded to the pastorate in 1792, the differences between the Trinitarians and Unitarians took such decided form and direction as to provoke controversy, and lead to long and unhappy ecclesiastical litigation. By 1815 the issue was fairly joined, and in 1829, after two councils had delivered conflicting judgments, the majority of the parish, acting with a minority of the church, excluded Mr. Holmes and his adherents from the meeting-house; whereupon Mr. Holmes and a majority of the church, including the deacons, with a minority of the old parish, which organized itself anew under the name of the Shepard Congregational Society, transferred their services to the court-house until a new sanctuary could be built, namely, that on the northwest corner of Holyoke and Mount Auburn streets; which was completed and dedicated in 1831.

The First Church in Cambridge having preserved its organization intact from 1636 to the present time, and being the mother of a large and honorable family around her, seems entitled to the record of the succession of her pastors here: Thomas Shepard, 1636-1649; Jonathan Mitchell, 1650-1668; Urian Oakes, 1671-1681; Nathaniel Gookin, 1682-1692; William Brattle, 1696-1717; Nathaniel Appleton, 1717-1784; Timothy Hilliard, 1783-1790; Abiel Holmes, 1792-1831; Nehemiah Adams, 1829-1834; John A. Albro, 1835-1865; Alexander McKenzie (present pastor), 1867-

The First Parish, retaining in connection with

it the minority of the church, remained in possession of the meeting-house in the Square, and Rev. William Newell was called to the pastorate, which he held till 1868, Rev. F. G. Peabody succeeding to the position in 1874. The old meeting-house was replaced by the present house on the corner of Church Street in 1833.

The First Baptist Church in Cambridge was organized in the Port in 1817; followed by the Second Baptist in East Cambridge in 1827; the Old Cambridge Baptist in 1844; the North Cambridge Baptist in 1854; the Broadway Baptist, in the Port, in 1865; and the Charles River Baptist, also in the Port, in 1876. Of the Methodist churches or societies, the First, in East Cambridge, was organized in 1818; the Harvard Street, Cambridgeport, in, or about, 1841; the Third, in Old Cambridge, in 1868; the Cottage Street, in Cambridgeport, in 1871. Three Universalist societies have been successively organized: the First, in the Port, in 1822; the Second, in East Cambridge, in 1823; the Third, in North Cambridge, in 1851. The oldest of the Roman Catholic parishes is that of St. John's, East Cambridge, whose church was built in 1841; after which followed St. Peter's, Old Cambridge, 1849; St. Mary's, Cambridgeport, 1866; St. Paul's, Old Cambridge, 1874; and the Church of the Sacred Heart, East Cambridge, in the same year.

With the growth of these denominations, that of the others earlier planted in the town has fully kept pace. Of the Orthodox Congregational churches, the First Evangelical, Cambridgeport, came into being in 1827, largely under the agency of Dr. Lyman Beecher, then pastor of the Hanover Street Church, Boston; the Second Evangelical, also in the Port, in 1842; the Evangelical, East Cambridge, now defunct, in 1842; the North Avenue Congregational, North Cambridge, in 1857; the Stearns Chapel Church, in the Port, now the Pilgrim Church, in 1865; and the Chapel Congregational, formed out of a residue of the Pilgrim Church, after the latter's removal to a new house of worship on Magazine Street, in 1872. Christ Church, for eighty years, was the only Episcopal parish in the town, and its material fortunes remained in a sadly dilapidated condition for a long time after the war; but in the early part of the present century it was revived. As offshoots from it, St. Peter's parish, Cambridgeport, was organized in 1842; and St. James's, North Cambridge, in 1864; while St. John's Memorial Chapel, Old

Cambridge, built for the newly founded Episcopal Theological School, was consecrated in 1869; and since 1875 the Church of the Ascension has carried on a useful mission work at East Cambridge.

Of Congregational societies holding the Unitarian faith, the Third, East Cambridge, was incorporated in 1827: and the Lee Street, Cambridgeport, in 1846.

The erection of Cambridge into a city was the result of a curious chain of circumstances, originating in the treatment of the Common, and dating back to 1823. The Common, which originally extended to Linnæan Street, and which was not reduced within the boundary of Waterhouse Street until 1724, had continued to be the property of the "Proprietors of Common Lands" until 1769, when it was granted to the town on certain terms and conditions for public use forever, though the vested rights of the town were not completed till 1828. As early as 1823 a movement was under way for the embellishment of the Common, and in 1830 legislative authority was obtained for that purpose; but to the detail of fencing in the area a strenuous opposition was manifested. Upon this issue a town-meeting was called, and the old court-house proving too strait for the numbers that convened, adjournment was had to the meeting-house. This was in October, 1830. In course of time the enclosing of the Common was effected, but the very natural objections of some of the meeting-house proprietors to the use of their edifice for stormy town-meetings led the way to a project for a new town-house, and one was built at the corner of Harvard and Norfolk streets in Cambridgeport. This was a wooden structure, and was occupied from 1832 to 1853, in which latter year it was burned.

Such a removal of the municipal centre as this was, of course, of great material advantage to Cambridgeport, and secondarily so to East Cambridge; and accordingly, in 1842, a petition was started in Old Cambridge asking of the legislature a division of the town, and an incorporation of all that part lying west of Lee Street into a separate municipality. Long agitation ensued over this plan, in the midst of which the prevailing sentiment of the town, which was opposed to division, conceived of a city charter as the one measure to efface sectional feeling and to bind all parts of the community into a homogeneous and harmonious whole. The advocates of division, whose efforts were energetic and repeated, opposed a city charter; but the

scheme won the favor of a majority of the voters, and in 1846 a charter was granted and accepted. From that time to the present Cambridge has had mayors as follows: James D. Green, 1846, 1847, 1853, 1860, 1861; Sidney Willard, 1848-1856; George Stevens, 1851, 1852; Abraham Edwards, 1854; Zebina L. Raymond, 1855, 1864; John Sargent, 1856-1859; Charles T. Russell, 1861, 1862; George C. Richardson, 1863; J. Warren Merrill, 1865, 1866; Ezra Parmenter, 1867; Charles H. Saunders, 1868, 1869; Hamlin B. Harding, 1870, 1871; Henry O. Houghton, 1872; Isaac Bradford, 1873-1876; Frank A. Allen, 1877; Samuel L. Montague, 1878, 1879.

The topographical suggestions of the propriety of a town division were much stronger thirty or forty years ago than they are now. At that time East Cambridge particularly, and Cambridgeport in large measure, were isolated villages, or precincts, the former surrounded by uninhabitable and desolate marshes, the latter separated from Old Cambridge by a wide tract of unimproved land, corresponding in general terms with Dana Hill. Here, on what was known as the Old Field and the Small-Lot Hill of primitive "Newtowne," the conspicuous landmark through the early part of the present century was the mansion of Chief Justice Dana, destroyed by fire in 1839. From his windows Judge Dana looked out over broad possessions occupying much of the territory south of Main Street and east of Putnam Avenue, an investment which gave him great interest in the development of that part of the town until his death in 1811. He was the founder of the Dana Library, and the hill on which he lived, previously known as Butler's Hill, took the name it now bears from him. After the burning of the mansion he had occupied, the tract around was cut up by his heirs into streets and laid out in lots, and a few years witnessed the closing up by population of the gap that had hitherto existed between Old Cambridge and Cambridgeport. Similar improvements in later years have done much to bring East Cambridge into closer visible connection with the other parts of the city, which, though still spread over a wide area, and unavoidably accented by Nature, is nevertheless steadily acquiring compactness and unity.

Patriotic as Cambridge was in the Revolution, her national sympathies were sluggish in 1812; but when the War of the Rebellion burst, she sprang to arms with old-time fervor. She organized "the first company of militia in the United

States which was enlisted expressly for the defence of the Government ;"¹ and it is an interesting circumstance that the founder of this company, James P. Richardson, whose appeal to his fellow-citizens bears date January 5, 1861, was a great-grandson of Moses Richardson, one of the slain of the 19th of April, 1775. "Instead of thy fathers shall be thy children." Captain Richardson reported with his company, 95 strong, at the State House on the 17th of April, 1861, and on the expiration of its three-months term of service, nearly all its members re-enlisted. In all, Cambridge furnished to the army of the United States during the Rebellion 4,135 men, and to the navy 453, or about one sixth of its population; while the memory of the 30 officers and the 310 non-commissioned officers and enlisted men who laid down their lives in the service is perpetuated in an imposing monument, by the brothers Cobb, erected on the Common by the city, and dedicated July 13, 1870.

The last fifty years have witnessed rapid improvement in what may be called the *personnel* of Cambridge, conducing greatly to the comfort and ease of living, in many respects, but so increasing its cost by taxation as to add an almost counterbalancing burden. Of old, "municipal affairs were very economically administered. The school-houses and other public buildings were few and inexpensive; the streets and sidewalks were neglected and unlighted; thorough sewerage was unknown; the members of the fire department were volunteers; and the police consisted of one constable in each of the three principal villages." In 1830 the town tax was only at the rate of \$2.26 on \$1,000, the polls being 1,514; and the valuation \$3,061,570. Ten years later, the rate had advanced only to \$2.77. But the march of "improvement" had set in, and a beginning of debt had been made; and the "advance" along both lines of development has been rapid ever since. The summer of 1846 saw the organization of a police department, and in the summer of 1847 the volunteer fire companies existing under the old town organization were superseded by a paid fire department. The Gaslight Company was incorporated in 1852, and the first order for the lighting of the streets with gas was taken in December of that year. The Cambridge Water-Works Company, incorporated in May, 1852, was organized in May, 1853, and began at that time the laying of its pipes; but the city purchased the works in 1865.

¹ Paige.

The building of the first sewer, by assessment, was under the town, in 1845; the ordinance in relation to common sewers, establishing a sewer system, was passed in 1852. In 1853 the Cambridge Railroad Company was incorporated for the construction of a horse-railroad to Boston, and in 1854 its track was located; the Union Railway Company being incorporated in 1855 for the purpose of operating the road. The first paving was done in 1856, at the easterly end of Cambridge Street, East Cambridge; the first laying of brick sidewalks under assessment was in 1869.¹

The meeting-house, the court-house, the town-pump, and the spreading elm are not the only features of the old Harvard Square which have disappeared from view. In 1812 a market-house was built on the westerly side of the Square, some thirty-four feet long and twenty-five feet wide, consisting of a roof supported by posts, and apparently more or less open at the sides, and provided with the usual appurtenances of such an establishment. This building stood till 1830, when it was removed as a lumberer of the ground.

The first and second poor-houses of the town, which had stood respectively on the corner of Brighton and South streets till 1786, and on the corner of North Avenue and Cedar streets till 1818, were replaced in the latter year by a brick building erected expressly for the purpose on Norfolk Street, opposite Worcester, Cambridgeport, which was burned in 1836, one of the inmates perishing in the flames. A new establishment was then provided on Charles River, between Western Avenue and River Street, which continued in use till 1851, when it was exchanged for the present imposing almshouse, off North Avenue, in the northwestern part of the town. The Riverside property was first sold to Little & Brown for a book-factory, and then passed to H. O. Houghton & Co., and the present extensive and elaborate printing-house known as the Riverside Press now marks the spot.

The prestige of the old "printery" of Stephen Daye's and Samuel Green's time has been more than preserved by the similar establishments of the modern city. The University Press and Wilson's Press, now united, and the Riverside Press, have constituted a distinguished trio of printing-houses and binderies, not only vying with the mammoth

¹ For these data the author is under obligations to Justin A. Jacobs, City Clerk of Cambridge since 1857.

workshops of the metropolis in the amount of their productions, but turning out work which, for quality, it is safe to say, has not been surpassed anywhere in the country. More of the best books have probably been printed and bound (though not published) during the century by these Cambridge establishments than by all the rest of the American printing-houses put together. This statement may sound extravagant, but it cannot be far from the truth. Journalism, which is the right hand of the press, at least in America, has had a measurably flourishing career; no less than four weekly newspapers being regularly published in the city in 1879. These, in the order of their age, are the *Cambridge Chronicle*, the *Cambridge Press*, the *Cambridge Tribune*, and the *Cambridge News*.

But "printeries," though representing perhaps the leading industry of the city, represent only one. If it were not for the college, and if the *Riverside Press* had never risen out of the old poor-house, Cambridge might almost deserve the name of a city of manufactures. There are of its products which have gone out into all the earth, and the fame of some of them is likely to endure to the end of the world. At Fresh Pond, in the early years of the present century, began the harvesting of ice, not for home consumption alone, but for exportation to foreign lands. On the shaded shores of this pretty lakelet the Fresh Pond Hotel had been already built by one of those Wyeths whose possessions lay all around; but it was Frederick Tudor who first launched his capital in the ice traffic. This was about 1805; and, though the venture was accounted a mad one at first, it has resulted in a permanent business of great importance and large profits. Fresh Pond ice now has a reputation around the globe. By 1815 the manufacture of glass was fairly under way at East Cambridge, and the eruption of soap-factories had begun. These last-named institutions, and several immense establishments for the slaughtering of swine and the rendering of their carcasses into provisions and various articles of commerce, have grown into a prominent feature of the eastern precincts of the city. Along the water-fronts in Cambridgeport have sprung up a group of rolling-mills, foundries, boiler-works, and machine-shops; and around the cemeteries at the western end of the town are to be found the granite and marble cutting yards incident to every large place of sepulture. The manufacture of cigars, and especially of plain

and fancy crackers for export, is carried on at several establishments of wide reputation; the works of two of the largest makers of cabinet organs in the country are located in the Port; and the telescopes constructed by Alvan Clark & Sons, whose shops and observatories constitute a picturesque group of buildings at the extreme southerly point of Cambridgeport, near the Brookline bridge, have a fame unsurpassed by any instruments in the world. Many of the largest, finest, and most effective telescopes now in use have come from here.

With all this general public improvement the college, of course, has kept full pace. The period of nearly half a century which has elapsed since the bi-centennial celebration of the founding of the institution has been marked by rapid enlargement of grounds, funds, faculty, buildings, system of instruction, appliances, and students,—keeping Harvard, where it has always been, at the head of all institutions of learning in the country. This more recent evolution has been most decided and obvious under the administration of President Eliot, who has proved himself, by intelligence, energy, and skill, to be amply worthy of a place in that distinguished line of great scholars and executives in which he is the immediate figure. The entire succession of presidents may properly be given here:—

Henry Dunster 1640-1654	Samuel Langdon 1774-1780
Charles Chauncy 1654-1672	Joseph Willard 1781-1804
Leonard Hoar 1672-1675	Samuel Webber 1806-1810
Urian Oakes 1675-1682	John Thornton
John Rogers 1682-1684	Kirkland 1810-1823
Increase Mather 1685-1701	Josiah Quincy 1829-1845
Samuel Willard 1701-1707	Edward Everett 1846-1849
John Leverett 1708-1734	Jared Sparks 1849-1853
Benjamin Wadsworth 1725-1737	James Walker 1853-1860
Edward Holyoke 1737-1760	Cornelius Conway Felton 1860-1863
Samuel Locke 1770-1773	Thomas Hill 1863-1868
	Charles William Eliot 1868

The most important of the changes in the organic life of the university have been the dissolution of the governmental tie with the commonwealth, which was effected in 1865, and the substantial bestowment of control upon the whole body of the alumni, exclusive of the five youngest classes, which, since 1866, has elected the board of overseers. The university lands in Cambridge comprise about sixty acres, of which some fifteen constitute the college "yard." The principal buildings have grown to number about thirty,

and their names and dates of erection are as follows:—

Massachusetts	1718	Observatory	1846-1851
President Wadsworth's		Lawrence Scientific	1848
House	1730	Boylston	1857
Holden Chapel	1744	Appleton Chapel	1858
Hollis	1763	Museum of Comparative Zoology	1859
Harvard	1765	Old Gymnasium	1860
Stoughton	1805	Gray	1863
Botanic Garden	1810-1871	Bussey Institution	
Holworthy	1818	[Jamaica Plain]	1870
University	1818	Thayer	1870
Divinity	1826	Holyoke	1871
Dane	1832	Weld	1872
Gore	1841	Matthews	1872
College House	1846	Memorial Hall	1874-1876
Medical College		Peabody Museum	1877
[Boston]	1846		

In addition to the foregoing a new gymnasium is on the point of completion, and a new hall (Sever) has been begun as these sheets pass through the



Louis Agassiz.

press. Beck Hall (1876) and Felton Hall (1877) are college dormitories, adjacent to the main group, but built as an investment by private parties, and not belonging to the college. The Peabody Museum and the Museum of Comparative Zoology are sections of one grand building, the completion of which is a matter of the future. Gore Hall, the college library, received an important extension in 1876-77.

The total number of students in the university has come to range in the vicinity of 1,800, varying

slightly from year to year, of whom fully 800 are in the college proper; while during the existence of the institution it has conferred upwards of 13,000 degrees. Its faculty of instruction and administration embraces about one hundred and fifty persons, and its scholarships and other beneficiary funds alone have grown to yield something like \$40,000 a year.

A very important movement in connection with the college in the winter of 1878-79 was the perfecting of a plan, under private auspices, and involving no responsibility on the part of the government whatever, whereby the privileges of systematic instruction by members of the college faculty are to be secured to women. A full university course of study will be provided, with every advantage and appliance possible under the circumstances; and some form of certificate, suitably authorized and authenticated, will assure to those pursuing the course the credit of the honors they may have won.

The architectural emphasis which the college has given to the town has had its effect upon the buildings around, especially the church buildings, and among those, notably, that of the First Congregational Church, fronting the Washington Elm, and that of the First Baptist Church, on Main Street, near the junction of Harvard; but most conspicuously, perhaps, in the group of buildings of the Episcopal Theological School, on Brattle Street, just west of Mason. This flourishing institution was founded in 1867, by the endowment of Benjamin T. Reed of Boston; and its Reed Hall, its beautiful Memorial Chapel, built by the late Robert M. Mason in 1869, its Lawrence Hall, the gift of Amos A. Lawrence in 1873, its Refectory, the gift of John A. Burnham, and the Dean's residence, form an academic cluster of rare attractiveness. Additional buildings are to be erected as needed.

The old town "burying-place," fronting the Common, possesses an historic interest second to that of few American graveyards; but Cambridge's Mount Auburn, one of the loveliest of rural cemeteries, was the pioneer in this country of all such cities of the dead. In 1811 the town opened the burial-ground in Cambridgeport, between Broadway and Norfolk and Harvard streets, since appropriated for a public square; but the idea of Mount Auburn originated outside of Cambridge, that is to say, with Dr. Jacob Bigelow of Boston, and was carried into effect by the Massachusetts Horticul-

tural Society. It was solemnly consecrated in 1831. The similar Cambridge Cemetery, near by, was opened in 1854.

The present organization of the public schools in all its details dates only from 1868, when a

superintendent of schools was for the first time appointed; but the town was provided with a school committee as early as 1795, and in 1834 the district system was changed to one of graded schools by wards, a change which, it is claimed,



Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge.

Cambridge was the first town in the state to introduce. The thirteen school-houses of 1845, costing \$32,646.67 of public money, have multiplied into twenty-six, the cost of which has been upwards of \$500,000. These schools accommodate from 7,500 to 8,000 pupils, employ nearly 200 teachers, and are operated at a total annual expense of something like \$200,000.

The population of Cambridge in 1875 was 47,838; the number of polls, 11,983; the valuation, \$66,823,415; the city debt, \$4,676,360.73; the city tax for the year, \$1,060,396.52, and the rate \$17 per \$1,000. The debt, a considerable portion of which is a water loan, has since been somewhat reduced; but it remains large enough to entail in itself an annual cost of nearly \$350,000, or more than \$5 on each \$1,000 of the city valuation.

Such are the developing lines by which Cambridge has arrived at its present estate. The germs of the modern city are all to be found in the ancient town. Our fathers "builted better than they knew." They labored, and we have entered into their labors. Whatever has been lacking in those natural advantages of place and scenery and surrounding, which go so far toward constituting urban attractions, has been more than made

up by the solid spiritual growths which were here planted in those early days, and in whose blessings we and our descendants have, and are to have, a peculiar share. We forget that Cambridge is the second wealthiest city in the commonwealth, when we stand in the midst of her academic groves, and breathe her scholarly and cultivated atmosphere. More than in her inviting avenues and imposing buildings and memorable precincts does the mind take satisfaction in the intelligence and virtue of her people, and in the long religious and intellectual history which her accumulated years have wrought. The city where Longfellow has spent the active years of his life, which he has hallowed by his benign presence, and on whose attentive ear his sweet songs first have fallen; where Lowell was born, and in which he has won his scholar's place and author's fame; where Richard H. Dana was born, and in whose old "burial place" his venerable form now rests; the birthplace, too, of Holmes and Margaret Fuller; and the town where Allston painted and Emerson once taught school,—this is the Cambridge which, none the less than the Cambridge of the Revolution, and of Harvard College, and of Stephen Daye, and of Shepard and Hooker and Dudley, will be known and honored in the coming years.

CARLISLE.

BY B. F. HEALD.



CARLISLE lies in the central part of Middlesex County, eighteen miles northwest of Boston, and has for its boundaries Acton and Westford on the west, Chelmsford on the north, Billerica and Bedford on the east, — from the latter of which it is separated by Concord River, — and Concord on the south. It was incorporated as a district of Acton in 1780, and invested with the full powers of a town in 1805. Its territory was taken from Concord, Acton, Chelmsford, and Billerica, but chiefly from Concord; and its history is closely interwoven with and runs back to the origin of a short-lived district of the same name incorporated at an earlier date. This district, with some others that had a little earlier been given an independent existence within the original limits of the mother town, had their origin in the desire of their people to enjoy better facilities for attending public religious worship than they could have in their former connection.

At the commencement of the last century Concord, including the Winthrop and Dudley grants, and the several grants afterward known as Blood's Farms, with others on its western borders, extended over a territory of more than ten miles square. Consequently, its inhabitants, living near the borders, were at such a distance from the single place of public worship, which was near the centre, as in the existing condition of the roads, and with their modes of travelling, would render it always inconvenient and often impossible to attend. Hence the persistent efforts that had been made, and were continually being made to form new towns from detached parts of the old one.

In 1752 a number of the inhabitants of the north part of the town petitioned that all that part of Concord lying north of the Concord and Assabet rivers might be set off into a separate township. But the old mother town, having within a period

of twenty years yielded a large portion of her patrimony to endow her elder daughters, Bedford, Acton, Lincoln, and Littleton, was in no mood to submit to further spoliation, and summarily rejected the petition.

The petitioners, two years after, presented another petition to the same effect, directly to the General Court; and, notwithstanding strong opposition by the town, were partially successful. An act was passed April 19, 1754, setting off that part of the territory asked for, lying north of a certain line, into the district of Carlisle. The line was described in the act as commencing at the mouth of Ralph's Brook, a small stream running into Concord River, thence running northwestward by several angles to the Acton line, near the house of Benjamin Temple. The other boundaries were Acton and Westford on the west, Chelmsford and Billerica on the north, and Concord River on the south. These bounds included nearly one third of the limits of the old town. The name was derived from Carlisle in Cumberland County, England, the birthplace and early home of James Adams, known in the early records as "Goodman Adams," who was banished for political offences from England by Oliver Cromwell, about 1640, and was said to have been the first white man who settled within the limits of the district.

The organization of the district took place at a meeting held at the house of Joseph Adams (supposed to be the same now owned and occupied by the heirs of the late John Melven), May 3, 1754, when John Hartwell was chosen district clerk, and also with John Green, Joseph Adams, Jonathan Puffer, and William Fletcher, selectmen; Deacon Ephraim Brown was chosen treasurer. The people next addressed themselves to the most important question of all, — the selection of a site for a meeting-house. The subject was brought before a special meeting held June 2, when discussion disclosed those irreconcilable views that ever kept the district in a turmoil during its brief existence, and caused its final dissolution. This unfortunate

result may not have been—as Shattuck in his history would seem to imply—wholly attributable to a spirit of disunion and discord inherent in the people, but partly, at least, to the peculiar geographical features of the district. An area of more than two miles square in the very central part was much of it low and swampy, not susceptible of high cultivation, with no public roads, and very few inhabitants. Most of the settlements were on the east and west sides of the district, and these localities gave nearly equal numbers to the principal parties in the controversies. As, therefore, the central portion afforded no desirable village location, one must be selected that would be to the advantage of one side at the expense of the other. Hence the intensity of the conflict, and the hopelessness of settling it to the general satisfaction.

At a meeting held July 17 it was voted to build the meeting-house on Lieutenant Jonathan Buttrick's plain. This was a victory for the east side, but it was wrested from them by a vote, passed October 9, to have a survey of the district, and a committee of gentlemen from abroad were appointed to select a site. But the survey was not satisfactory nor the report of the committee accepted, and thus ended the first year's efforts of the district to "perfix" a place for their house of worship. The next commenced January 22, 1756, by a vote again to build on Captain Buttrick's land. This was arrested by a vote of reconsideration passed March 3, when a committee was chosen to petition the General Court for an increase of territory on the south line as far as Concord and Assabet rivers. April 30 it was voted to dismiss the committee, and to build a meeting-house on Poplar Hill. This was to the advantage of the west side. June 3 it was voted not to build on Poplar Hill, and four other places proposed to the meeting were rejected. July 9 a committee was chosen to petition the General Court to select a spot. Probably no petition was ever presented. This closed the efforts made in 1755, and the result was to leave the question precisely where it was in the beginning. The campaign of 1756 opened January 27, with a vote to build a meeting-house, but the meeting forbore to approach at that time the vexed question of location.

At a meeting held February 3, and by adjournment March 1, 1756, it was voted for the third time to build on Captain Buttrick's plain, and a committee consisting of Samuel Heald and others

were appointed to purchase land, procure materials, and proceed to erect a meeting-house. Fifty pounds were voted toward defraying the expense, and the committee without delay addressed themselves to their work; they had made some progress when their authority was revoked by a district meeting held in May, when a committee, consisting of Major John Jones of Sudbury, Colonel William Lawrence of Groton, and Major Ephraim Curtis of Sudbury were selected to make a new survey and "to view all the circumstances of the district" and fix a place. They attended to their duty, and reported that the most convenient place to build was on Poplar Hill. The point here designated is about half a mile southwest from the house of the late Isaiah Green, and one and a half miles northwest from the proposed location on Captain Buttrick's land. This report was accepted June 16, and a committee chosen to purchase land and build a house. But they had only time to bargain for the ground and to move up the materials that had been collected on Captain Buttrick's land, when the following petition, dated Carlisle, June 24, 1756, was presented to the selectmen:—

"We the subscribers, being sensible of the great difficulties we labor under, and the great hardships we are unavoidably exposed to, if we are obliged, under such circumstances as we are in at present, to build a meeting-house and settle a minister, and pay for highways, that will be necessary to accommodate the inhabitants if we proceed accordingly to the design of being set off,—the situation of the district being such that but a small part of the inhabitants can be much better accommodated with the public worship in any place it has been proposed than they are in the town of Concord,—desire that you will call a meeting of the district as soon as can or may be, to see if the district will not agree by their vote to petition the General Court that said district may be set back to the town of Concord with our former privileges; and choose a committee for that purpose."

The petition was signed by Ephraim Stow and ten others. The selectmen refused to act upon it, and the meeting was called, July 14, by a justice of the peace. The petitioners prevailed, and a committee to carry out the views above expressed was appointed. A strong remonstrance, however, was made against this action, and two more district meetings were called to dismiss the committee; but without avail. An act was passed, January 11, 1757, setting back the district to Concord, and

providing for closing up its municipal concerns; a vote having been passed that none of the inhabitants should again be set off into a separate town, except such as should sign a petition for that purpose.

During its brief and stormy existence money was raised for schools and other municipal purposes, public worship was generally maintained, and a number of roads were laid out and imperfectly constructed, most of which, however, have long since fallen into disuse. Notwithstanding the unfortunate ending of their former efforts to obtain what seemed to them the blessings of separate town privileges, but little time was suffered to elapse before a large part of the inhabitants of the old district, with others from the adjoining towns, united to obtain a separation from their parent towns, and to form a new organization; and this time by a process less likely to lead to difficulty and final disaster. They proposed first to fix a site and build their meeting-house before forming their town or district, instead of reversing this order of proceedings, as in their former efforts. In 1758 Timothy Wilkins of Concord, "moved thereunto," as he tells us in his deed, "by the love and regard he had for the publick worship of God and the good of his nabors and fellow creatures," conveyed to John Green and others, of Concord, Chelmsford, and Billerica, a lot of land, containing one and one half acres, for building a meeting-house for the worship of God and for other public uses. This land lay nearly two miles north of Poplar Hill, and is that upon which the Unitarian Church in Carlisle now stands. From a statement in a petition afterwards presented to the General Court, it appears that a meeting-house was built the same year. It was a rude structure 30 x 40 feet, without finish outside or inside, and furnished only with rough benches for seats and a table for a pulpit. But it answered well enough for the main purpose of the builders, which undoubtedly was to form a nucleus around which to gather their anticipated town. Within two years a petition in the following terms was presented to the General Court: —

"To his Excellency Thomas Pownall Esq Captain General & Govr in chief in and over his majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, Honbls his majesty's Council & Hous of Representatives in General Court assembled the 19 day of march anno Domini 1760.

"The Petition of Part of the inhabitants of

Concord, Acton, Chelmsford, and Billerica humbly sheweth;

"That we your petitioners living very remot from Publick Worship of God in the several towns to which we Respectively Belong, and in the Winter time Cannot possibly attend the Publick Worship of God with our families have for these several Winters hired preaching beside paying our proportionable expence where we Belong and have the Fall Before last Erected a Meeting Hous for the Public Worship of God and have had preaching in Said meeting hous for the most part of the time ever since where we and our families can much more comfortably attend, and the charges of building meeting Hous and hiring Preaching besides paying to our Respective Towns are verry great and heavy on us,

"Therefore we Humbly pray that your Excellency & Honours would be pleased to set us off into a District or a town according to the following bounds as your great wisdom shall think proper, and we as in Duty Bound shall ever pray &c."

We omit the description of the boundaries, which included much more territory than was finally set off to the town; and also the names of the fifty inhabitants attached to the petition. But the petitioners failed to gain their object at that time, and it was not for twenty years, or on the 28th of April, 1780, that an act of incorporation was finally obtained. The act contained the anomalous provision that certain parties living within the limits prescribed by the act, with their farms, should still continue to belong to Concord, unless within one year from its passage they should signify in writing to the secretary of the commonwealth their choice to belong to Carlisle. These parties had not petitioned for the act, and were exempted from its operation, agreeably to a vote passed at the dissolution of old Carlisle. They never complied with the conditions, and still retain their connection with Concord. And this is the cause of that zigzag line between the two towns that has so often tried the patience and skill of surveyors and perambulators.

The first meeting of the new district was called May 8, 1780, in the meeting-house already spoken of, which seems to have been transferred by its original proprietors to the district, as £1000 was voted at the time to improve and finish it. Phinehas Blood presided, and Zebulon Spaulding was chosen clerk; Captain Samuel Heald, treasurer; Zebulon Spaulding, Phinehas Blood, and Lieutenant John Heald, selectmen; for a committee of

safety, John Green, Thomas Spaulding, Captain Israel Heald, Thomas Hodgman, and Nathan Munroe; for tithing-men, Nathan Munroe and Lieutenant Issachar Andrews; for deer-reeve, Jonas Robbins.

The first year of its corporate existence the district cheerfully assumed its share of the burdens of furnishing men and means to support the country in its Revolutionary struggle, and continued to do so to its close. Captain Samuel Heald, Lieutenant John Heald, and Lieutenant Asa Green were the only men known to have borne commissions in the service. Twenty-six men were raised in about two years for the Continental army, and considerable quantities of beef and clothing were furnished, the whole costing not less than \$8,000. And when to this onerous war tax is added over \$8,000 raised during the first three years of its existence for the payment of state taxes and other district charges, we may estimate to some extent the sacrifices the Revolutionary fathers were called upon to make in the cause of civil and religious liberty. But, notwithstanding the hardships under which they labored, not only from heavy taxation, but also from the scarcity of money and the depreciation of that in use, the inhabitants of Carlisle never complained or faltered in their allegiance to the government.

The few years subsequent to the close of the war were years of great hardship to the people of the country; and the citizens of Carlisle in common with others, and perhaps more than most others, from their recent incorporation, and the necessity of establishing highways, erecting school-houses, and finishing a meeting-house, felt the pressure of the times. They united by delegates, with other towns in the county, in a convention held at Concord, August 23, 1786, and by adjournment to October 3 of the same year, "to consult on matters of public grievance under which the people labor," and they acknowledged the reality of many in the list of seventeen grievances drawn up by the convention; yet they contended they were of such a nature as would soon yield to patience, economy, and industry, but were not to be redressed by lawless violence. They denied the responsibility of the government for their existence, or that it should be compelled to execute the mandates of a mob by the adoption of rash and unconstitutional measures for their removal. And when from threats the controversy had passed to acts, and the standard of insurrection had been raised,

Carlisle voted unanimously to stand by the government, and to render it all the assistance that might be required of her to put down rebellion. Their united loyalty to the government, when so many became discouraged and faltered, was long the pride and boast of the people, and some now living will remember the story often told by the men of that day, that Carlisle had but one Shays man, and that, as a matter of safety, he thought "it best to absent himself for some time from his home."

Another source of annoyance at the time was the numerous idle and dissipated persons, and many who were disorderly and vicious, that were constantly making their way into, and taking up their domiciles in, the district. They were generally persons who had become demoralized by long service in the army, and who were liable to become subjects of public charge. To guard against this liability, the district voted in 1784 to instruct the selectmen to warn all persons who should come to reside within its limits to depart forthwith and not to be found again therein. An attempt was made, two or three years after, to modify or rescind this vote, but it proved unsuccessful, and it probably continued a by-law of the district as long as the "warning-out" law continued in force. Another vote showing the jealous care with which the district guarded its material interests was one constituting the selectmen and two other citizens a committee "to take measures to prevent Hannah Melven from becoming a pauper." Precisely what measures this formidable committee were to adopt to effect their purpose is not recorded; but it may be inferred that they were of an effective character, as the committee were instructed to confer and advise with the selectmen of Billerica in the matter. We are not told whether the combined wisdom of the two boards prevented Hannah Melven from becoming a pauper.

From the time of the suppression of Shays' Rebellion, the establishment of the government upon a firm basis, and the introduction of a sound currency, the people began to improve in their material interests. Industry revived, farms and farm buildings were improved, and an era of permanent prosperity commenced. New highways were laid out and built, and old ones made better. Within a few years of its incorporation the district was divided into six squadrons, as these subdivisions were called, for school purposes, and a school-house, rough and rude of course, was built in each.

From this time for many years no events of importance took place in the district, excepting such as may hereafter be noticed in the miscellaneous history. In 1805 the district was, by act of the legislature, disconnected from Acton and invested with all the rights and privileges of a town. In the War of 1812 the town heartily, and with entire unanimity, sustained the action of the general government, and promptly responded to its call for men to form and recruit the military forces.

In the War of the Rebellion Carlisle was not behind her sister towns in loyalty and devotion to the government, or in the promptness with which she furnished men to answer its calls. The first action taken upon war matters was May 11, 1861, when it was voted to pay each volunteer nine dollars a month in addition to his government pay, the number not to exceed ten, and the payment to continue for one year. July 21, 1862, it was "voted to pay \$100 bounty to nine three-years volunteers who shall be credited to the town." August 27 the town voted \$100 to nine-months men, afterward raised to \$150. September 8 it "voted to pay the three-years men credited to the quota of the town, who have enlisted without bounty and are now in service, \$100." This vote was renewed October 6, but the obligation was afterward repudiated by the town authorities, upon a legal technicality; and their action was subsequently sustained by a majority vote of the town. April 6, 1863, the selectmen were authorized to pay state aid at the rate of six dollars a month to the families of deceased soldiers, and to those who should be disabled by disease. April 4, 1864, it was "voted to pay a bounty of \$125 in gold to each three-years volunteer, and drafted men when credited to the quota of the town." August 13 the selectmen were authorized to enlist as many men "as they may think necessary to fill the quota of the town that may hereafter be made before March 5, 1865." The records of which the above is an abstract give no reliable information of the number of men called for or furnished for the service, or the amount of money expended for war purposes. Neither is the "Soldiers' Record Book," a carefully prepared register furnished by the state, more full and complete. It contains the names of but little over half the number that enlisted from the town, and only a few of these have any other record than that they were enlisted and discharged from service. From a report of Adjutant-General Schou-

ler, made at the close of the war, it appears that Carlisle furnished seventy-four men for the war, which was a surplus of two over and above all demands, and that the whole amount of money appropriated and expended on account of the war, exclusive of state aid, was \$10,724.90; and that the amount of aid furnished soldiers' families and afterward repaid by the state was \$7,515.97. The accuracy of this report has been questioned, and a claim made that more men were furnished by the town than the number credited. But in the absence of any evidence from the town records to its discredit, it should of course be taken as true. The seventy-four men here reported included nearly all the able-bodied young men between seventeen and thirty-five in the town. From motives of patriotism, they promptly responded to the call of the government, many of them without the stimulants of offered bounty; and went forth to fight and bleed and die, as many of them did, on Southern battle-fields. It is deeply to be regretted that so little pains have been taken by town officials to transmit their names and their deeds, or to fulfil pledges long ago made.

The following is a list of the names of some (probably not all) of those who were killed, or died in the service, or who were wounded, and were part of the town's quota of three years.

Timothy W. Heald was in the 6th regiment on its passage through Baltimore; he re-enlisted in the first company of sharpshooters, March 24, 1862; was wounded at Yorktown, October 21, of the same year, and discharged for disability. John N. Blood, 16th regiment, was wounded at Gettysburg and discharged for disability. William Blood, 16th regiment, was killed at Bull Run, 1862. William F. Litchfield, 16th regiment, served in the Army of the Potomac three years, was wounded at Spottsylvania, Va., May 11, 1864. Daniel W. Robbins, 16th regiment, served three years, was wounded at Spottsylvania, May 10, 1864; re-enlisted December 25, 1864, and served to the close of the war. Warren P. Locke, 32d regiment, was killed June 3, 1864, at Bethesda Church, Va. George P. Nickles, 32d regiment, was wounded in the Battle of the Wilderness, and discharged at expiration of service. Miranda Dutton, 33d regiment, was killed at Lookout Valley, May 25, 1864. Austin M. Heald, first company of sharpshooters, died at Falmouth, Va., December 30, 1862. William Moore, first company of sharpshooters, died at Fort McHenry, March 2, 1863. John Q. Adams,

first company of sharpshooters, died at Bolivar, Va., September 17, 1862. Thomas Duren, 33d regiment, died at Madison, Ind., May, 1864. Francis Wiggin died at Memphis, Tenn., October 16, 1863. John M. Esty, 33d regiment, died at Chattanooga, Tenn., 1864.

We will now take up the religious history of Carlisle. As has been stated, a meeting-house, that afterward came into the possession of the town, was erected in 1758, but it remained in a rough and unfinished state until 1781, when it was improved by constructing twenty-four pews on the lower floor, which were sold at auction for \$950.50; and, further, in 1793, by putting nineteen in the gallery, which brought \$193. In 1798 the meeting-house was clapboarded, painted, and received additional windows; and on the 26th of May, 1810, while the subject of further improving it by adding a tower and procuring a bell was pending, it was struck by lightning and entirely consumed. Its destruction was a serious loss to the town, but no time was suffered to elapse before effectual measures were taken to supply its place. A town-meeting was immediately held on the Common, when it was voted to proceed immediately to the erection of a meeting-house, and Captain Nathan Hayward, a builder of some note in those days, was chosen to prepare a plan and estimate the cost of a suitable edifice. He reported at a subsequent meeting, held in Isaac Blaisdell's shop, a plan and estimate of the cost of a building of the Tuscan order of architecture, which was to be 48 × 48 feet, with a porch 15 × 30 feet, to be surmounted by a tower and steeple, the whole to be 100 feet high; estimated cost \$5,000. The plan and estimate, with some slight alterations, were unanimously accepted. At a subsequent meeting, held at the same place, a location was agreed upon, provision made for raising necessary funds, and a committee intrusted with full powers was chosen. Asa Parlin, Thomas Heald, and Nathan Green composed the committee. They addressed themselves diligently to the duties assigned them, and made their final report, including an account of all expenses incurred and the receipts from the sale of pews, November 1, 1811. From their report it appears that the whole expense incurred, including the cost of preparing the ground, and other incidental charges, was \$4,866.81; of which \$2,746.50 was derived from the sale of pews, and the balance from a town tax, from which, however, persons belonging to the First Baptist Society in Chelmsford were exempted. The

house contained forty-four square high pews on the lower floor, and sixteen in the gallery. One pew on the left-hand side, "behind the door," was reserved for the use of colored people. Joseph Wyman and John Sawyer of Charlestown were the contractors, and whoever has occasion to examine their work, after a lapse of nearly seventy years, will bear testimony to their skill and faithfulness. As throwing light upon the custom of the times, it may be interesting to mention a vote, passed by the town, enjoining upon their committee to provide "suitable drink" for all persons engaging in the work on the Common, and all who should assist in raising the meeting-house. A bell costing \$350, which became cracked, was replaced by another in 1840, at about the same cost. In 1859 the house was thoroughly repaired without and remodelled within. The old pews gave place to convenient slips, and a pulpit of modern style replaced the unsightly box that had before been used for that purpose. The audience-room was transferred to the second floor, and a hall convenient for public uses was fitted up below. These repairs and alterations involved an expense of near \$1,200, which was paid by voluntary contributions made and obtained by the Ladies' Union, a benevolent association connected with the society. In 1868 the old spire—which, from its exposure to the winds and storms of sixty years, was supposed to have become unsafe—was taken down and a new one substituted, at a cost of \$800. After the formation of the second religious society,—the Union Calvinistic Society, as it was named,—they erected a neat symmetrical church edifice 30 by 28 feet, at a cost of about \$1,000. In 1837 the church was enlarged, and surmounted by a tower; and in 1848 a parsonage was erected by voluntary contributions. The largest subscribers to the building fund were Simon T. Fletcher, \$500; Abel Taylor, \$125; Rev. John Lawrence, \$100. The church stands on leased land, for which an annual rent of one cent is to be paid by the society; and it is understood that a failure promptly to pay the stipulated rent, or to have the pulpit constantly supplied with preachers of a specified sect, works a forfeiture of the land and church building to the heirs of the lessor.

The erection of the meeting-house in 1758 seems to have been directly followed, if indeed it was not preceded, by the formation of a voluntary association or society from the surrounding neighborhood, which made it their place of resort for many pur-

poses. Here on Sundays they met for public worship, and on other days for consultation upon matters pertaining to their political welfare; and here they formed and strengthened those ties that afterward in their municipal affairs made them a unit, religiously, politically, and socially, for half a century. During the twenty or more years that elapsed between the erection of the meeting-house and the incorporation of Carlisle, it is probable that public worship was maintained most of the time. But it is not known that the services were conducted by a regularly settled clergyman, or that there was any church formed until February 28, 1781, nearly a year after the organization of the district. It consisted then of ten male and twenty-four female members, thirteen of whom had belonged to the church in Concord and seven to the church in Chelmsford, whose petition for a dismission from that church was thus indorsed by Mr. Bridge, the pastor: "Twenty years have I been grieved with this generation. I give my most hearty consent to their departure." On the 17th of May following its formation the church unanimously invited Mr. Paul Litchfield to become their pastor. On the 25th of the same month the town concurred with the church by a vote of forty-three to three. He was to have \$500 as a settlement, and \$267 in silver money, payable quarterly, and twenty cords of wood, as an annual salary; and the town agreed to pay for keeping a horse and two cows for him until such time as he was in a situation to keep them himself, which was for about three years, when he purchased a farm. He was ordained November 7, 1781; the council on the occasion being composed of the pastor and delegates from the churches in Billerica, Bedford, Concord, Acton, Westford, Ashby, Scituate, Abington, Medway, Franklin, Newburyport, and Salem. Rev. Mr. Niles of Abington preached the sermon. Mr. Litchfield was a rigid Calvinist, coinciding in points of theology with the system known at the time as Hopkinsian. Of doctrinal theology he was particularly fond, and preached few sermons in which he did not present some of its peculiar traits to his hearers. Unitarianism, which had spread somewhat rapidly in Massachusetts during the later period of his ministry, was his peculiar aversion, and he seldom suffered any proper opportunity to pass without bestowing upon it some heavy blows, and warning his hearers against its baneful influence. With the exception of a few pages of the doings of the church for

two or three of the first years of Mr. Litchfield's ministry, the church records have been cut from the book and probably destroyed. Consequently, with this exception, we have no means of knowing with certainty anything of its history for more than forty years. It is traditional that in 1798 and at other times interesting revivals of religion took place, and that large numbers were converted and added to the church. But this seems hardly probable, since the number of communicants was seven less at the close than it was at the commencement of Mr. Litchfield's ministry.

He died November 7, 1827, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and on the forty-sixth anniversary of his ordination. Rev. John H. Church, D. D., of Pelham, N. H., preached his funeral sermon, which was printed, and conveys the information that Mr. Litchfield was the oldest of twelve children; that he was born of respectable parents in Scituate, March 12, 1752; that he sought an education to fit himself for the gospel ministry, and graduated at Harvard in 1775; that he studied theology under the direction of Rev. Stephen West of Stockbridge; and that after preaching to several congregations, and declining invitations to settle in the ministry, the Lord directed his steps to Carlisle. Of his character as a theologian and preacher Dr. Church says: "He possessed a strong discriminating mind, and was fond of deep thought. The ablest works on theology were his favorite study. His views of the essential doctrines of the Bible were distinct and well arranged in his mind; and he had the talent of presenting these doctrines with plainness and force to others." Mr. Litchfield was dignified, though kind and charitable in his intercourse with his people, and scrupulously exact in all his business relations. One who sat under his preaching in early life, and who remembered him distinctly, thus described his personal appearance: "He was tall, long limbed, broad but thin chested, with silvery hair combed smoothly back and hanging gracefully down over his coat-collar. His usual dress was a broad-skirted, shad-bellied coat, with ministerial bands, long vest, short breeches buckled at the knees, black silk hose, large shoes with silver buckles three inches square, and the whole crowned with a three-cornered hat."

The measures taken by the town soon after the death of Mr. Litchfield to supply his place disclosed the fact that a large majority of the people did not sympathize in the extreme religious views that he had taught. And when, on the 19th of

June, 1828, Rev. Joseph Clarey — who was supposed to hold similar sentiments, and who had previously received a call by a majority of the church to become their pastor — was presented for acceptance by the town, he was rejected by a large majority. Upon this action the two male members of the church, who had voted for the call of Mr. Clarey, and several citizens who sympathized with them, withdrew from their ecclesiastical relations with the town and joined a church in Concord. After hearing several candidates, November, 1830, the town voted unanimously to invite Rev. Stephen Hull to settle with them in the ministry. The invitation was accepted, and his installation took place December 29, 1830. Dr. Ripley of Concord presided over the installing council, and Rev. Dr. Eaton of Boxford preached the sermon. Mr. Hull was born in Stonington, Connecticut, February 17, 1777, and had been previously settled in the ministry at Amesbury and Raynham. He was a man of pleasing address, kind and familiar in his intercourse with his people, and an acceptable preacher; but a lack of care and prudence in business affairs often involved him in unpleasant relations. After a service of four years the contract between him and the society was cancelled by mutual consent. During Mr. Hull's ministry his parishioners dissolved their ecclesiastical connection with the town, and formed a separate organization under the name of the First Religious Society in Carlisle.

Rev. George W. Stacey succeeded Mr. Hull, and was ordained May 4, 1836. Rev. Dr. Ripley was moderator, Rev. Paul Dean of Boston scribe, and Rev. Adin Ballou of Mendon preached the sermon. Mr. Stacey was born in Boston, March 12, 1809. He was left in early life to his own resources, and was self-educated, almost without the advantages of schools. He was an earnest and effective preacher, and in every relation of life a good man. He took an advanced position in the temperance and abolition reforms, which sometimes alienated him from the sympathy of some of his people, but he never forfeited their respect. His pastorate continued five years, when he was dismissed at his own request. Since his dismissal no one has been ordained or installed over the society. Yearly engagements have been made, which in some cases have been renewed for five or six years; Rev. J. J. Twiss, formerly of the second Universalist Society in Lowell, has supplied during the last three years.

In 1830 a second society was formed by those who had seceded from the first, and had united at the time with the Second Society in Concord, and Rev. Abel Patten was ordained as pastor, May 22, 1833, and dismissed September 29, 1835. He was followed by Rev. Preserved Smith, who was installed August 31, 1836, and dismissed August 28, 1844. Rev. George W. Thompson was installed July 16, 1845, and dismissed November 3, 1848. Rev. Seth W. Banister officiated as pastor from 1852 to 1856, when, in consequence of difficulties between himself and his church, he was dismissed by an ex-parte council called by the church.

Rev. Josiah Ballard was installed September 15, 1859, and died December 12, 1862. He was a gentleman of rare attainments, liberal in his religious views, and respected by all who knew him.

Next to Mr. Ballard came Rev. William H. Dowden, who was installed February 13, 1866, and dismissed at his own request December 28, 1867. He commenced his ministry by a series of revival meetings continued for several weeks, which occasioned much excitement, and resulted, it was claimed, in many conversions, as it did in some additions to the church. The latter part of his ministry witnessed considerable dissensions in his church, which culminated in the dismissal of several members.

Rev. Moses Patten, who succeeded Mr. Dowden, was installed October 27, 1870. He was highly esteemed in the community, and his pastorate was peaceful, and profitable to his people.

Rev. Jesse Mann received a call to settle over the society November 2, 1875; but before its acceptance by him the call was withdrawn, and the society voted to unite for the support of public worship with the Orthodox society in Chelmsford. Since then the Rev. F. M. Sprague has officiated in both societies.

Carlisle is an agricultural town. The resident laboring population, with an exception of perhaps less than twenty, who are engaged in commercial and mechanical pursuits, are employed in farming, and depend for their livelihood upon farm products. The valuation of the town in 1875 was \$364,170, and the estimated value of farm products \$89,571. Mechanical products, \$8,451. The town has very limited natural facilities for manufacturing purposes, or for transit and transportation, the railroad stations being two and a half, four, and five

miles from its centre. Like many other towns similarly situated, it has declined somewhat in wealth and population for the last twenty or thirty years.

The surface is generally uneven, though there are no high elevations, and, except the section bordering on Concord River and a belt extending across the northwest corner of the town, quite rocky. The soil is generally good, but difficult to cultivate, and much of it is only adapted to the growth of wood. Hundreds of acres once cultivated or used for grazing are now densely wooded. The principal products sold from the farms are milk, fruit, and wood, with a limited quantity of vegetable products. Hay is also an important crop, but is generally consumed on the farm.

Besides Concord River there are no considerable streams. A brook rising in Heart Pond, in Chelmsford, runs through the north part of the town, furnishing motive-power for a bale-hoop manufactory, and for Adams' grist and saw mill, when it runs again into Chelmsford, and takes the name of River Meadow Brook. A stream rising in Tophet Swamp, and running south and east into Concord River in Billerica, called Page's Brook, supplies water-power for Green's saw-mill and the grist-mill near its mouth recently owned by Mr. Page. Spencer Brook, rising near the centre of the town and flowing southwardly into Concord River, supplies water in its course for Buttrick's saw and turning mill. On this stream are the relics

of an old mill, of which no known records or tradition gives any account.

Schools.—The vote which was passed the second year of the existence of the district, dividing it into six squadrons, as these divisions were then called, for the support of schools, cannot but be regarded as having had, through its whole course of operation, a detrimental influence upon the educational interests of the town. With not pupils enough for three, and not enough appropriated to support that number for a proper length of time, they of course must be comparatively weak and insufficient. This division continued down to about 1839, when a new division took place, and the number was reduced. The usual appropriation made by the town, with the income of a fund of \$500 held in trust by it, and the income annually derived from the state fund, afford the means of keeping these schools in session about half the time. The number of persons in town in 1875 between five and fifteen years of age was seventy-seven, which would give an average of less than sixteen to each school. An effort was made in 1872 to unite the five schools into one, but public sentiment was averse to the change.

Population.—From the incorporation of the town in 1780 up to 1820 there was an increase in the population of 167; since that time there has been a decrease of 133. The number in 1780 was 514; in 1800, 634; in 1820, 681; in 1840, 556; in 1875, 548.

CHELMSFORD.

BY FREDERICK P. HILL.



THE New England Indians, separated by natural causes into a score of tribal independencies, differed from one another only in minor matters of speech and custom, and formed, as a whole, the body of the Wabenakies, a component part of the widespread Algonquin division.

These tribes, inhabiting the country from the Penobscot to the Hudson, were again gathered into five greater tribes, or nations,

of whom one, the Pawtucket, was seated upon the Merrimack and Piscataqua rivers, and held its sovereignty over the wild hills and streams of a vast territory far to the north and northeast.

The principal tribes of this nation were the Pawtuckets, or Wamesits, the Pennacooks, Agawams, Nnamkeeks, Piscataquas, and Accomitas. Subject to its sway were the Sacos, and the various tribes on the coast, at the eastward, while towards the west its power was acknowledged as far as the Wachusetts.¹ The grand sachem or ruler of this

¹ Gookin's *Historical Collections of the Indians*.

extensive combination was Passaconaway, the sagamore of the Pennacooks, who were located at what is now Concord, New Hampshire. The residence of Passaconaway was generally at that place, but he frequently passed much time at Piscataqua, and at his "capital" of Wamesit.¹

Thus the Pawtucket or Wamesit tribe — for the names seem to be interchangeable — was situated on the alluvial borders of the Concord River at its confluence with the turbulent Merrimack, a short distance below the Pawtucket Falls, when the English settlers began to make themselves homes near the shores of Massachusetts Bay. The earliest sagamore of the Wamesits known was Bunnawit.²

Such, in brief, were the Wamesit Indians who dwelt upon these broad Concord meadows, who fished in its placid pools, or at the favorite season repaired to the falls of Pawtucket to spear the sturgeon by the glare of torches held at night from the prow of their light canoes.

There were traditions that the tribe had been much greater previous to a pestilence which swept over the country shortly before the landing of the Pilgrims; yet it is stated that there were still some seventy-five dwellers here when the English first came hither, and that the nation itself at that time numbered about three thousand souls, although it was afterwards very greatly reduced.

Very soon after the settlements began at Salem and Boston the sachem Passaconaway gave in his submission to the English, and from time to time, whenever there appeared to be danger of invasion, the whites called upon him to renew this oath of fealty. It is but just to his memory to say that he was faithful to his pledges, and ever manifested a desire to live at peace with the white race. He was a man of great power among his people, and was believed by them to be endowed with miraculous and spiritual gifts, such as the art of causing water to burn, of changing dead serpents into living ones, and other wonderful phenomena.³ At his death he charged his son, Wannalancet, who succeeded him, to beware of breaking friendship with the English.

The sachem Wannalancet was a sober-minded man, of stern and steadfast principles, and throughout his long intercourse with the whites was friendly and strenuous in his exertions to prevent discord.

In his youth he narrowly escaped losing his life, the occasion being when he was taken — with a squaw and children — as a hostage for the good behavior of his father at a time when an uprising was suspected. He was led toward Boston with a rope around his neck; but, though fired upon, managed to elude his captors and steal away unharmed. This act of the English was unauthorized by the government. After a time Passaconaway sent his men to Boston to deliver up the guns which the Indians had in their possession.

Not long after the beginning of his missionary labors at Nonantum (Newton) the Rev. John Eliot, well named the Apostle to the Indians, came to Wamesit and began his efforts to Christianize the natives. Although it is stated that "the Indians of Wamesit were never very hearty in the cause of Christianity," the good teacher gave much of his time and divine spirit to the holy work, and after many years was rewarded by the conversion of Wannalancet himself. By the influence of Eliot the Indians were intrusted to proper guardians, courts of justice were established, and, as will be seen, their lands were reserved for their use by order of the General Court.

The first settlement of the town of Chelmsford by the English occurred about the beginning of the year 1653, on the territory adjoining the Indian plantation of Wamesit. A company of some twenty persons living in Woburn and Concord had petitioned the General Court the previous year for leave to examine the lands "lying on the other [west] side of Concord river," which request being granted, the land had been viewed and found to be "a very comfortable place to accommodate a company of God's people upon." Those who thus petitioned were joined, in 1653, by others, to the number of twenty-nine in all, asking that a tract of land might be granted them, to "begin at Merrimacke river at a necke of land next to Concord river — and so run up by Concord River south — and west into the country to make up the circumference or quantity" of six miles square, a portion of which territory was called by the Indians, Naamkeek. The signers to this request were "Benj. Butterfield, John Parker, Isaac Learned, James Parker, George Farley, Thomas Chamberlin, Joseph Parker, John Hosmer, Jacob Parker, Henry Foster, Wm. Chamberlin, John Nuttinge, Edmund Chamberlin, John Baldwinge, Richard Griffin, James Blood, John Smedley, Roger Draper, William Fletcher, Thomas Adams, Wm. Hartwell,

¹ Allen's *History of Chelmsford*.

² Belknap's *History of New Hampshire*.

³ Winthrop's *History of New England*.

Robert Proctor, Wm. Butricke, Baptis Smedley, Richard Hildreth, Thomas Briggam, Daniel Bloggett, John Hall, and Wm. Hall."¹

Eliot also petitioned at about the same time for the land known as "the great neck," lying between the Pawtucket Falls on the Merrimack and the Massic Falls on the Concord, that it might be reserved forever to the sole use of the Christianized Indians.

Both requests were granted, the English receiving all the land which they had desired except a small portion near the Merrimack. The amount granted for the Indian town of Wamesit was about twenty-five hundred acres, of which fifteen hundred were on the west side of Concord River and the remainder on the east, both portions, the one afterwards in Chelmsford and the other in Tewksbury, being now included in the limits of Lowell. The land which formed the original territory of Chelmsford was laid out as a parallelogram, one corner only touching the Concord, where the boundary met that of Billerica and Wamesit. Within eighteen months after the location a sufficient number of people had already settled upon the farms in the vicinity, generally of the "Concord river neck," to make it necessary to provide some form of government for the local welfare. Accordingly a meeting was held at the house of William Fletcher on the 22d of November, 1654, and Esdras Reed, Edward Spaulding, William Fletcher, Isaac Learned, Simon Thompson, William Underwood, and Thomas Adams were chosen to order the affairs of the place for the ensuing year. The inhabitants at the first meeting made such arrangements as were possible for the establishment of the ministerial office among them.

The Rev. John Fiske, minister of the church of Wenham, was considering the question of removing from that place, and the people of this little settlement agreed to give him, if he would come to live with them, "Thirty acres of meadow and Thirty acres of Plowable Land for the accomodation of him for his most Convenience": to build him a "Ilous Thirty Eight foot in Length and Twenty foot in breadth with three fine Rooms, the chimneys built with Brick or Stone"; and also to pay him "Fifty Rounds for the first year: and his maintenance for the future as the Lord should enable them." These and other considerations proving sufficient, in the autumn of the succeeding year, 1655, Mr. Fiske removed, with the

greater part of his church, from Wenham hither, and continued until his death the faithful pastor of the people. Mr. Fiske was born in the parish of St. James, Suffolk, England, about the year 1601. His ancestors had been noted for their devotion to religion, even to martyrdom, and his parents early set him apart for the service of God. He was educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and after obtaining his first degree began to preach in the Established Church. The spirit of Puritanism, however, was working in his soul; he became strongly opposed to the Nonconformist persecutions, and finally relinquished his office and studied medicine, which, after the usual course, he practised. He married in his twenty-eighth year. In 1637 he came, with his family, to New England, well provided with "tools for husbandry and carpentry, and with provisions to support his family in a wilderness three years." He lived a short time at Salem, where he both preached and taught among his pupils, one being the afterwards celebrated Sir George Downing. In 1642 he went to Wenham and was ordained pastor of the church at that place, and, since most of his people removed with him thence, the church of Chelmsford may be said to have begun in reality when the church of Wenham was gathered, October 8, 1644. Of Mr. Fiske it is written: "His care for the souls of the flock committed to him was unremitting, while his medical skill was of inestimable value in the new townships where he resided after he came to America." His literary abilities were early called into action; thus, in 1657, he prepared, by the request and at the expense of his parish, a catechism entitled the *Watering of the Olive Plants in Christ's Garden; or, a Short Catechism for the Entrance of our Chelmsford Children*. It was printed by Samuel Green of Cambridge, and was said to be "moderate in its doctrines, catholic in its spirit," and well designed for its purpose. Notwithstanding the many hardships of his life, and the wasting of his estate in the promotion of the settlement of the country, he gave his youngest son a collegiate education. This son, Moses, who graduated at Harvard in 1662, was ordained minister of the church of Braintree.

Meanwhile in its civil affairs the little community was progressing. The second general meeting of the inhabitants occurred March 24, 1655, when the usual officers were chosen, besides three commissioners, "to end small causes" under forty

¹ Allen's *History of Chelmsford*.

shillings. The third meeting occurred several months later, in the same year, in the meeting-house which had probably been erected since the previous election, although it is not known definitely when or by whom it was built. The inhabitants were now so increased in numbers, that measures were taken to have the town regularly incorporated. In consequence, therefore, of the representations of Esdms Reed, Edward Spaulding, and William Fletcher, the General Court incorporated the town on the 29th of May, 1655, by the name of Chelmsford, — a name given, like those of so many New England towns, in loving remembrance of the early home of some of the settlers in the old country. It was soon found that the lands at first granted were not sufficiently fertile or extensive for the necessities of the growing settlement, and though many exchanges with the Indians were made, particularly in the vicinity of the old landmark, Robin's Hill, yet the inhabitants desired an extension of their limits. This desire was met by an act of the court in 1656, granting them an enlargement; while at the same time, by reason of a similar request from Mr. Eliot in behalf of the Indians, an addition was accorded to the Wamesit settlement, to take in "John Sagamore's planting ground." The land granted to Chelmsford consisted of territory now comprising the township of Westford, and the Indians were allowed equal privileges with the whites in its occupation. It does not seem to have been of much use to the natives, and in 1660 an amicable arrangement was made, by which the Indians were accommodated with their proportion nearer their village of Wamesit.

The organization of the town having been completed and the ministry fairly settled, the inhabitants were careful to protect their rights in the judicious distribution of their public lands. These were apportioned from time to time by committees suitably chosen, while the privilege of becoming an inhabitant was jealously guarded. With commendable foresight, the people encouraged the locating among them of various craftsmen. Thus, in 1656, William How, a weaver, was admitted to be an inhabitant, with a grant of thirty acres of land, provided he would follow his trade; and in the same year Samuel Adams was given four hundred and fifty acres on the south of Meadow Brook, in consideration of his establishing a saw-mill. Soon after he was encouraged to erect a corn-mill by the additional grant of one hundred

acres, and still later leave was given him "to set flood-gates at Hart Pond for himself and his heirs forever."

In 1659, Lieutenant William French of Billerica was commissioned a magistrate to perform the ordinance of marriage for that town and Chelmsford. Subsequently Samuel Adams of this town received a similar appointment, and the first marriage recorded as having been solemnized by him occurred December 15, 1664.

The first birth on record is that of Sarah, the daughter of Jacob and Sarah Parker, January 14, 1659; but tradition says that Joseph, the son of Joseph and Margaret Parker, was born the preceding March. The first death which the ancient annals of the town mention was that of Isaac Learned, the husband of Mary (Stearns) Learned, November 27, 1657. He is said to have been one of the original petitioners from Woburn.

Fairly established in their frontier settlement, — for few towns had pushed farther in that direction into the wilderness, — the little community increased in population, in wealth, in learning, in everything that makes a prosperous existence during the first score of years.

Among the company who had come hither from Wenhau were several men of high social standing and comparative wealth. Cornelius Waldo, first deacon of the church in Chelmsford, Andrew Spaulding, for many years in a similar office, Captain Thomas Hinchman, invaluable as a mediator with the Indians, and others, were men of just the stamp to give Chelmsford that name for simple character and substantial worth which is still her honorable portion. In 1671 the reverend minister was called upon to mourn the death of his wife, "a virtuous and amiable woman, which inflicted a deep wound in the heart of the survivor, though not above the power of religion to heal." Mrs. Ann Fiske was of a most exemplary character, and, being for several years before her death afflicted with blindness, exhibited a rare patience. Her Scriptural knowledge was so extensive that her husband had no need to refer to a concordance. The year following her death Mr. Fiske, determined "to cheer the remainder of his earthly pilgrimage," married Elizabeth, the widow of Mr. Edmund Hinchman.

This pilgrimage was short, for on the 14th of January, 1676, the beloved pastor and physician "saw a rest from his labors," which continued almost to the last, he having been many times car-

ried to the meeting-house in a chair, where, as in the primitive times, he preached sitting.

The condition of the Wamesit or Pawtucket Indians through these years of advancement for the English had been one of constant decrease in strength and prosperity. In 1669 their numbers were much diminished by a warlike foray against the hated Mohawks. In the succeeding year the sachem Wannalancet came from Pennacook and built a fort on the Wamesit reservation. In May, of the year 1674, the missionary labors of Eliot were successful in the attempt to convert this sachem to Christianity, the occasion being one of much interest "and well pleasing to all that were present." After preaching from Matthew xxii. 1-14, Mr. Eliot asked the chief "to give his answer concerning praying to God." It is recorded that Wannalancet replied: "Sirs, you have been pleased for years past, in your abundant love, to apply yourselves particularly unto me and my people to exhort, press, and persuade us to pray to God. I am very thankful to you for your pains. I must acknowledge I have all my days been used to pass in an old canoe, and now you exhort me to leave my old canoe and embark in a new one, to which I have hitherto been unwilling; but now I yield myself up to your advice and enter into a new canoe and do engage to pray to God hereafter."

Peacefully as the English and Wamesits had thus far lived together, there were very grave fears among the inhabitants of Chelmsford, when, in 1675, Philip of Pokanoket began his depredations on the border towns of the colony. The cause was indeed one to excite apprehension. Would the Wamesits be faithful to their neighbors, or would they concert with their invading brethren in this desperate effort to exterminate the English? The feeling of the people may be learned by the following extract from a letter written by David Middleton: "Chelmsford, March y^e 20, 1675: I bless God I came safely hither... Good S^r I humbly intreat you to pray the Counsell to grant us a Stronger Guard for wee expect the Indians every hour to fall upon us and if they come wee shall be all cutt off."

A request was also preferred from William Underwood, John Burge, and Thomas Chamberlain, asking the General Court to "Consider o^r dangerous Conditions y^e we are in in refferance to o^r lives & estates."¹ The court ordered measures to be taken to protect the settlement. Lieuten-

ant Henchman was authorized "to take speedy and effectual care of all the corn at the houses of Colburn and his son, on the east side of Merry-mack river, by transporting it to his own house." To protect themselves as far as possible, several houses were fortified and regularly garrisoned.

It is believed that the Wamesit Indians under the good care of the Christianized natives Nob-Hon and Namphon, and directed by the friendly sachem, were true to the whites. To prevent any misunderstanding or discord, the greater part of the Indians removed into distant forests, where they remained throughout the troubles. In consideration of their good faith the council passed an order "that the Indians belonging to Wemeset, having approved themselves friends to the English, have Liberty granted them to gather their corne at Wemisett towne and to have free egress and regress to it from their fort near Leiftenant Henchman's, notwithstanding former orders limiting them to one mile from their wigwams." At another time the council ordered that the friendly Indians should be permitted to enter the English service. The more fully to cement the kind feelings happily existing, a treaty of concord and reciprocal friendship was signed between the English and the nation under Wannalancet, on the 3d of July, 1676, at Cocheco.

Although the Wamesits were thus true to their allegiance, an attack was made on the town in the spring of 1676 by a roving band of warriors. They had been excited to retaliation, it is said, by the undue violence of some whites, whose barns and haystacks had been fired, it was thought, by Indians. Several houses were burned in this raid. On another occasion Samuel Varnum, who owned a farm on the opposite shore of the Merrimack from Chelmsford, but who lived in this town, was crossing thither, with two sons and a daughter, to milk his cows, when his boat was fired upon by Indians in ambush, and both the young men were killed, one falling back dead into his sister's arms. A guard of soldiers who accompanied the unfortunate family were so much startled that the Indians escaped without injury. Varnum called out to the stupefied soldiers not to "let dead men sit at the oars," and the sad party made its way home. The young men were buried on the Howard farm, by the river.

Thus were the people of this worthy town kept in fear and anxiety through that dark season; and a glad day it was for them when tidings came of

¹ Massachusetts Colony Records.

the death of Philip and the close of the war.' After a long absence Wannalancet came back to visit his friends at Chelmsford, and inquire if the people had suffered much during the time. The reply was made that they had been highly favored, for which they ought to be thankful to God. "Me next," returned the sagacious sachem, plainly intimating that to his influence the town of Chelmsford owed much of its exemption from the horrors experienced by many others in this barbarous conflict,

Soon after the death of Mr. Fiske the inhabitants called to their service the Rev. Thomas Clark. A native of Boston, he graduated at Harvard in 1670 and was ordained pastor of the church of Chelmsford in 1677. He was twice married, his second wife being Elizabeth, the daughter of the Rev. Samuel Whiting of Billerica. The pastoral office was held by him until his death, a period of twenty-seven years. He was the founder of a large and prosperous family, yet but little is known of his life and work, "almost the only monument of his past existence that has survived the ravages of time being his tombstone." This was erected to his memory by the grateful act of his parishioners. Until 1632, through all the mutations of time,

"The sound of the church-going bell
These valleys and rocks never heard;"

but, in the year named, a bell purchased by the town was hung, and its cheery tones reverberated over the distant meadows, calling the simple worshippers at the hour of prayer, or tolling a measured knell for the last rites of the departed.

In 1686, Major Thomas Heuchman and Jonathan Tyng bought of the Wamesits all their land west of the Concord River, except Wannalancet's old planting field, also five hundred acres north of the Merrimack, between Pawtucket Falls and the mouth of Beaver Brook. The property was soon divided into forty-six shares, held by as many proprietors, including Heuchman and Tyng. The territory was used for pasture, a wall having been constructed enclosing it from the Merrimack to the Concord. The Indians, however, at the sale, had reserved the right to fish, hunt, and to cut such wood as they desired. For a few years they continued occasionally to hunt their old grounds; but the whites gradually occupied the whole reservation, their humble homes arose where the still humbler wigwams had been, and soon the place which had been the Wamesits' from time immemorial knew

them no more. In 1726 this territory was formally annexed to Chelmsford.

Of the Pawtucket nation but little remains to be told. It had sunk to a mere shadow of its former greatness, and the few braves who were left inhabited the upper waters of the Merrimack, near Pennacook. Notwithstanding the many hardships which they had endured from the whites, they ever maintained a friendly feeling towards their old Chelmsford neighbors, and on one occasion, at least, gave a striking proof of their good faith. This was during King William's War, when they notified Major Heuchman of the conspiracy against the brave Waldron at Cocheco.

With the dawn of the eighteenth century came new prospects of industry, happiness, and general prosperity for the good people of Chelmsford; and although they were early saddened by the loss of their minister, Mr. Clark, yet the services of the Rev. Samson Stoddard, who was ordained in 1706, soon restored the wonted state of content. Mr. Stoddard was graduated from Harvard but five years before, and appears to have been all through life of a delicate, sensitive nature. "He fell a prey to his corporeal and mental disorders August 23, 1740, in the thirty-fourth year of his charge."

The old meeting-house — poor and rude though it was — had served the people for their sanctuary until 1711, when a larger and better structure was erected, on which a turret was built for the bell. In 1718 the first school-house was built. The money for this purpose was raised by subscription, and the house was placed on land given by Mr. William Fletcher, situated near the old burying-ground.

For many years the residents in the western part of the town had desired to have a separate parish incorporated, and in the southwestern portion of the town a number of families were set off from Chelmsford and united to Littleton for better accommodations in hearing the gospel. Accordingly in 1724 a society in the western precinct was formed, under the care of the Rev. Willard Hall. Three years later the town consented to a final separation, and in 1729 the town of Westford was properly incorporated, at which time the families previously annexed to Littleton were joined to the new town.

In common with the other New England towns of that period, Chelmsford had to bear her share in the blood of her sons during the various expeditions against the enemies of the British government.

throughout the troublous times known as the Indian War, bodies of troops for winter were enlisted all along the frontier, and a many of "snow-shoe" men, thirty-nine in number, commanded by Captain Robert Richardson. Lieutenant Joseph Parker, was raised here.

At the celebrated attack on the Indians of Pequawkett in 1725, by the brave Lovewell, Chelmsford was well represented by Lieutenant Jonathan Robbins and John Chamberlain, both natives of the place, though enlisting from other towns. Lieutenant Robbins was wounded in the early part of the fight, and when his few companions rallied at midnight, after their dearly bought victory, he was found to be unable to travel.

Brave to the death, he requested a comrade to load his gun and leave him, saying, "As the Indians will come in the morning to scalp me, I will kill one or more of them if I can." Of Chamberlain an anecdote relates that in the course of the engagement his gun, and that of Paugus the chief, becoming foul, they washed them together at a pond. The result was — as told in a rude ballad of the time — that Chamberlain

"Met Paugus by the water side
And shot him dead upon that day."

In the French and Indian War the men of Chelmsford were again at the front, and Jonathan Barron lost his life at Fort George. Among those who gained distinction in this war was Captain Moses Parker, who displayed great valor at the siege of Fort Frontenac.

The general aspect of home affairs during the greater part of the half-century preceding the Revolution was, upon the whole, encouraging. The hard-working people had commonly reached a state of modest competence, and although the fluctuations in the medium of exchange created some disturbance at times, it is not shown that the people suffered more here than elsewhere.

The interests of education were warmly cherished, to judge by the various schools, especially those for "Righting and cyphering," maintained in the different sections of the town. Some of the schoolmasters and dames were furnished with dinners at the general expense. The sum of forty-five pounds, Old Tenor, or about six pounds in lawful money, was considered ample payment for teaching a grammar school three months. The inhabitants did not hesitate to honor the bills of the innholder who provided "entertainment for

ye selectmen," which refreshment probably seldom consisted of more than a little rum and water.

For a term of years succeeding the forced emigration of the French Acadians, the town supported the families of several of the poor refugees. Many of the customs of those days were after the style of the old home; thus, for instance, it was usual to furnish some of the chief men of the town with gloves for funerals, — even where the funeral was that of a pauper. This custom prevailed until the beginning of the Revolution.

The manner of living among the people was plain and homely, but comfortable and thrifty. The fisheries of the Merrimack and Concord rivers were very productive, and wiers were early built for catching the prodigious numbers of salmon, shad, lampreys, and alewives that annually came up the streams. The sturgeon — from which the Merrimack River derives its name in the Indian tongue — was still a noble prize for the adventurous spearman. At one period shad were so abundant, that in binding out apprentices it was made a part of the agreement that the fish now esteemed such a delicacy should be served only a fixed number of times each week.

One of the greatest social events of those days was the ordination of a minister to his pastoral charge. The day on which the Rev. Ebenezer Bridge was ordained over the church of this town — May 20, 1741 — was one long remembered for physical pleasure not less than for mental edification. Mr. Bridge was born in Boston in 1714, received a collegiate education at Harvard, and studied divinity with the Rev. William Welsted of Boston. His call to this church and town to fill the pulpit vacated by the death of Mr. Stoddard was unanimous, and faithfully he sustained the charge for more than fifty years. He was twice married, his first wife being Sarah, the daughter of the Rev. Mr. Stoddard. She died in 1783, and seven years later he married Mrs. Joanna, the widow of the late Dr. Nehemiah Abbot. His death occurred October 1, 1792.

Mr. Bridge was a man of strong character, stern in his morals, inflexible in his adherence to duty, and highly regarded by the people of his parish. His public services were performed with great dignity, though his style was somewhat diffuse.

During his pastorate there was much religious interest and dissension occasioned by the ideas and teachings of Whitefield, whose disciples came hither to preach, and succeeded in diverting a number of

the more radical members. The discipline of the church was frequently invoked, and some cases of discom were not terminated for many years. The records of the church, kept for years by Mr. Bridge, are full of interest.

In the early days of agitation preceding the Revolution Mr. Bridge was friendly towards the government of Great Britain, and in an election sermon delivered in 1767 expressed himself with great loyalty; but the progress of events created a change in his sentiments, and he became one of the most ardent supporters of the cause of American liberty. In every way, all through the long and dreary struggle that ensued, he showed the greatest patriotism, sympathy, and devotion for the rights of his fellow-countrymen; and by his spirited, earnest words of cheer, and his keen, discriminating judgment, influenced in no small degree the action of the citizens of this town in their efforts to secure independence.

So early as September 2, 1765, the inhabitants met to discuss the distressing state of the country. Colonel Samson Stoddard, — son of the late reverend pastor, — their representative to the General Court, having requested of the town instructions as to his course concerning the Stamp Act, a committee reported the following, which was unanimously adopted: "This being a time when, by reason of Several Acts of Parleмент not only this Province, but all the English Collonies on this conteut are thrown into the utmost Confusion and perplexity: the Stamp Act, as we apprehend, will not only Lay an unconstitutional, but an un-Supportable Tax upon us; and deprive us, as we humbly conceive, of our Rights and privileges that we are Intitualed to, as being free born Subjects of Great Brittain by vertue of the Royal Charter: Wherefore we think it our Duty and Interest, at this Critical Conjuncture of our publick affairs To direct you, Sr, our Representative, to be so far from countenancing or assisting in the execution of the aforesaid Stamp Act, that you use your best Endeavors that Such measures may be taken and Remonstrances made to the King and Parleмент, as may obtain a Speedy Repeal of the aforesaid act."

At the convention which assembled in Faneuil Hall on the 22d of September, 1768, the town was represented by Colonel Samson Stoddard, who had been duly chosen to consult with the committees from other towns.

The great events of the future were hurrying on

and must soon be met. On the 11th of January, 1773, a public meeting assembled "to know the Sentiment of the town Respecting the many Grievances we at Present Labour under." A committee chosen to consider the affairs, at an adjourned meeting ten days later, presented the following report, which was adopted unanimously: —

"We are fully of oppinion that the Inhabitants of this province are Justly entitled to all the Privileges of Englishmen and to all those Rights inseparable from them as members of a free community. We are also sensible that Some of those Rights are at present endangered. The only Question that can be made is this — what method is most suitable to obtain a Redress.

"Whatever doubts may arise about the perticular mode, this we are clear in, that all Rash, unmeaning passionate Procedures are by no means Justifiable in so Delicate a crisis."

The instructions given to their representative, Mr. Simeon Spaulding, at this meeting were replete with sterling sense and loyalty, and the town carefully advised him "not to trample on majesty while you are firmly but Decently Pleading the Liberties of the Subject."

The Boston Port Bill again aroused the indignant enthusiasm of the people, and at a large meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants, on the 30th of May, 1774, a committee of correspondence was chosen, consisting of Mr. Jonathan William Austin, Captain Oliver Barron, Mr. Samuel Perham, David Spaulding, Mr. Benjamin Walker, Deacon Aaron Chamberlain, Captain Moses Parker, Mr. Samuel Stevens, Jr., and Mr. Simeon Spaulding.

Immediately after the closing of the port of Boston, the people voluntarily contributed a flock of sheep, which was sent as a gift to their suffering brethren in that town. Again, on the 29th of September of the same year, the inhabitants assembled and chose Mr. Simeon Spaulding to be their representative to the General Court to be held at Salem on the 5th of the following month, and instructed him "to do no act which could Possibly be construed into an acknowledgement of the validity of the act of the British Parliмент for altering the government of the massachusetts bay," and, further, in anticipation of the speedy dissolution of the court it authorized him to join with the other members in the formation of "a general provincial congress," and to act as might appear "most likely to preserve the Liberties of all America."

The action of Governor Gage regarding this Court, and the consequent organization of a congress are historical. At the congress which assembled at Concord, October 11, the town was represented by two delegates, Mr. Jonathan William Austin and Mr. Samuel Perham. A few days later the congress, having adjourned to Cambridge, "adopted a system of measures to put the province in a state of preparation and defence." Plans were perfected for organizing and equipping the militia, and for raising new companies of minute-men, who could be called into action in an emergency.

In accordance with these orders, the military of this town was placed on a better footing, and a company of minute-men was formed, to be commanded by Captain John Ford, a veteran of the French and Indian War.

On the 1st of February, 1775, the second Provincial Congress assembled at Cambridge, at which, and at the subsequent Watertown congress, the town was well represented by Colonel Simeon Spaulding. The slumbering fire could not be longer repressed, and on the 19th of April, 1775, it broke out into the flame of revolution.

The inhabitants of Chelmsford were aroused on the morning of the eventful day by the firing of alarm-guns and the beating of drums, that called the minute-men to assemble on the village green. The men responded nobly, and the preparations for immediate departure were quickly made. Mr. Bridge, the wise and good pastor, was early on the scene, exhorting and blessing the departing train. He desired to have all gather in the meeting-house before they set out, that he might attune their hearts to prayer and Christian trust; but Captain Ford, with natural impetuosity, insisted on hastening away, declaring they had more important business to take care of than praying.¹

Two companies were soon on the way to join their fellow-countrymen at Concord, one company of sixty-one men, under the command of Captain Oliver Barron,—in which, at the time, Captain Ford acted as sergeant,—and another of forty-three men, commanded by the gallant Colonel Moses Parker. They arrived at Concord in season to participate in the fights at Merriam's Corner and at Hardy's Hill. At the last place Captain Ford showed great bravery. He is said to have killed five British soldiers in the course of the engagements. Among the wounded on this day were Captain Oliver Barron and Deacon Aaron Cham-

berlain. On the evening of this day Rev. Mr. Bridge writes in his diary: "The civil war was begun at Concord this morning! Lord, direct all things for his glory, the good of his church and people, and the preservation of the British colonies, and to the shame and confusion of our oppressors." Again on the following day he writes: "In a terrible state by reason of y^e news from our army . . . a constant marching of soldiers from y^e towns above toward y^e army. . . . We are now involved in a war which Lord only knows what will be the issue of; but I will hope in His mercy and wait to see His salvation."

The battle of Bunker Hill found the men of Chelmsford ready and eager to act in the hour of duty. The regiment under the command of Colonel Ebenezer Bridge—son of the liberty-loving clergyman—was called into action. Captain Ford, commanding a company of sixty men from this town, was with General Artemas Ward at Cambridge, but received permission to march to the relief of the men at Charlestown. On his arrival at the foot of the hill, where his countrymen were intrenched, he was ordered by General Putnam to take charge of the cannon lying there. Accordingly he "moved with the cannon and the General himself to the rail-fence" just in time to witness the onset. As the enemy advanced, the artillery under Ford's command opened upon them with telling effect. General Putnam personally directed some of the shots. The soldiery were ordered to reserve their fire until the enemy were within eight rods. The excitement proved too great for the obedience of a member of Captain Ford's company,—Joseph Spaulding. Upon his gravestone in the old burial-ground at Chelmsford are these words: "He was at the battle of Bunker Hill, where he opened the battle by firing upon the enemy before orders were given."

During the engagement Captain Ford exhibited his customary intrepidity and greatly assisted in the defence. Of his company thirteen were wounded, among them Benjamin Pierce, a native of this town, afterwards Governor of New Hampshire, and father of President Franklin Pierce. In another company, under the lead of Captain Benjamin Walker, were ten Chelmsford soldiers. The captain, a native of this place and an old Indian-fighter, was captured. At the same time Lieutenant-Colonel Moses Parker, renowned for his gallantry in previous wars, who had been mortally wounded in the battle, was taken prisoner.

¹ H. S. Perham's *Centennial Oration*.

Both were conveyed to Boston, where, after a short imprisonment, they died.

From this opening period of the Revolution the history of the men of Chelmsford is incorporated with that of the continental army. They were ever faithful, and laid down their lives at Ticonderoga, White Plains, and elsewhere, where it was their fate to die for their country. The names of John Bates, David Spaulding, Jr., Lieutenant Robert Spaulding, Peletiah Adams, Noah Foster, and Henry Fletcher will live in history through all coming time.

The records of the town give evidence that the people at home were fully sensible of the great importance of the conflict. The town raised much money and provided many munitions of war. Company after company was sent out through the long seven-years struggle, and the good people never gave up the hope of ultimate success. They were represented at the different congresses by such men as Colonel Simeon Spaulding, Captain Oliver Barron, and Captain Samuel Stevens. Their feeling for liberty culminated in the following strong resolution, passed on the 13th of May, 1776:—

“If it Should be the Pleasure of the Honorable Continental Congress to Declare an Independent State with Great Britain, that said town will stand by them to the Expence of Life and fortunes.”

More than three quarters of a century after the battle of Bunker Hill—on the 22d of September, 1859—the people of Chelmsford reared a substantial granite column to the memory of their brave fathers. It stands on the pretty green of the old village, and bears this legend:—

“Let the children guard what the sires have won.”

Meanwhile in its ordinary affairs the town, notwithstanding many discouragements, had been slowly progressing. A Baptist society was formed in the south part of the town as early as 1771, and a meeting-house was built there the following year. Two years after, October 5, 1774, the first pastor, the Rev. Elisha Rich, was ordained. He was succeeded in a few years by the Rev. Abishai Crossman, and by the Rev. John Perkins, who was the settled minister in the early part of this century. The desire of certain residents to be united to the people of Carlisle was granted in 1780, when Chelmsford lost some seventeen families and their farms. In 1793 the old parish ordained as its pastor, to succeed the Rev. Mr. Bridge, the Rev.

Hezekiah Packard, one of the purest and best ministers the town has ever known. The same year a new meeting-house was erected, and a new and larger bell was purchased and hung in the tower. In the wise administration of Mr. Packard the ancient society prospered; and the new century found him still the reverend head of the town.

After the close of the Revolution, and when the final and constitutional settlement of the government of the state was accomplished, the increasing population and prosperity of the country, and particularly the growth of the maritime cities and towns, attracted the attention of men of business and capital. To meet the large and growing demand for building materials, the waters of the Merrimack were proposed as offering a natural highway to the vast forests of the almost unexplored north. The only grave objection to the navigation of this stream proved to be the Pawtucket Falls, and therefore to overcome this obstacle it was suggested that a canal be built around them. A company of gentlemen, chiefly from Newburyport, was organized, and received a charter from the legislature, June 25, 1792, under the title of the Proprietors of the Locks and Canals on Merrimack River. The canal was built at Pawtucket Falls, was about one and one half miles in length, and was completed in October, 1796. The canal thus originated was the beginning of that great and expensive system of works which, by distributing the magnificent power of the Merrimack River, has developed the wealthy manufacturing city of Lowell.

The advantage of water communication with the great northern country was not to be the monopoly of one company. A charter was obtained incorporating the proprietors of the Middlesex Canal, June 22, 1793. The canal was soon surveyed from the waters of the Merrimack above Pawtucket Falls at East Chelmsford to the Mystic River. Subsequent acts authorized the company to clear the rapids near Wickasee Island, in Tyngsborough, to render the Concord River navigable, and to extend the canal to the Charles River. Operations were begun in 1794, the portion of the canal in Chelmsford and Billerica being first constructed. The whole route was opened for travel in 1804.

Although the business of the company continued slowly to increase until 1835, after the building of the Boston and Lowell Railroad in that year the

receipts annually began to be much less than the expenses. On the 1st of June, 1853, the business of the company was suspended, and in 1859 the rights of the proprietors as granted by charter were declared forfeited.

During the continuance of the canal the little hamlet of Middlesex Village, situated at its junction with the Merrimack, grew to be a place of considerable note. Several hotels, a church, and two or three manufactories, including a glass factory and the hat factory of Messrs. Bent & Bush, a weekly paper, the *Chelmsford Courier*, all showed that a healthy industry was well planted. In those days a trip to Boston in one of the comfortable "packet-boats" of the canal was a pleasurable event. It took some seven or eight hours, and nothing could be more agreeable than gliding smoothly among green fields, or in passing through lofty aqueducts, over rushing streams, which relieved the monotony of the passage.

The history of manufacturing enterprise in the town of Chelmsford dates, in fact, from the beginning of the settlement; but a great and decided impulse was given this branch of business life in the first part of the present century. To Moses Hale of West Newbury much credit is due for an early movement to improve the natural water-power of this town. He came to Chelmsford in 1790, locating in the eastern part of the town, where he built a fulling-mill on River-Meadow Brook, since known as Hale's Brook. Ten years later he erected larger structures for saw and grist mills; and in the following year, 1801, introduced into his fulling-mill, where he dyed and finished cloth, a carding-machine, which was the first put in operation in Middlesex County.

It is related that the first domestic suit worn in Congress, from this district, was of cloth made by Mr. Hale in 1806, and presented to General Varnum, at that time the representative.

A powder-mill was started in 1818 by Mr. Hale, the buildings being not far from his other works. Subsequently William Tileston and Oliver M. Whipple were associated in the business, which was successfully prosecuted for a number of years.

In 1812 John Goulding began the business of cotton-spinning in a mill built for his use in the eastern part of the town not far from the mouth of the Concord River. He also had a carding-machine for carding wool spun by hand, making what was called homespun cloth. Machinery for weaving suspenders and boot-webs was likewise

introduced by him. The property, which after a few years passed into the hands of Thomas Hurd, a manufacturer of satinets, is now owned by the Middlesex Mills.

The high price of cotton goods imported during the War of 1812 induced some of the leading commercial men of the country to inquire into the expediency of establishing manufactories of that fabric in New England. The cotton factories of Rhode Island and of Waltham in this state were the immediate results.

Their success strengthened the belief that America could produce her own cottons. In the autumn of 1821 a company of gentlemen visited the Pawtucket Falls and viewed them, and the Pawtucket canal, with regard to the employment of the vast power running to waste there. The gentlemen comprising the party were Patrick T. Jackson, Kirk Boott, Warren Dutton, Paul Moody, John W. Boott, and Nathan Appleton, the honored founders of one of the most successful enterprises of modern times, — the creation of the wonderful cotton industry of Lowell.

The result of this observation was that in the following February, 1822, the Merrimack Manufacturing Company was incorporated, the majority of the stock and the property of the Proprietors of the Locks and Canals on Merrimack River having been purchased in the mean time.

The Pawtucket Canal was immediately enlarged, another canal built, and in September, 1823, the first wheel of the Merrimack Company was put in motion.

The history of the succeeding growth of this and of the other companies that soon followed, with the remarkable inventions that have so greatly increased the quantity and improved the quality of the fabrics manufactured, is of interest the world over.

In 1824 the residents of East Chelmsford petitioned to be separated from the mother town. Their request was granted in 1826, and the new town, named in honor of Francis Cabot Lowell, Esq., of Boston, was duly incorporated. Although by this act Chelmsford was deprived of much territory and great prospective wealth, she has ever held dear the prosperity of her daughter.

It is not the purpose of this article to review the origin, development, and present condition of each and every business of the town, but rather to glance briefly at the general progress.

The greater part of the manufactories in town

are located at the village of North Chelmsford, where the means of communication with centres of trade are secured by the Nashua and Lowell and Stony Brook Railroads. The principal factories situated at this thrifty place, which owes much to the natural advantages of Stony Brook, are the works of the Baldwin Manufacturing Company (George S. Sheldon proprietor), who make many articles of worsted goods, besides supplying the material for carpet factories; the mills of Silver & Gay, manufacturers of worsted machinery; and the iron-works of the Chelmsford Foundry Company, who make many articles both for use and ornament. Gray, Palmer, & Co. and G. C. Moore are interested in different branches of the woollen business.

At West Chelmsford a little group of houses is clustered around the Eagle Mills on Stony Brook, where L. M. Heery is engaged in the manufacture of woollen goods. The files and knives made by the Hiscox File Manufacturing Company of this place have already a national reputation.

Not to particularize further, the manufactures of Chelmsford may be thus succinctly summed up, the statistics being those of the recent census and probably varying but little from the real condition of to-day. The whole number of establishments of all kinds in town is thirty-two, ten being distinctively manufacturing, and twenty-two related occupations,—giving employment to four hundred and four persons of all ages, who receive in wages \$167,668 annually.

The capital invested amounts to \$363,098, the stock used, to \$449,513, and the value of the goods made and work done each year reaches the sum of \$823,561.

In religious matters the history of the century thus far is one of general development, with the changes incident to modern life and thought. The First Parish, after ordaining the Rev. Hezekiah Packard, continued in his charge for nearly nine years, when he was dismissed by his own request. Dr. Packard was the founder of a family that has become eminent for its learning. The now venerable and esteemed Professor Alpheus S. Packard of Bowdoin, his son, was born in this town.

Following Dr. Packard, the Rev. Wilkes Allen was ordained minister of the ancient parish November 16, 1803. He remained with the society until 1832, when he was honorably dismissed. Mr. Allen was the author of a history of Chelms-

ford, mainly compiled from the town records, and displaying much patient research. It was published in 1820.

Since his resignation the church has been in charge of a number of pastors, among whom may be mentioned Rev. Amos Blanchard, Rev. William Morse, and Rev. Horace W. Morse. At present the society is under the care of the Rev. J. J. Twiss. The edifice now in use by this parish is the fourth, the previous structure, built in 1793, having been destroyed by fire in 1842.

In 1824 a society was organized in the north part of the town, at Middlesex, over which, a few years later, the Rev. John A. Albro was ordained pastor. A meeting-house was built by the society.

The excitement occasioned in religious life during the early part of this century disturbed both this new church and the old parish, and both were more or less changed in character. The old society became Unitarian, and has since so continued. A part of Mr. Albro's parish adopted that faith, and, retaining the meeting-house, called to their service the Rev. Dr. Packard, who was ordained in 1830. This society has long been discontinued.

The Trinitarian members, with Mr. Albro, worshipped for a time in a hall in Middlesex Village; but removed to North Chelmsford in 1836, where a meeting-house was erected in the course of two years. On the 1st of August, 1839, the society engaged the Rev. Benjamin F. Clark, who was educated at Miami University and at Lane Seminary, under Dr. Lyman Beecher. Mr. Clark was the pastor for nearly thirty years, closing his services January 31, 1869. The ministers of this church since then have been the Rev. Daniel Phillips, the Rev. J. Lewis Merrill, and the Rev. William P. Alcott, who is the present acting pastor.

In March, 1824, while the territory now Lowell was still a part of this town, religious services were held there, after the order of the Episcopal Church, for the first time, by the wise direction of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company. The quaintly picturesque edifice of St. Anne's Church, owned by the parish which thus had its origin, is now one of the oldest landmarks in the heart of the city; while the venerable and esteemed rector, the Rev. Theodore Edson, S. T. D., who for more than half a century has fought the good fight faithfully and well, is still the first and only pastor.

The Baptist society, which was formed in the southern part of the town early in the Revolu-

tionary era, has had a number of pastors. Rev. John Parkhurst was the minister for many years. The Rev. Mr. Phillips has recently been installed as pastor. A second church of this faith was organized February 14, 1847, and worships in its beautiful modern Gothic building near the pleasant Common of the centre village. The Rev. J. M. Burt is the acting pastor at the present time.

Services of the Episcopal faith have been held for several years of late in this village, at a chapel in connection with the rector's residence. There is, however, no settled rector at this mission.

A Trinitarian Congregational society was formed in 1876. It has no church-edifice, and is under the pastoral care of Rev. F. M. Sprague. Other religious organizations in town are the societies of the Methodist Episcopal Church at West Chelmsford, and of the Roman Catholic Church at the village of North Chelmsford.

The following substantial facts are gathered from a late report of the secretary of the State Board of Education. The whole number of schools in town is thirteen; two of them being high schools. They are taught by seventeen teachers, one male; and of the number more than half received their education at the state normal institutes. The whole school organization is under the charge of a general superintendent; the schools average in length of session eight months, and the average attendance at all schools of scholars between the ages of five and fifteen is three hundred and seventy-nine. The direct appropriation of the town for public instruction averages \$5,000 annually, Chelmsford standing one hundred and thirty-fourth on a comparative table of the three hundred and forty-two towns in the state, viewed with regard to their liberality of appropriations, the sum for each pupil being \$10.508; while on a similar table for the county of Middlesex she stands thirty-eighth on the list of fifty-four towns.

Considered with regard to the proportion of taxable property appropriated for public schools, her situation is one of much greater gratification, as she ranks ninety-sixth in the state and seventh in the county.¹

In the early days of Mr. Packard's pastorate over the first parish he succeeded in organizing a library association, which was incorporated in 1812,

¹ While the statistics quoted are liable to annual revision, the usual variation would not materially affect the record of the present year, as given.

as the Social Library of the Town of Chelmsford. In 1820 it contained three hundred and fifty volumes, among them Rees' *Encyclopædia*, then the most expensive work ever printed in the country.¹ At present there are two libraries owned by associations, and three connected with Sunday schools, making a total of 3,472 volumes, with a yearly public circulation of 9,710 volumes.

An historical article on Chelmsford would not be complete without reference to the part of the town in that great Rebellion which drenched our country in fraternal blood. The call of the President for volunteer troops was heard and answered, even as the stirring summons of Revere had been. Through all the glorious old county rang

"The voice of free broad Middlesex, — of thousands as of one, —

The shaft of Bunker calling to that of Lexington!"

From the enlistment of Joel A. Hunter, the first volunteer to represent Chelmsford, until the close of the war, there went forth from this town, in all, two hundred and twenty-nine soldiers, of whom twenty-two never returned to receive the gratitude of their fellow-townsmen; but their names are not forgotten, and the people of Chelmsford shall remember them to all future time. Their names are as follow: Albert E. Pike, Albert S. Byam, Henry Spaulding, James H. Barton, James Jackson, John T. McCabe, Henry W. Davidson, Patrick Barrett, Thomas Cochran, George E. Reed, George B. Lamphere, Patrick Derry, George Curtis, Webster C. Decatur, Jonas V. Pierce, James Gray, Peter McEneaney, Henry H. Ingalls, Charity L. Dunn, Colman S. Farwell, Philip Whelan, and Elijah N. Day.

Shall not there be another monument erected, which shall bear the inscription, cut into the native granite, "The children did guard that which their sires had won"?

The town of Chelmsford is to-day a place of much active life, containing about 2,400 inhabitants, presenting a valuation of nearly a million and a half dollars, and still, though having lost much territory by the annexation of Middlesex Village and farms adjacent to Lowell in 1874, continuing to hold her station as one of the largest towns in the county. There are 14,160 acres of land that are taxed, with 9,299 acres of farming lands, of which 2,246 are cultivated. The 188 farms have a total valuation of \$650,899, and their products reach the sum of \$128,459 an-

¹ Allen's *History of Chelmsford*.

nually. In addition to the railroads mentioned that pass through the northern village, the road of the Framingham and Lowell Company traverses the town and brings the healthful pulsation of modern life to the old centre village. With these excellent railway facilities the prospects of Chelmsford seem bright for future development of her agricultural and mechanical industries.

Chelmsford has not wanted for native sons or resident citizens to uphold her fair name in the various walks of industry and honorable professions. She has been thus represented, at home or elsewhere, by Ebenezer Bridge, Hezekiah Packard, Wilkes Allen, John Parkhurst, Andrew Beattie,

in divinity; by Nehemiah Abbot, Oliver Barron, Timothy Harrington, Matthias Spaulding, Rufus Wyman, John C. Dalton, John C. Bartlett, and the distinguished surgeon, Willard Parker, in medicine; by Jonathan William Austin, Samuel Dexter, Asahel Stearns, the late eminent professor of law at Harvard, Joel Adams and John Richardson Adams, Nathaniel Wright, Edward St. Loe Livermore, Josiah G. Abbott, and the celebrated antiquary, John Farmer, in law and in literature; by Colonel Jonas Clark, Samson Stoddard, Colonel Ebenezer Bridge, General Benjamin Pierce, General Benjamin Adams, and others, in the military service of their country.

CONCORD.

BY REV. GRINDALL REYNOLDS.

THE FIRST FORTY YEARS.



SEPTEMBER 2, 1635, "It is ordered, that there shal be a plantacion att Musketequid, and that there shal be 6 myles of land square to belong to it; and that the inhabitants thereof shall have three yeares imunities from all public charges, except traineings. Further that, when any that plant there shall have occasion of carryeing

of goods thither, they shall repaire to two of the nexte magistrates, where the teames are, whoe shall have power for a yeare to presse draughts att reasonable raytes, to be payde by the owners of the goods, to transport their goods thither att seasonable tymes; and the name of the place is changed and hereafter to be called Concord."

With this order began the legal existence of the first inland town of Massachusetts. A few thin settlements had already been planted along our rocky coast. Some bold colonists had gone up the Charles, as far as the tide runs, and established Watertown. But this was the first venture into the true forest country. It is curious to note how powerfully it affected the imagination of contemporaries. "And last of all Concord — was set-

tled — right up into the woods," chronicles Hubbard. "In desert depths where wolves and beares abide," writes Johnson. And then he describes the twelve miles' journey from Watertown, "through watery swamps, through thickets, where the hands were forced to make a way for the body," much as one might now depict the hardships of an expedition of many hundreds of miles into an untrodden solitude. The characteristics of the spot chosen for settlement, then as now, were its rivers and the broad belt of level green in which they flowed. Through the southeast corner of the grant crept the sluggish South Branch, meeting in the centre the swifter Assabet, and together forming the true Concord River. From these streams stretched wide meadows rising into gently undulating plains. Considerable elevations on the eastern and western borders broke the monotony, while in the centre Punkatasset, sloping down to the main stream, and a beautifully rounded little eminence now known as Lee's Hill, but then as plain North Hill, filling the triangle made by the junction of the two branches, gave to the scenery a quiet grace. But natural beauty was not the attraction; rather the great meadows, yielding their increase without man's labor, and the plains already cleared by the Indians' rude culture.

Thither in October, 1635, came twelve or fourteen families. Following the narrow Indian trails,

or cutting their own path, after a toilsome march they reached their new home. A little east of the centre of the six-mile grant was a triangular plain, mainly included between the river, the Mill Brook, and the broken ground on the eastern border, and on which the present village of Concord stands. A long ridge, nowhere rising to the dignity of a hill, and at whose base the Lexington road now runs, skirted the plain on its northern side. Into this ridge the settlers burrowed and built rude huts, passing a tedious winter, half blinded with smoke, half drenched with rain, "yet in their poore wigwames they sing Psalmes, pray and praise their God." Very early Rev. John Jones, with a number of families direct from England, joined them. Still later there were other accessions. The real leaders were Peter Bulkley and Simon Willard. The first, the minister of the town for twenty-three years, was the son of an eminent minister of Bedfordshire, and was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. In his frontier home he clung to his scholarly habits, publishing in 1646 *The Gospel Covenant*, a work of high repute in its day, and solacing his old age with the composition of Latin verses. An ample fortune was lavished upon his poorer neighbors, and he left a property which had shrunk to one quarter of its original bulk. Simon Willard was from Horsmanden in Kent. A yeoman by birth, he engaged in trade, and in 1634 came with a good estate to New England and settled in Cambridge. But the friendship which he contracted for Mr. Bulkley led him to remove to Concord. For twenty-four years he was the leading man in the new town; its deputy, town-clerk, first military officer, and probably selectman. In later life he was an assistant,—a post of state authority which included almost every possible function, legislative, judicial, or executive. As for the other settlers, they were largely people of means and good position, who sacrificed home to conscience.

In 1637 the General Court gave the settlers permission to purchase their lands of the Indians. A powerful tribe, pitifully reduced by war and disease, occupied the region between the Charles and the Merrimack. Squaw Sachem, of Medford, ruled over the remnant; of which Tahattawan, with a few families, lingered near the fishing-grounds at Concord. Under a great oak in the public square Simon Willard and others met the Indian chiefs. A few suits of clothes for the head men, some hoes, hatchets, knives, and cloth for their followers, con-

tented them; and a tract, extending three miles, north, east, south and west, corresponding to the original grant, was conveyed. Efforts were made to convert these savages. Willard became their recorder. Finally, Tahattawan and his followers, moved by the kindness of the whites, embraced Christianity. The chief requested that they might have a town near by, "for if the Indians dwelt far from the English they would not care to pray." Nashobah, now Littleton, became an Indian town. When King Philip's War broke out, but fifty-eight of these people were left. Sixty years later one Indian woman, old and blind, Sarah Doublet, was their single known representative.

The Mill Brook meadows, fronting the ridge, and the great plain and meadow, extending back of it to the river, and beyond Bedford line, were the first lands cultivated. How these lands were divided, must, with the loss of the early record, remain much a matter of conjecture. Probably the village was divided into lots, while the great flat behind it was held in common, with an ownership proportioned to the contribution to the common weal. Almost to our day this flat has been known as "the Great Common Fields." A paper dated March 1, 1690-91, signed by forty-one persons, owners of the Great Fields, agrees that said field shall be enclosed in one fence, and cultivated upon equitable conditions.

Discouragements came early. The plains were sandy, the meadows wet, the hay poor. Cattle "fed upon such wild Fother died." Sheep and horses fared no better. Men, tenderly brought up, lost their all. Eleven months after the settlement there was a plan to abate Billerica Falls. Eight years later the General Court appointed a commission to consider the matter. Mr. Jones (perhaps because he had a disagreement with his colleague, perhaps because the support of two ministers was difficult) went to Connecticut, taking one seventh of the people, and every new town north or west had Concord people in it. Some were for abandoning the settlement. Then, in 1659, Mr. Bulkley died, and the same year Mr. Willard moved to Lancaster. Those were dark days. "Some faint-hearted soldiers sold their possessions for little, leaving behind only fifty families"; so that a law was passed forbidding any one to leave the frontier towns of Concord, Sudbury, and Dedham, without the selectmen's leave. But the tide soon turned. Up to 1654, though some, like Simon Willard, who built a mansion near the foot of Lee's Hill, had pushed

out, the inhabitants lived "chiefly in one strait stream under a sunny banke in a low levell": that is where the first winter found them. But that year new and better lands were divided. As before, the ground near the centre was apportioned to individuals, while the outlands were held in common. From this time there was a steady improvement. Acton, and probably a part of Littleton, under the title of Concord Village, were added to the original grant, and the Blood Farms, a tract of two or three thousand acres now in Carlisle, were in 1685 definitely annexed. This was the time of greatest territorial enlargement. All of the present Concord and Acton, and a considerable portion of Bedford, Carlisle, Littleton, and Lincoln, were included in the town bounds.

If now we could see Concord as it was at the close of its first forty years' life, we should find but one public building, the meeting-house, — the true centre of a Puritan town, its place of public business and of public worship. It was built in 1673, to replace that which stood for forty years "on the hill neare the brook on the easte of Goodman Judgson's lott." Its site was on the church green a little west of the modern building. It was a square house, with a luthern window on each side of the roof, and a cupola on the centre of it, — in short, a duplicate of the old Hingham meeting-house, built seven years later. Around it was clustered a little village of perhaps four hundred people. Four roads connected this village with the outer world: the old road to Boston through Watertown; that from Merriam's Corner to Bedford and Billerica; the way across the Great South Bridge and Derby's Bridge, which for one hundred and forty years alone gave access to the southern part of the town and the western settlements; and, finally, the road over the Old North Bridge, which for an equal period was the single line of communication with the northern districts and the upper towns. There was a little iron-foundry in the southwest corner of the town, smelting bog-ore, and probably a grist and saw mill. This was the whole manufacturing interest. The law required a common school for fifty families, and a grammar school if there were a hundred. But the official report of John Smedley, Sr., and Thomas Dakin, in which they say that "as for schools we have in every quarter of our town men and women that teach to read and write English, when parents can spare their children and others to go to them," indicates that in the hard struggle for subsistence

education took the second place. Originally Mr. Bulkley was teacher and Mr. Jones pastor. But after the removal of the latter, Mr. Bulkley took the whole charge. His son and successor, Edward Bulkley, did the same until 1687, when the increasing numbers and his decreasing strength led to the appointment of Rev. Joseph Estabrook as colleague. "The covenant with the Rev. Pastor and teacher was for eighty pounds apiece annually." So stood the old town at the close of its forty years, yet wrestling with the difficulties of frontier life, but slowly gathering all the elements of material and spiritual prosperity.

KING PHILIP'S WAR.

THE first forty years were simply years of struggle with the wilderness. The terrible Pequot War broke out, indeed, within eighteen months of the settlement. But it was far off. It soon closed; and it brought the land rest for forty years.

In 1654 Major Willard led a little force, partly from Concord, against Ninigret, a petty chieftain living where Rhode Island and Connecticut touch on the shores of the Atlantic. But the cunning savage hid himself in impenetrable swamps, and the expedition returned. Disastrous war replaced peace when Philip of Pokanoket, in the month of June, 1675, assaulted Swansey. Driven from its original seat, the war entered upon its second stage by the rising of the Nipmucks, a tribe occupying Central Massachusetts. Captain Edward Hutchinson of Boston and Thomas Wheeler of Concord were despatched to Brookfield, July 28, with twenty troopers, mainly from Concord and its vicinity, to secure the neutrality of this tribe. Through the credulity of their Brookfield friends they fell into an ambush, and Captain Hutchinson was mortally wounded, and Captain Wheeler and son severely so, and Samuel Smedley, Jr., of Concord and seven others killed; to which must be added Henry Young of Concord, shot during the siege which followed. The survivors, guided by friendly Indians, reached a fortified house, where, under the conduct of Lieutenant Simon Davis of Concord, they withstood a desperate assault, and at the last extremity were rescued by their old neighbor, Major Simon Willard, with forty-six Middlesex troopers. By October the outer girdle of towns west of Concord had been abandoned. Two months later the Narragansetts rose from a treacherous truce. Then occurred that terrible

struggle in the depth of a New England winter, known as the Narragansett Swamp Fight. Ten Concord men were in that fight. "George Heyward was slayne," and Abraham Temple and Thomas Brown—probably the town-clerk—wounded. By March, 1676, the inner girdle of towns—Dunstable, Groton, Lancaster, etc.—had also been largely abandoned. Concord had not escaped without loss. Ten men going to the help of Sudbury were waylaid and killed. At least four others were slain on their farms or while going to them. Captain Timothy Wheeler had already been authorized to impress a gunsmith; and the General Court now declared Concord to be a frontier town, which must daily send out a scouting party, and keep men ready to go to the help of other towns. One painful episode of the war was the treatment of the Nashobah Indians, who, by order of the court, had removed to Concord. A poor remnant of fifty-eight men, women, and children, they were living soberly, quietly, and industriously with John Hoar, who alone would take charge of them, when Captain Samuel Moseley broke into their home, scattered their property, and seizing them hurried them to what Gookin calls "their furnace of affliction" at Deer Island. This Captain Moseley was an old West Indian buccaner, and an officer of desperate courage. He commanded one hundred and three volunteers, of whom twelve were pirates pardoned to fight Indians. Fit instruments for an unjust deed! The war closed with the death of Philip in August. Concord would hardly be called one of the great sufferers; yet in fourteen months it lost one sixth of its men, and so much property that fifty pounds of its taxes were remitted, and eighteen of its hundred families received help from "the Irish Charity,"—a fund collected in Ireland to help those in New England who had suffered from Indians. Still, the town was not so poor as to forget higher duties, as in its lowest estate, in 1658, it gave five pounds for five years to Harvard College; so, in 1678, out of its poverty it subscribed forty-five pounds to help build the second Harvard Hall.

FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS. 1689-1763.

FROM the close of King Philip's War to the accession of King William few events of interest are recorded. During that war, or shortly after it, and perhaps as a result of it, many families of means and influence made Concord their home.

The vexed question of jurisdiction over the Blood Farms, in 1685, was peaceably settled. The next year Hon. Peter Bulkley and Captain Thomas Hinchman bought half of Nashobah of its native owners. Concord, like other towns, found her rights threatened by the tyrannical measures of Governor Andros, and, like them, did her part in the revolution which followed, by sending a company to Boston under Lieutenant John Heald.

Of the seventy-four years from 1689 to 1763, forty-four were given to six wars, in which the barbarities of savage warfare were strangely mingled with the scarcely less atrocious measures of their civilized brothers. King William's War broke out in 1689. How great the fears were is evident from the order of 1690, that Captain Simon Davis of Concord shall impress a company of forty troopers and thirty foot soldiers to defend the frontier from Dunstable to Marlborough; that forty men shall be in each frontier town for a main guard; and that two hundred and fifty to four hundred shall always be ready, "for a flying army," to pursue the enemy. The attacks made upon Billerica, Dunstable, Andover, and Groton—in the last of which in one day, in 1694, twenty were killed and fifteen led into captivity—prove that these fears were not groundless. And the petition of Thomas Brown that he may be reimbursed for a horse lost in 1697, while he was by order of Colonel Tyng pursuing Indians, shows that the flying army was not inactive.

In 1703, after six brief years of rest, the dreadful Queen Anne's War began; as dreadful for Indian raids as King Philip's. Penhallow records the names of one hundred and sixty-six persons killed or captured in 1703 in the little settlements on the Maine coast. And in the single county of Hampshire over two hundred shared the same fate; while nearer home, Dunstable, Marlborough, and Groton again suffered. This condition of affairs demanded of the adjacent towns constant vigilance. Captain Bulkley of Concord commanded a company all through the war, passing as needed from place to place, and displaying such activity as to receive special mention from Penhallow. In the successful expedition of 1710 against Port Royal, Moses Wheat, William and Thomas Robbins were present, and how many more the imperfect records make it impossible to say.

The Peace of Utrecht brought only nominal relief, for the Indians, alarmed by the steady advance of the whites, and stimulated, as the Eng-

lish believed, by the French missionary Bale, began afresh to make bloody incursions. The remarkable events of the war were the taking of Norridgewock; the death of Bale, and Lovewell's Fight. A halo of romance has gathered around this fight; but, at the core of it, it was simply the unfortunate close of an expedition undertaken from the not very romantic motive of receiving £100 for each Indian scalp taken. Concord furnished nine of the forty-six men who marched out of Dunstable, and Lieutenants Robbins and Farwell were descendants of her first settlers. Lovewell's expedition has been kept in memory because of its tragic fate. But in reality it was one of many. On the Massachusetts's rolls are found at least seven such companies, and in all of them Concord names. Nor did Lovewell's fate discourage brave men. Only four months after his death eighteen persons, some of whom had been in the disastrous fight, asked leave to form a company, and suggested that David Melvin was a suitable person to command.

The one event of the Spanish War of interest to New England was "the expedition in 1741 against his Catholic Majesty in the West Indies." To this expedition Concord furnished Colonel Jonathan Prescott and eighteen others. The affair was miserably mismanaged; disease set in, and but three of the eighteen reached home. The War of the Austrian Succession opened in 1744. Its crowning glory was the capture of the stronghold of Louisburg by an army of farmers and fishermen. To that army Concord sent Captain David and Lieutenant Eleazer Melvin, both survivors of Lovewell's Fight, and a dozen more. The captain was wounded, and, after twenty years of hardship and peril, came home to die. His brother Eleazer kept bright the family record. Returning from the successful siege, he went back to his old business of Indian scouting, and led a company in 1746 to join the expedition against Canada, and made what was called "the long march" into the very borders of the enemies' country. The next year he was stationed with fifty men at Northfield, to protect the frontier. In 1748 he recruited a new company of rangers, mainly from his native town, and through the spring of that year he was at Fort Dummer, near Brattleborough. With eighteen men he started from that post on a scout through the woods, to Crown Point. When he reached Lake Champlain two canoes came in sight, and though he was but a mile distant from the enemy's fort, he imprudently permitted his men to fire upon

them. He retreated; but on the banks of the West River, where Londonderry now stands, was overtaken by one hundred and fifty Indians. He was himself surrounded and had his belt cut by a flying hatchet, but finally succeeded with twelve men in reaching Fort Dummer. Of the six who fell, four were from Concord. He lived to command a company in Governor Shirley's expedition against the French forts and settlements in Maine, and died soon after his return. The French and Indian War was a war of distant expeditions and had few incidents of local interest. It is sufficient to say that in all these expeditions — to Acadia in 1755, to Fort Edward and Crown Point in 1756, and at the final capture of Ticonderoga — the town was largely represented.

The peace of 1763 brought permanent relief from the French and Indians. The households could sleep in safety. The great drafts, which seemed to include all the able-bodied, were at an end. It is wonderful to note how, in the face of almost perpetual warfare, the town had grown. In 1652 there were but fifty families. In 1680, directly after King Philip's War, there were one hundred. That hundred had more than doubled in 1706; and in 1764, in the domain once Concord, there were 2,700 people. The mere statement speaks volumes for the courage and vigor of those who subdued the wilderness.

The historian calls the period we have traversed the dark time of education. Probably with truth. The Concord records indicate that the schools were of no very high order, that they were scantily supported, and that, as the report of 1680 says, they were attended "when the parents could spare their children." The gift of Captain Ephraim Flint of £100 to Harvard College, and Captain Timothy Wheeler's bequest of three acres of land and the house standing on the same for the furtherance of learning, shows that there were those who looked beyond the burden of the present hour to the higher needs of a community.

The ecclesiastical history of the period was stormy. Rev. Edward Bulkley died January 2, 1696, at a great age, after a fifty-three years' ministry. His colleague, Rev. Joseph Estabrook, followed him September 16, 1711. Rev. John Whiting became pastor May 14, 1712, but was dismissed in 1758, "causes of difference having arisen." Rev. Daniel Bliss, a preacher of great earnestness and power, succeeded him the next year. But the change did not bring peace. It

was the time of "the great awakening." Whitefield came to America in 1740. He denounced Harvard College as destitute of true godliness, and spoke with no little severity of the ministers and the churches. Mr. Bliss espoused Mr. Whitefield's cause with all the fire of his ardent nature, invited him to preach, and in all ways helped him. The parish was divided; and after councils for and councils against him, in 1745 forty-seven persons were exempted from parish charges, and permitted to maintain public worship. This they did for fourteen years in the hall of a tavern, which, having the sign of a black horse, gave the gathering the title of "Black Horse Church." As Rev. Mr. Whiting was a regular attendant, we may suspect that the old difference was woven in with the new. Mr. Bliss died in 1764, and Rev. William Emerson took the vacant pulpit January 1, 1766. The embers still glowed. Upon the refusal of the new minister to receive a prominent citizen into the church they flamed again, but faded out before the intenser excitements of the opening Revolution. The meeting-house, now standing on the church green, was built in 1712, though then it was entirely destitute of porch, pillars, or spire.

As the first fifty years was a period of territorial expansion, so the next hundred was one of more than equal territorial contraction. In 1715 what Concord owned in Nashobah helped to make Littleton. In 1729 Bedford took a large piece from the parent town. Concord Village, in 1735, became Acton. While in 1754 Lincoln, out of Concord, Weston, and Lexington, carved a township; Carlisle which separated in 1754 was re-annexed in 1757, and permanently set off in 1780. So before the close of the Revolutionary War the town assumed the shape which it has retained to our day.

THE PERIOD OF THE REVOLUTION. 1763-1783.

THE long succession of wars had ended in the expulsion of France from the region east of the Mississippi. Two results followed. On the one hand England, oppressed by the debts which those wars had created, magnified her prerogatives; that she might wring money from her unwilling subjects. On the other hand, the colonists, relieved from their fear of the savage, and by that very relief growing to power with unprecedented rapidity; were less disposed to bear usurpations, and more disposed to appreciate their own constitutional rights.

In the coming struggle, both from its position and the temper of its people, Concord was sure to take an early and not unimportant part. It was the first inland settlement in the state, one of the largest, and the true geographical centre of Middlesex County. As a shire-town it had felt that great quickening of thought and life which was inevitable when many times a year judges and juries, counsel and clients, came thither to try important questions, making the place their home for days and weeks. It boasted the oldest military organization in the state, if we except the Ancient and Honorable Artillery, and had been in the wars a place of military gathering. As a result, Concord was then the heart of Middlesex, as no town ever can be again. Did the people desire to change the bounds of the county, they called a convention at Concord. Would they protest against the unlawful acts of the king, they sent delegates to the same spot. The temper of its people was eminently patriotic. They instructed their representative to protest against the Stamp Act. They resolved not to use foreign commodities, and declared that tea should not be brought within their limits. In 1772, in answer to the Boston Address, they said that they would not submit to any infringement of their liberties. The meeting of the court under the new and, as they held, unconstitutional method was prevented by a display of force. Some of their most prominent citizens were compelled publicly to express their sorrow for their unpatriotic language. In September, 1774, the town voted to buy powder and ball, and to name a Committee of Correspondence.

That was a most striking occasion, when, on August 30 and 31, 1774, Middlesex, in convention assembled at Concord, first of all the counties, recommended that a provincial congress should meet at Concord the second Tuesday in October. What followed is matter of history. Ninety members of the General Court went to Salem October 5, and waited for General Gage; waited two days in vain; then resolved themselves into a provincial congress, to be joined by such others as the towns might appoint, and adjourned to meet on the 11th at Concord court-house. On that day three hundred came, chose John Hancock president, and Benjamin Lincoln secretary, and, to secure more room, adjourned to the meeting-house. This body was in Concord in the months of March and April, 1775, and left only four days before the encounter at North Bridge. Important

business was there transacted. A vote, advising town collectors not to pay taxes to Harrison Gray, seized the purse. The passage of "Rules and Regulations for the Massachusetts Army" drew the sword. The proclamation for a fast, every word of which was an appeal to God against oppression, enlisted on the side of freedom the religious sentiment. In that old meeting-house, still standing, what words to fire men's souls were spoken; what policy to shape the destiny of the state enacted! Scarcely Independence Hall itself has more venerable associations.

The Committees of Safety and Supplies, to whom were intrusted the preparations for defence, were frequently at Concord. They were there, John Hancock at their head, on the 17th of April, not thirty-six hours before brave men were massacred, almost before his eyes, on Lexington Green. Very early they ordered that there be deposited at Worcester two hundred barrels of pork, four hundred of flour, and one hundred and fifteen bushels of pease; and at Concord, one hundred and thirty-five barrels of pork, three hundred of flour, one hundred and fifty bushels of pease, and forty-five



The Old Jail.

tierces of rice. Later it was voted that all the cannon, mortars, cannon-balls, and shells be deposited in Worcester and Concord "in the same proportion that the provisions are deposited." These votes, as respects Worcester, seem never to have been carried into effect. But Concord became a great storehouse. The old jail, the farmers' barns, the town-house, the court-house, the tavern-shed, the miller's loft, were extempore depots for provisions and munitions of war. No doubt Concord was chosen because it was near, but not too near, the scene of action, and because it had four military companies. The trustworthy character of Colonel Barrett, the custodian of these treasures, must have had its weight. The committee knew the importance of the charge. Colonel Barrett was told to keep watch night and day, always to have teams ready, "not so much as to mention powder, lest our enemies take advantage of it." But such

a secret could not be kept. Tories stole to Boston and told it. British officers, disguised, came to mark and report the places of deposit.

So it happened that there was no other spot where General Gage could strike to any purpose. For success at Concord meant a disabling blow; and when Revere knew that a military expedition had started, he did not have to ask to what point. There was but one point.

"Last night, between ten and eleven o'clock," writes Lieutenant John Barker in his diary,¹ "all of the Grenadiers and Light Infantry, under Colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn, embarked and were landed upon the opposite shore on Cambridge Marsh. Few but the commanding officers knew what expedition we were going upon." They had a hard time, wading through the marsh, "wet to their

¹ Manuscript of a British officer found in Philadelphia in 1876, and now deposited with the Massachusetts Historical Society.

knees," until they came to a dirty road. Here they waited until two o'clock for provisions, which "most of the men threw away." A fatal delay, without which it is doubtful whether enough men

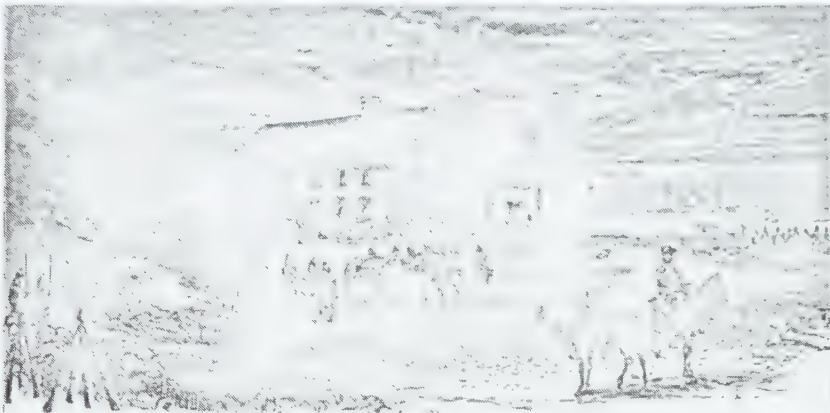


Pine-Tree Flag.

could have been gathered to defeat them! Commencing afresh the march, "wading through a very long ford up to our middles," the troops reached Lexington about five, there to commit cruel and

needless slaughter. "After an inexplicable delay," continues Lieutenant Barker, "we proceeded on our way to Concord, which we then learnt was our destination, in order to destroy a magazine of stores collected there. We met no interruption until within a mile or two of the town, where the country people had occupied a hill which commanded the road."

Turn now to the other side. "1775, 19 April. This morning," writes the patriotic Concord minister,¹ "between one and two o'clock, we were alarmed by the ringing of the bell, and, upon examining, found that troops, to the number of eight hundred, had stolen their march from Boston in boats and barges from the bottom of the Common over to a point in Cambridge, near to Inman's farm. This intelligence was brought by Dr. Samuel Prescott, who narrowly escaped the guard that were sent before." "He, by help of a very fleet horse, crossing several walls and fences, arrived at Concord at the time aforementioned; when several posts returning confirmed the account of the regulars arriving at Lexington, and that they were on the way to Concord." It was probably three o'clock before the town fully



The British at Colonel Barrett's.

comprehended its danger. The hurry, the confusion, the alarm, which must have filled the village during the four hours in which it awaited the coming of eight hundred mercenary soldiers, can hardly be imagined. Every available team was impressed to carry away or hide the stores. The minute-men and members of the old military companies, who could be spared from this work, prepared for instant service. Women and children fled to the woods. Tradition preserves some simple anecdotes. One good lady, hearing that the regulars are coming, goes straight to the adjoining meeting-house, takes the Communion silver, and buries

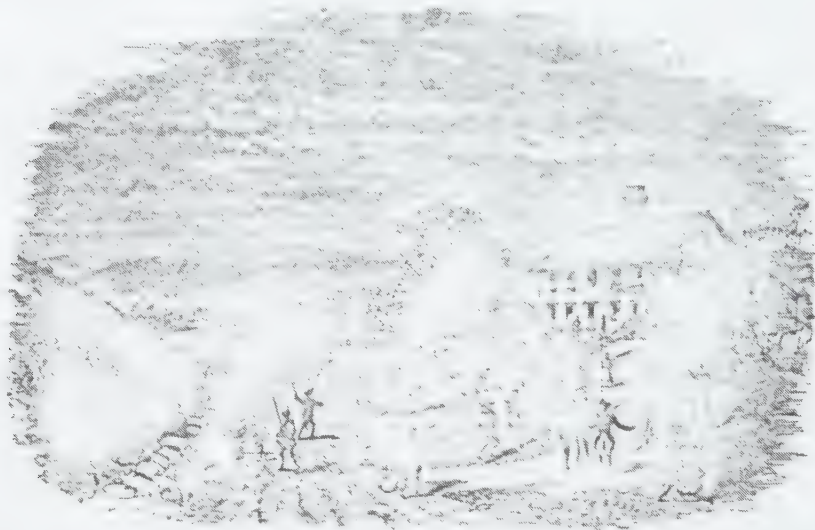
it in her soap-barrel, in an arch under a great chimney still standing. Another, getting ready to take her children into the woods, goes to her drawer and puts on a checkered apron, the proper adornment in those days on state occasions. This she unconsciously did over and over again, until, when in her hiding-place she recovered her wits, she found that she had on seven checkered aprons.

Reuben Brown and Deacon Parkman, well-mounted, were sent to alarm adjacent towns. The old Carlisle lieutenant used to tell his grandson, now living, that the people of the neighbor-

¹ Diary of Rev. William Emerson.

hood were summoned by Timothy Wilkins with his drum and James Kent with his horn; and that under an old Indian fighter, James Russell, they marched twenty-one strong to Hildreth's Corner, where they met Captain Davis and the Acton men, and accompanied them to the bridge. A little after sunrise two hundred men had come together. Three-quarters of them were from Concord, a few from Acton, and the rest from Lincoln. Their advance-guard was stationed a mile and a quarter towards Lexington, at the end of that steep ridge which skirts the village on the north. The main body occupied, "as the most advantageous situation," the high point of the same ridge directly opposite the old meeting-house. A little before seven the advance came hurrying back, saying that the enemy were at hand, "and their numbers treble ours." A second position was taken, "back of the town on an eminence." This must have been somewhere on the high land which borders Monument Street. "Scarcely had we formed,"

says Mr. Emerson's diary, "before we saw the British troops, glittering in arms, advancing towards us with greatest celerity." Many, the minister among them, were for standing their ground. As they hesitated, Colonel Barrett, who had been engaged in securing the stores, rode up, and ordered them to fall back over the bridge to Punkasset, a hill which overlooks the village, and wait for reinforcements. This order was obeyed, as were all rightful orders given that day. By half-past nine two small companies from Bedford, two from Lincoln, and individuals from Westford, Chelmsford, and other neighboring towns, had joined them. They now numbered possibly three hundred and fifty men. Meanwhile a few British occupied South Bridge; a hundred held North Bridge; a hundred more went by the river road to Colonel Barrett's, to search for munitions of war supposed to be hidden there. The main body remained in the village, searching to very little purpose for the stores.



The Provincials at Punkasset.

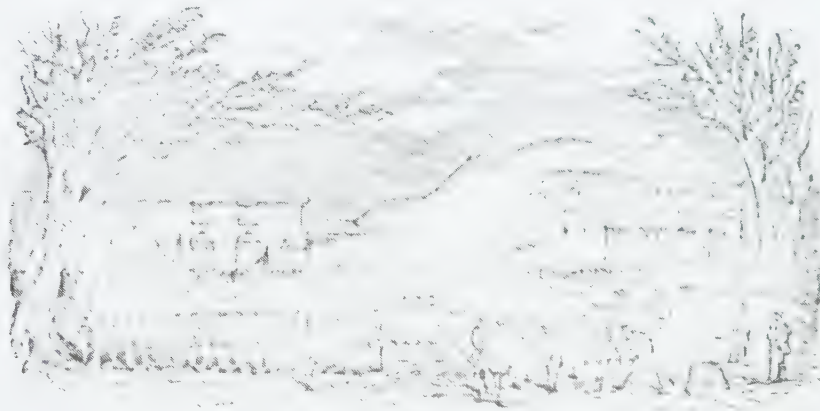
At this time smoke from a fire made from the flag-staff and some cannon-wheels attracted the attention of the Americans. There were painful doubts. Were the enemy setting fire to their homes? At last the question of Adjutant Hosmer, "Will you let them burn the town down?" decided them. They descended to Buttrick's Hill, just above the bridge. Here Captain Davis joined them. A hurried debate ensued. What they ought to do seemed uncertain. There was no sure

knowledge that the British had committed hostile acts. To go forward might precipitate a civil war. A difficult question, indeed, for militia colonels and captains and plain farmers to settle! Most of them favored an advance. Captain Davis said he had not a man who was afraid to go. Captain Smith was ready to attack with his single company. Finally Colonel Barrett gave them orders to march to the bridge, but not to fire unless fired upon. The relative position of the different companies has

never been fully settled, and it is not important that it should be. Major John Buttrick was at the head, and Colonel Robinson of Westford, who served that day as a volunteer, walked by his side. Whether Captain Davis's company led or marched side by side with that of Captain David Brown must always remain in doubt. The rest followed in close order. "Near the bridge," writes the English lieutenant, "the rebels halted, filling the road from top to bottom." As the Americans advanced, three or four shots were fired by the British into the river. The militia continued to advance until they were within a few rods of the bridge, withholding their fire according to orders. Then came a shot or two, wounding Luther Blanchard of Acton and Jonas Brown of Concord. Then a volley, and Captain Davis and Abner Hosmer of Acton fell. The reply was deadly; for Major Buttrick, leaping with the excitement into the air, cried out, "Fire, fellow soldiers! for God's sake, fire!" Out of the one hundred British, three were killed and nine wounded. Of the killed, one died immediately; one expired before his comrades reached the village, and was

buried in the old graveyard;¹ and one, mortally wounded, was cloven through the skull by a lad at whom he had made a thrust with his bayonet. From the window of the house now occupied by Hon. John S. Keyes a little girl of four years was looking out. She never forgot how pleased she was to see the British soldiers march by in perfect order, with their bright weapons and scarlet coats, or how terrified she was to see them come back in disorder, muddy, and a great many of them with limbs tied up and bloody. The British fell back. The Americans pursued until a reinforcement appeared. Then they climbed the hill back of Mr. Keyes's house, from which they probably descended in the morning.

There was a lull. But the field was won. The British were irresolute. They marched and counter-marched, but at twelve began to retreat. "Before the whole had quitted the town" they "were fired on from houses and behind trees, and before they had gone a half mile" they "were fired on from all sides."² Meanwhile a detachment hurried from the hill across the great fields, and at Merriam's Corner joined the men of Billerica and



The Regulars at Elisha Jones's House.

Bedford in a fresh attack. Half a mile on, the Sudbury forces came up, and there was a new conflict. On the edge of Lincoln there was one of the severest encounters of the day. So Concord Fight was merged into that persistent attack and pursuit from all quarters, through Lincoln, through Lexington, through Arlington, through Charlestown, almost to the water's edge, and to the protection of the ships of war. In Lincoln Captain Wilson of Bedford, through a too adventurous spirit, died. And during the pursuit three of the four Concord captains were wounded.

The expedition had failed. It was sent out to destroy the provincial stores. But so careful had been the preparation of Colonel Barrett, and so unremitting his efforts that morning, that but a small portion of them was discovered. The expedition more than failed. For it sent such a mighty thrill of indignation through the land that, in less than a week, nearly twenty thousand men were on the hills around Boston, which from a British port was changed to a British prison.

¹ See Chaplain Thaxter's account, in *Concord Yeoman* of 1823.

² Lieutenant John Barker's Diary.

The distinguishing quality of the fight at the Old North Bridge is, that in no sense was it a tumultuous encounter. There the movements of the militia were made by command of those legitimately in authority. There by military order British fire was returned by American volleys; and there, especially, the invader was turned back defeated. It was not a riot. It was not a thoughtless rising of exasperated people. It was an act of war, deliberately prepared for, and to the letter carried out according to the enactments of the Provincial Congress. Within the bounds of the original thirteen states there is no spot more in-

teresting than the two secluded green slopes, with the quiet river flowing between, where the soldiers of the king and the soldiers of the people met in military array and exchanged fatal volleys. Emphatically, too, the encounter at North Bridge was a Concord Fight. Not one of the organized companies which shared with the old town her danger and her glory, but came from villages which, within fifty years, had in whole or part been included within her ancient limits. So it was Concord,—not the Concord of the narrow boundaries of to-day, but the Concord which the Puritans planted, and which once found its place of religious and



The Combat at North Bridge, Concord.

of political gatherings in the very meeting-house which saw the invader advance and retreat,—that original Concord, which met the invader with efficient resistance and turned him back with steady courage.

In the war which the 19th of April opened, Concord furnished its share of men and resources. On the day after the fight two companies were raised, and joined a regiment of which John Buttrick was major. They were at Bunker Hill, and there two of their number were killed and several wounded, while before the expiration of their time of service two more died of disease. When they returned home another company took their place; and in March, 1778, nearly the whole of the town

militia turned out to fortify and hold Dorchester Heights. Charles Miles, one of the captains at the North Bridge, commanded a company which, in the succeeding June, went to reinforce the miserable remnant of an army which General Sullivan had brought out of Canada. One loss should of itself make this enlistment to be remembered. William Emerson, the patriotic minister of the town, went to Ticonderoga as chaplain, contracted the fever then raging in the army, and died at Rutland on his way home, October 20, at the age of thirty-three. An examination of the list which Shattuck has compiled shows that the town kept in the field during the whole period of the Revolution not less than an average of seventy-five men,—a

great draft upon a town not numbering over fifteen hundred! Nor were the pecuniary burdens less heavy. The records show that eighty-two of the poor of Boston were supported by the town in the years 1775 and 1776; that wood, hay, stockings, and beef were furnished in large quantities for the army; and that the taxes rose to eight times their former amount.

One interesting episode of Concord Revolutionary history remains to be told. The Provincial Congress, November 7, 1775, resolved, "That the President and Fellows of Harvard College be, and hereby are, directed to remove the Library and apparatus belonging to the said College, or such part as they shall judge immediately necessary to the present instruction of the students, from the place where they are now deposited, by order of the late Congress, to Concord." The students had preceded by more than a month the library and apparatus. The president lived at Dr. Minot's, where the Middlesex Hotel now stands. The professors were scattered in various parts of the town. Many students boarded in "the mansion" built by Simon Willard near the foot of Lee's Hill. The library occupied a house at Merriam's Corner. The college remained until the 21st of June of the following year. College Road, the name of a secluded by-path, remains as a permanent memorial of this brief visit of our oldest institution of learning. The letter of thanks to the town from President Langdon is preserved, and the delicate manner in which he hints at any possible improprieties of the students proves him to have been a master of the art of putting things. The number of men distinguished in all walks of life, who graduated in the class of 1776, indicates that the somewhat migratory system of instruction which they enjoyed was not on the whole unfavorable to mental culture. That Dr. Ripley, who for more than sixty years was minister in the town, and Dr. Hurd, who for more than fifty years was its physician, and Jonathan Fay, who for more than thirty years was its lawyer, were all members of the college during its stay in Concord is certainly remarkable.

SHAYS' REBELLION. 1783-1787.

THE peace of 1783 brought universal joy. As the tidings spread, faces brightened, neighbors grasped each other's hands, the bells rang, the pulpits uttered the general thanksgiving, an intolerable load seemed to have dropped off. Less than

four years after, two thousand men, desperate, armed, and under experienced military leaders, stood on Pelham hills in organized rebellion.

The causes of Shays' Rebellion are not hard to find. Job Shattuck told his neighbors "that it was time to abolish debts and begin anew." General Knox felt sure that two sevenths of the people of the state were ready to say the same thing. That is, there had come with political liberty hopes of impossible deliverance from personal burdens. Then great jealousy had sprung up between the city and the country. The rural towns were poor, their young men dead, their farms neglected, their buildings gone to decay. Concord had more people in 1791 than ten years before, but it had not so many houses by five, or barns by thirty-two, or horned cattle by one hundred and seventy-seven, and it cultivated four hundred and nineteen fewer acres. But the seaboard towns had prospered. A whole class had grown rich by the war. As early as 1779 Boston merchants told a convention met at Concord "with what pain they saw jealousy growing up between the maritime and rural towns." The persistent effort to remove the capital from Boston, so nearly successful that in 1787 a committee of the house of representatives reported that Concord was a suitable place, was one symptom of this jealousy. For a brief period the town actually did become the seat of government. Owing to the prevalence of small-pox in Boston, by proclamation of Governor Hancock the legislature met in November, 1792, at Concord, heard the governor's address in the meeting-house, appointed Dr. Ripley chaplain, transacted the usual business, and adjourned. Hopeless insolvency was the great breeder of discontent. When no kind of property could be sold at a fair price, even honest men failed to pay their debts. But imprisonment followed insolvency; and imprisonment to which tenfold bitterness was sometimes added, when, as actually happened at Concord, an old soldier was confined by a tory creditor who had lived at ease in England during the war. Besides, the monetary system had gone to wreck. Paper-money was nearly worthless; and as for silver and gold, like the apostle, the community had none. The straits to which men were reduced were ludicrous. The ancient account-book of the village doctor has been preserved. For his moderate charge of two and sixpence a visit, medicines included, he took every thing known to mortals, money excepted. Even the state had to fix a rate at which it would receive

codfish, Indian corn, rye, barley, etc. So there were causes enough why short-sighted and passionate men, who were penniless from little fault of their own, should be hurried to violence.

The principal scene of the Middlesex branch of Shays' Rebellion was Concord. The first mutterings of discontent were heard in 1784, when Groton and Shirley appointed delegates to meet with other towns at Concord. What became of this proto-convention not even tradition tells. The attempt was renewed on June 29, 1786, when Groton, Shirley, Pepperell, Townsend, and Ashby met at Groton to call a convention. These towns occupy that little corner which on the northwest projects from the main body of Middlesex County. Here the Middlesex rising began. All the leaders were from it; all the followers too. What produced this result may be uncertain. Perhaps the influence of two or three popular men; perhaps a peculiar burden of debt. But when in 1787 the state pardoned political offenders, one hundred and seven from Groton, sixty-two from Shirley, sixty-seven from Townsend, thirty-nine from Pepperell, three from Ashby, ten from Westford, which touches Groton, one from Chelmsford, and one from Framingham took the oath of allegiance, and from the rest of the county not one. On August 23, 1786, twenty-one of the forty towns met by delegates at Concord. The northwest towns created this convention. The central towns sent delegates limited by prudent instructions. The southern towns refused to have anything to do with it. After brief deliberations the convention adjourned, to meet October 3; it gathered then with shrunken ranks, passed resolutions, fewer and more moderate than similar bodies had adopted, and then dissolved.

The courts were to meet in Concord early in September. Naturally enough its people wished to avoid scenes of violence. They chose a committee, of which Major Joseph Hosmer was chairman, to call together influential persons from all parts of the county who might be able to restrain the people. How sharp the emergency was the town record vividly reveals. "The town proceeded to choose a committee to write several copyys, as many as they possibly could, and to send them to as many towns as they could by any means."

But affairs were beyond the control of conventions. On the afternoon of September 11 a body of a hundred men and boys, swelled in the course of a few hours to three hundred, marched

into the little public square of Concord. The real leaders of this party were Job Shattuck of Groton and Nathan Smith of Shirley. Job Shattuck was a man past mid-life, the son of a respectable farmer, and himself a large land-owner. At nineteen he went in the expedition against the Acadians. He was a minute-man at Concord Fight, a captain at Bunker Hill and in the campaign against Burgoyne. He was strong and athletic, skilful in the use of the broadsword, and proud of the accomplishment, and utterly insensible to fear. His position and means, his remarkable bodily vigor, his good war record, and his undoubted honesty gave him great influence. But he was uneducated and obstinate, with the broadest ideas of personal rights. Already he had been the leader in "the Groton Riots," when, to prevent the collection of the silver tax, he and sixteen companions, armed with clubs, for two mortal hours had hustled some unfortunate tax-gatherers. Nathan Smith was a man of a lower grade. He, too, had been a Revolutionary soldier, and a bold one. A great pugilist, he counted skill in that art the highest proof of manliness. In one of many fights he had lost an eye. He was quarrelsome, coarse in speech, and given to drink. Tradition, which seldom fails to preserve the salient points of character, remembers him as a glutton, who used every Thanksgiving to eat a whole goose and wash it down with its own oil. A dark stain was on his reputation. In 1783 he was indicted for having in possession counterfeit bills. He disappeared and was outlawed. The neighborhood story is that he had a secret closet in his own house. After the rebellion he lived in his native town. His dissipated habits clung to him. At ninety-six he died in miserable solitude, possessed of but the remnant of a pension paid him by a forgiving country.

At night on the 11th a rain set in, continuing the next day. The insurgents found shelter in the court-house, in neighboring barns, and in shanties made of boards stripped from fences. On Tuesday morning they assumed military array, occupying the square, setting guards who treated with insolence those who attempted to pass, making wanton thrusts with bayonets at men and horses. Barrels of rum were on tap, and hay was procured for those who should come from a distance. At nine o'clock Smith bestirred himself and thus addressed the bystanders: "I do not know who you are, or whence you have come. I am going to give the court four hours to agree to our terms. I and my

party will force them to it." By twelve the mob had increased to three hundred; at half-past two a man acting as sergeant, with a small party with drum and fife, went up Main Street, and returned with ninety Worcester and Hampshire horsemen under Captain Wheeler of Hubbardston. What with rum and what with natural temper, Smith now became outrageous; he beat round with a drum for recruits; with horrid imprecations he declared that "any person who did not follow his drum should be driven out of town, let them be court, town committee, or what else." Later, with still greater violence, he cried out, "As Christ laid down his life to save the world, so will I lay down my life to suppress the government from all trian-nical oppression. And you who are willing to join in this here affair may fall into our ranks. Those who do not after two hours shall stand the monuments of God's saving mercy." At last his own party had to stop his brutal raving.

The Peace Convention had meanwhile come together at Brown's tavern and adjourned to the meeting-house. The justices were notified that the convention had met not to encourage violence but to dissuade from it. A committee was sent to confer with the insurgents. Dr. Josiah Bartlett of Charlestown, an old army surgeon, father of Dr. Josiah Bartlett, so long a physician of Concord, was at its head. Its members were Major Joseph Hosmer, then the most influential man in Concord, General Eleazer Brooks, equally prominent in Lincoln, Colonel William Prescott, name indissolubly connected with Bunker Hill, Colonel John Buttrick, the man of the Old North Bridge. If these men could not influence the mob nobody could. They could not. At one o'clock Job Shattuck issued an order forbidding the justices to enter the court-house; a little later another, permitting the Court of Sessions to open and adjourn until November. Then it was that the committee, with an evident sense of humiliation, waited upon the justices and recommended the adjournment of the court. The judges hesitated. They desired the committee to return for answer, "that as the justices were held in duress they neither could nor would act." "The Doctor declined, assuring us that he was afraid, and told us, as did the rest of the committee, that such was the temper of those people, that, unless something was done, they feared that the house in which we were would be torn down." Still the justices lingered. To quicken their motions the Worcester horsemen and a hun-

dred footmen marched up Main Street to Jones' tavern, where the justices were; halted, and faced the house in a stern and menacing manner. The justices assured them that they should not attempt to open court. "Having given this humiliating answer," they called for their horses and rode away in time to escape a second visit. It is admitted that the mob at Concord was the poorest which had appeared in any shire-town. The Worcester horsemen were well equipped, but the footmen were a motley crew. Forty or fifty were boys. The rest, poorly clad, drenched with rain, bespattered with mud, were as much objects of pity as fear. Two thirds had muskets, half of which were furnished with bayonets. The remainder had swords and clubs. By five o'clock most of the guns were useless from the rain, and three quarters of their owners from rum. At sundown not fifty of them could have been brought into ranks. Four companies of trustworthy militia could at any time during the day have swept them away like chaff.

Government determined that the Supreme Court should hold its fall term at Cambridge. Early on the morning of October 31 more than two thousand soldiers poured in. Not an insurgent appeared. Court was opened. Governor Bowdoin reviewed the troops. "It was like a brilliant parade," says an eye-witness, and, waxing humorous, adds, "our military were like Cæsar, *veni, vidi, vici*, — came, saw nothing, conquered everything." Concord lost one man, the single casualty of the Middlesex rising. William Heywood discharged his musket before cleaning it, when it burst and a fragment lodged in his skull.

The insurgents had promised not to interfere with the November session of the Court of Common Pleas, but Parker and Page, with a small party, came as far as Concord. Shattuck was at Weston with fifty more. Four hundred Worcester men collected at Shrewsbury. Warrants were issued for the arrest of Job Shattuck, Oliver Parker, and Benjamin Page of Groton, and Nathan Smith and John Kelsey of Shirley. Resistance was expected. Colonel Hichborn of Boston, with seventy horsemen, volunteered to aid, and at Concord was joined by Colonel Wood of Pepperell with forty more. Smith and Kelsey fled. Parker and Page were arrested near Concord. Shattuck for a few hours evaded pursuit, but the next morning a dozen horsemen followed his track through the new-fallen snow and overtook him near the Nashua. With that reckless courage characteristic of him,

he resisted, — the story of the day was, attacked his pursuers with a broadsword. A frightful wound, running obliquely across the knee, brought him to the ground. Even then he would not yield. Only after his right hand was disabled by a cut was he captured. He was a pitiable sight, stained by the mire of the swamp through which he had waded, and covered with blood. He was put in a sleigh and brought to Concord jail, and from thence transferred to Boston. Shattuck was placed in an upper room in Boston jail, had a fire, good bedding, and the best care. But his health suffered, and he was released on bail. He was tried May next for treason. There could be but one verdict. He was sentenced to be executed, twice reprieved, and finally pardoned. Ever after he was a good citizen, and respected by his townsmen, no doubt with reason; for he was brave, sincere, and, according to his light, patriotic. He paid the penalty of his errors; for the fingers of his right hand were useless, and he always carried a crutch.

Concord and the vicinity furnished sixty-four men, under Captain Roger Brown, to that army with which General Lincoln crushed the rebellion. They made that wonderful winter's night march of thirty miles from Hadley to Petersham, when a furious north-wind, whirling the snow over the bare hills, obliterated every vestige of a path. A Concord sergeant used in his old age to boast that he ate Shays' breakfast, which that arch-rebel in his hurried departure left outspread. The headlong flight of the insurgents ended the greatest peril which constitutional government in America encountered previously to the Southern secession of 1861.

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF REST. 1787-1812.

Time, prudence, wise legislation, brought, as they only could bring, relief to the distresses consequent upon the War of the Revolution. Soon the tide of a new prosperity began to rise. Then came in Concord a period of almost universal quickening.

The first forty years had been a simple struggle for existence. One half of the next one hundred and twelve were given to wars, whose cost in life, in destruction of property, in interference with profitable industry, and in military expenses can never be computed. But peace and larger freedom brought confidence and energy, and in every direction there were signs in the town of fresh life

and enterprise. The avenues of communication were greatly enlarged and increased. For one hundred and forty years the only ways of reaching the outer districts, and much of the country north, south, and west, were over the old North and South bridges, in many cases adding distance and producing serious inconvenience. But between 1792 and 1802 three new bridges — Niuc Acre, Red, and the bridge which preceded the three-arched stone bridge — were built, and new roads over them constructed. The first stage-coach, and apparently the first public conveyance of any kind, appeared in Concord in 1791. There was no post-office until four years later than that. Family tradition says that Cyrus Stow, about the year 1800, built the first market-wagon ever seen in the town, the whole of the moderate amount of produce carried to the city previously having been borne thither in panniers. The spirit of progress reached the buildings. In 1788 the old jail, which stood on land now belonging to Mr. R. N. Rice, and which was nothing but a two story log-house, with great spikes driven through the logs to resist any tools which might be conveyed to the prisoners, was replaced by the strong stone building which within the memory of this generation stood back of the county-house. Three years later the old meeting-house, till then absolutely destitute of porch, spire, or any kind of ornament, was so enlarged and beautified as to have the effect of a new building. Three years more, and the dingy little court-house, built of the materials of the first meeting-house, was replaced by a new one of four times its capacity erected on the opposite side of the square. Finally, in January, 1798, the town voted to build seven new school-houses, and appropriated \$2,200 to pay for them. The incapacity of building committees to keep within appropriations does not seem to be of modern origin. For the record states that four months later \$500 additional were raised to complete the school-houses, that six months after that \$600 more were found to be useful, and that at the end of two years it still took \$200 to pay the bills.

Nor was progress seen simply in external improvements. Societies and organizations, some of which continue to our day, came then into existence. In 1794 a fire society was formed and a fire-engine bought. The same year a society, which was afterwards merged in the Middlesex Agricultural Society, began its work. The Corinthian Lodge of Freemasons received its charter

in 1797. In 1804 the Concord Artillery was incorporated, and for thirty years divided military honors with the company of infantry which was nearly as old as the town. Music had its representation from 1800 to 1830 in the Harmonic Society; and May 25, 1795, a library society began, from which, through various changes, has come the free public library of our own time. So, if we except the Social Circle, a society believed to have originated in the Committee of Safety in 1782, there is no organization in the town of any kind which dates back of the period we are considering.

The appointment of a committee, March 4, 1799, to frame rules and regulations for the schools marks an epoch in the history of education in the town. Shattuck calls the period from 1690 to 1710 the dark period of education in Massachusetts. But the dark age was longer than that. It is at least doubtful whether any generation preceding the Revolution had as great advantages as the first. As late as 1767 all schools were merged in one perambulating school, which was to teach twelve weeks in the centre and six in each of the outer districts. The conclusions and recommendations of the committee were in advance of the times; and, as a result, the schools were arranged on a uniform plan and a general school committee chosen.

These things mark a social revolution scarcely less important in its influence than the political one which preceded it. Men were coming into closer relations, and having a wider range of thought and sympathy, than the hard-pressed life of the past had permitted. In short, the town was becoming even more than of old one of those provincial centres with its own activities, its own institutions, and its own circle of influence, and of whose characteristics fifty years ago we have such pleasant traditions, but which the rapid communications of our time are making so largely a thing of the past. That Concord was becoming a convenient and pleasant place to live in, and a place, too, of no inconsiderable law business, is evident from the number and ability of the lawyers who now made it their home. Before the Revolution we have record of only three Concord lawyers, — John Hoar, who came there from Scituate in 1660 and remained until his death, in 1704, and who is honorably remembered for his humane and resolute defence, in the face of popular prejudice, of the forlorn Praying Indians of Nashobah; Peter

Bulkley, the son of the first minister, a good lawyer, a prompt soldier, deputy, assistant, speaker of the house, agent of the colony in England, and so in all respects a man of mark; Daniel Bliss, son of the minister of the same name, a good lawyer and a great tory, who left the country in 1775, and became chief justice of New Brunswick. The town after his departure remained in "a deplorable condition of legal destitution" until, towards the close of the Revolution, Jonathan Fay opened an office. Mr. Fay was a man of ability, whose legal attainments were sufficiently high to bring him many students. He was district-attorney, the leader of the bar in the county, and one to whom younger men "were taught to look up with professional awe and respect." John L. Tuttle came to Concord in 1799. His biographer pronounces him to have been "a man of unequalled wit." He was a strong supporter of Jefferson, more of a politician than lawyer, and held many political offices. In 1812 he left the courts for the camp, was appointed lieutenant-colonel, and, as it was believed, was poisoned at Sackett's Harbor, New York, by persons who wished to get possession of United States funds which he had in charge. William Jones, who practised about the beginning of the century, was a pupil of Mr. Fay, and a native of the town. After a somewhat wild youth he settled down to his profession, then moved to Maine, where he became clerk of the courts and judge of probate. Thomas Heald was a man of infinite humor, of whom innumerable good stories are told. He came from New Ipswich, studied with Mr. Fay, practised law in Concord from 1800 to 1813, and died in Alabama, holding the position of judge. Samuel Hoar came from Lincoln, and was a lineal descendant of the first lawyer of the town, John Hoar. He rose to eminence in his profession, and, both on account of his legal acquirements and power, and his integrity and weight of character, secured universal confidence. His name became of national reputation through his experience at Charleston, South Carolina, when, having been sent, November 25, 1844, by the governor of Massachusetts to secure in South Carolina for our colored seamen their legal rights, he and his daughter were forcibly removed from the city by a respectable mob. John Keyes was a native of Westford. From the beginning he was successful in his profession. But he had that temper of mind to which the excitements and contests of politics are attractive, and that energy and determination which

fitted him for success. He was representative, senator, postmaster, county treasurer for twenty-four years, and to the close of life exercised great influence in Middlesex County. Nathan Brooks, like Mr. Hoar, was from Lincoln, and a descendant of that Thomas Brooke who sailed in the same ship with Peter Bulkley to America. Mr. Brooks was a man of excellent legal ability, whose gentle and winning manners and quaint humor made his society always delightful. He was the Whig candidate for Congress in that famous contest of 1839-40, when on the fourth trial Mr. William Parmenter was elected by thirty-five majority; a contest which did much to produce that change of law by which a plurality instead of a majority elects. To these we might well add the name of Dr. Abiel Haywood, for thirty-eight years town-clerk, and whose records, so orderly, legible, and complete, are a comfort to eyes worn and brains tired by the crabbed chirography and meagre reports which in too many towns are called records. For, though Dr. Haywood was educated to the practice of medicine, he was so early appointed justice, and continued one so long, that his affinities became quite as much legal as medical. This array of legal talent, respectable for any time or place, and strangely contrasting with the meagreness of the ante-Revolutionary period, shows what new elements of life were developing. And it cannot be doubted that the presence of these persons in the town largely added to its social resources and increased its influence in the neighborhood.

THE WAR OF 1812.

From the close of Shays' Rebellion to the year 1812 only one little cloud of war rolled up. Congress, moved by the aggressions of the French Directory, authorized in 1798 President Adams to form a provisional army. And a body of troops, known as the Oxford Army, encamped in 1798-99 in Oxford, in Worcester County. To this place William Jones of Concord led forty-one men, and was himself made major in the 15th United States Regiment.

In the War of 1812 the town took very little part. A few men were enlisted, one or two officers commissioned, and in the fall of 1814 both of the military companies went to Boston and remained there two months, guarding the port and building fortifications. One result, however, of considerable importance can be traced directly to the influence of

that war and of the condition of things which preceded it, and that was a large increase of manufactures. Up to that period a few hats and caps and a few clocks made up the whole product. The interruption of foreign business greatly helped the old industries. For many years a large number of clocks, timepieces, and even watches were made by Nathaniel and Daniel Munroe, Samuel Curtis, Joseph Dyer, and Thomas Whiting; while the hat business grew to considerable dimensions. The war created new industries. Early in 1812 William Munroe, a cabinet-maker by trade, observing what high prices were paid for lead-pencils, said, "If I can make lead-pencils, I shall have but little fear of competition and can accomplish something." He set to work. A hammer to crush the plumbago, a tumbler in which to float the powder, an iron spoon in which to mix it, constituted his whole machinery. On July 2 of that year he carried thirty pencils to Boston to Benjamin Andrews, who encouraged him to persevere. Twelve days after he appeared with five gross. This was the beginning of lead-pencil making in the United States. With many experiments and some discouragements, and one long period of cessation from the business, from inability to procure lead, Mr. Munroe pressed forward until he achieved a high reputation and established a large business. Others commenced manufacturing, and Concord became a centre for that branch of industry, and continued such until about 1853, when the German pencil-makers established themselves in New York. In 1810 William Whiting began carriage-making, as he records, with a capital of twenty-one dollars, which grew into a large business, occupying extensive buildings on Centre Street, and employing many hands. As early as 1660 there was in the southwest corner of the town an establishment for smelting bog-ore. On the same site, at the close of the Revolution, there was a little fulling-mill for the finishing of home-made cloths, owned and carried on by Lot Conant. This mill a little later fell into the hands of Colonel Roger Brown, who alternated farm and mill work. The condition of the times encouraged his son John, with an uncle, Hartwell; to build a factory in 1808, in which they made cotton goods and satinets, supplying the state for several years with the dingy red and blue cloth in which it arrayed its convicts. Mr. Ephraim H. Bellows succeeded Messrs. Brown and Hartwell; and in 1832 manufactured 188,000 yards of cotton cloth. In 1833 the mill fell into the hands of

James Derby of Exeter, who turned it into a machine-shop, but in the latter part of 1834 sold it to Calvin C. Damon. Here in 1835 was originated what is known in trade as the Domett, a kind of cotton and wool flannel. The old wooden mill was burned on the 19th of June, 1862, and has been replaced by a fine brick one of four times its capacity, having 9 sets of cards, 1,432 cotton-spindles, 118 looms, and capable of producing 4,500 yards of cloth a day. The mill is now owned by Damon and Almy. When Mr. Brown began business, where now there is a thriving village there were only four or five houses. Early in the town history, at what is now the pail factory, there was a saw and grist mill, succeeded by a little fulling-mill. The water privilege was bought in 1819 by David Loring, who made lead pipe and then sheet lead. In 1848 his son in the same place made wooden-ware, but sold out to M. F. Hobbs, who in turn sold to Ralph Warner, who has built up a large business. In 1812 Elijah Wood began the manufacture of boots and shoes. There has been in the town a considerable manufacture of soap, bricks, and other articles. But as Concord, with the exception of the moderate water-power in the southwest part, has no advantages for manufacture, most of these industries perished before the rising fortunes of Lowell.

THE ANNIVERSARIES.

FROM 1820 to 1850 may justly be called a period of ancestral and patriotic remembrances. Lafayette visited Concord September 2, 1824. He was received at the boundary of Lexington by a cavalcade of forty horsemen under John Keyes, escorted to the public square by the military, and saluted by a discharge of cannon from the hill, where, in 1775, the liberty-pole stood. Samuel Hoar made an address; Lafayette replied; and a collation was served in a bower erected on the church green, and over which was placed the inscription, "In 1775 the people of Concord met the enemies of liberty. In 1824 they welcome the bold assertor of the rights of man, Lafayette." On the 7th of March, 1825, the town voted unanimously "to celebrate" the semi-centennial of the Concord Fight. In April a committee was appointed to co-operate with the Bunker Hill Monument Association in the erection of monuments at Charlestown and Concord. On the 19th of April

the corner-stone of such a monument was laid in the public square, Edward Everett delivering an oration second to none of his addresses in eloquence and power. On this occasion Mr. Emerson gave that toast so often remembered,—"The little bush that marks the spot where Captain Davis fell: 't is the burning bush where God spake for his people." The monument was never built on this corner-stone. Of the funds collected by the Bunker Hill Monument Association Concord received very little. The foundation stood until it became an object of ridicule. One day a monument of hogsheds and barrels was raised upon it by some idle people, and the next night, being the 4th of July, it was burned, to the ruin of the stones beneath.

Perhaps the most interesting of the anniversaries was that kept at the close of the two-hundredth year of the town's life,—September 12, 1835. On the morning of that day, at eleven o'clock, the children of the town—five hundred in number—were arranged on both sides of the Common, and between them a civic and military procession marched to the meeting-house, which it crowded to overflowing. Dr. Ripley, then in the eighty-fifth year of his age and the fifty-seventh of his ministry, read the Scriptures and offered prayer. The 107th Psalm, from the old New England version, was "deaconed" line by line by Rufus Hosmer of Stow, and sung to the tune of St. Martin's by the whole congregation. One can imagine with what solemn gratitude the fathers might have sung the homely strains of the third and fifth verses:—

"In desert strayed, in untrod way,
No dwelling town they find,
They hungry were, and thirsty they,
Their souls within them pined.

"In such a way as was most right
He led them forth also,
That to a city which they might
Inhabit, they should go."

Ralph Waldo Emerson delivered his incomparable historical address, reprinted in 1875. Then followed the dinner and speeches in a tent in a field on Sudbury Street, at its intersection with Main Street; and the day ended with a collation, prepared by the ladies, in the court-room. This was largely a home celebration, and full of real interest. The report of John Keyes, in which he states that the whole cost of the celebration was \$168.79, that the town gave \$75.00, that individuals have subscribed \$45.50, and that the com-

mittee have paid the balance, is a curiosity and a pattern of economy.

The long-delayed monument was now taken in hand. Dr. Ripley gave a strip of land from the road to the place of the old North Bridge. The town appointed a committee to build on this strip near the river. The funds received from the Monument Association—now accumulated to several hundreds of dollars, with some later subscriptions—were used for that purpose. July 4, 1837, the monument was dedicated, Samuel Hoar delivering the address. The hymn, now household words,

"By the rude bridge which arched the flood,"

was written for this occasion. The next 19th of April the towns-people turned out and planted the trees which shade the quiet path to the battle-ground.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of the contest of the 19th of April, 1775, was observed by a union celebration of all the towns engaged in the original battle. Concord furnished the president of the day, E. B. Hoar; Lexington the chief marshal, Isaac H. Wright; Acton the chaplain, Rev. J. F. Woodbury; and Beverly the orator, Robert Rantoul, Jr.; while Acton, Lexington, Carlisle, Sudbury, and Bedford were each represented by three vice-presidents, and the more distant towns by delegates. On the ground opposite the station of the Fitchburg Railroad there was a dinner-tent, where Governor Briggs, Edward Everett, Rufus Choate, and others spoke. The building of the Fitchburg Railroad had greatly increased the means of communication, and there was a large attendance.

These notices of anniversaries may well include the pleasant visit of Kossuth on May 11, 1852. The Hungarian patriot on that day rode over the ground traversed by the contending parties April 19, 1775. Stopping at West Cambridge and Lexington, he reached Concord about noon. Having visited the battle-ground, he dined with John S. Keyes, passed through a procession of the children of the town, and at half past four o'clock entered the town-hall. A young lady, on behalf of the high school, presented him with a bouquet; Mr. Emerson, on behalf of the town, welcomed him, to which he replied in an eloquent and wonderfully fitting address. At a quarter-past six, amidst hearty cheers, he entered a decorated car furnished by the Fitchburg Railroad, and a pleasant day closed.

Several organizations of a permanent character came into existence during the period we are con-

sidering: the Middlesex Mutual Fire Insurance Company, chartered March 29, 1826, and which, under wise management, has grown to great strength; the Concord Bank, now the Concord National Bank, incorporated March 3, 1832, of which it was said that for more than thirty years no share was sold at public sale; the Middlesex Institution for Savings, chartered March 4, 1830. To which may be added the Concord Lyceum, which for fifty years has had a permanent life and work.

THE ADVENT OF THE RAILROAD.

THE Fitchburg Railroad came to Concord June 17, 1844. It wrought great changes. Up to that time many of the primitive ways yet lingered. There was no construction of sidewalks by the town. Such as existed were chiefly narrow paths by the roadside, winding in and out, as they had been made by human feet. The great wood-fire and wide settle were still seen in many a farmer's house, where the time-honored tallow dip, reinforced by the glow of the fire, was the only evening light. The carpets were few, the pictures rare, the furniture plain. Scarcely a generation before, the spinning-wheel and loom had passed from the fireside to the attic. Concord had been itself a little metropolis. There were seven stores, doing business in all the neighboring towns, and making large purchases of cheese and butter and pork far up into the country. There were three hotels in the centre, and good ones. A writer in the *Boston Post* in 1843 says that the Middlesex Hotel was the most liberally conducted country hotel he ever saw. There were three or four more in the outer districts or on the borders of neighboring towns. The great baggage-wagons, the freight-cars of their day, drawn by six and even eight horses, came lumbering in to be put up for the night. The trade of store and tavern was jealously watched. Some person, not properly mindful of Concord interests, in 1824 put up a guide-board at the division of roads at the Groton ridges, stating that the road to Lexington through Concord was two miles longer than that through Carlisle. Straightway the store and tavern keepers published a statement, saying that the Concord road had been measured by sworn surveyors, and that it was only two hundred and thirty-six rods longer, and that, to compensate for this, there were five more hotels on the Concord route. The very articles raised upon the farms

were what, to-day, Vermont and New York furnish,—butter, cheese, eggs, potatoes, to which may be added wood, carried to the city in mountainous loads of two or three cords. The railroad changed all this. Sidewalks, better roads, easier ways of living, more richly furnished homes, larger barns, followed. But everything tended to the centre, and the town lost much of its metropolitan character. Most of the hotels closed. The stores did only a local business. The newspapers died, and finally the courts left. Still the town grew in size and wealth.

In 1849 the court-house was burned. For a time it was doubtful whether it would be rebuilt. But in a year or two a new one was erected. The fire made the building of a town-hall a necessity. The town had given the land and £100 towards the court-house of 1794, on condition that town-meetings should be held in the court-room. Efforts had already been made to cancel this privilege; and it was not renewed in the new building, though \$8,000 were offered by the town for such a renewal. Immediate steps were taken to build a town-house, and the result was the sightly building which now faces the public square.

February 16, 1851, has a memory of peculiar interest. On the afternoon of the 15th, Shadrack, a colored waiter in Boston, was arrested under the Fugitive Slave Act. While his counsel was conferring with the United States commissioner, he was rescued by a body of colored people, and unnoticed walked to Cambridge with Lewis Hayden, the leader of the rescuers. From thence he was brought to Concord, at three o'clock in the morning of the 16th reaching the house of Francis E. Bigelow, by whom he was sheltered, fed, and before dawn driven a stage on his way to Canada. In May, 1854, the Missouri Compromise Act was repealed, and the scenes of violence began by which it was proposed to force slavery upon unwilling Kansas. Indignation rose to fever heat in Concord, and \$2,500 were subscribed to help the New England Emigrant Aid Society in its measures to baffle those purposes. On the evening of April 3, 1860, occurred one of the most remarkable scenes which ever broke the quiet of village life. In the preceding October John Brown had failed in his attempt to rouse the colored people, and been captured at Harper's Ferry; and, on the 2d of December, had paid the penalty of failure by a death whose simple heroism excited the admiration even of his enemies. Mr. Mason of Vir-

ginia, at the ensuing session of Congress, obtained the appointment of a committee of investigation. Mr. Frank B. Sanborn of Concord, a friend of John Brown, refused to appear before this committee to testify. An attempt was made to abduct him, and carry him by force to Washington. A son of the United States marshal, with three others, came in a hack to Concord on the aforementioned evening. The young man called Mr. Sanborn to the door on pretence of poverty. As Mr. Sanborn listened to his plea, the confederates rushed forward, handcuffed him, and dragged him to the door of the hack. Mr. Sanborn's sister and a friend, hearing the noise, hurried out and soon created an alarm. In a few minutes an excited crowd surrounded the officers and prevented their escape. In a few minutes more a writ of *habeas corpus* was obtained from Judge Hoar and served by Deputy-Sheriff Moore. The abductors, having given up their prisoner, were permitted to depart. Legal action followed. But the deep excitement of the Civil War swallowed up all lesser ones, and nothing came of it. These scenes revealed the strong antislavery feeling which early grew up in Concord, opposed in the beginning by many of its high-minded and conservative people, but growing stronger with every aggression of the slave-power, until in 1861 the great majority of the town was ranged on the side of freedom. Among the first, Concord had an antislavery society, and for many years it had also a well-organized station on what has come to be called the Underground Railroad.

The temperance movement in Concord began earlier than the anti-slavery agitation. The first action was taken to restrain the use of liquor at funerals. The usages of three quarters of a century ago look to-day simply incredible. As soon as the minister appeared, toddy was passed round in pails, and then left in a convenient place for those who wished further to partake of it. Thus a solemn occasion had often most disgraceful aspects. A society was formed in 1814, not to abolish but to modify drinking habits; and it was not until fifteen or twenty years later that the total abstinence feature was introduced. In 1867 the Walden Lodge of Good Templars was formed. Of all efforts to limit or suppress intemperance, Dr. Josiah Bartlett was an earnest supporter for more than fifty years, often, at the cost of his popularity, opposing the drinking habits of society. Dr. Bartlett was a striking specimen of a village doctor of

the best type. In his profession clear, prompt, and skilful; in town affairs full of public spirit; in philanthropic enterprises self-sacrificing; incapable of fear, insensible to fatigue, he kept beneath the ashes of fourscore years the fire of youth, and died in the harness, at eighty-one years. He lived to see the cause whose interest he had so much at heart greatly successful. For when he died, not one fifth as much ardent spirits were used in the town as when he began his labors.

THE GREAT CIVIL WAR AND THE LATER HISTORY. 1861-1879.

THE attack upon Fort Sumter on April 12, 1861, opened the War of the Rebellion. By the forecast of Governor Andrew, the Massachusetts militia were prepared for the emergency. And, when President Lincoln called for troops, the Concord Artillery, under Lieutenant George L. Prescott, started at once for Washington. Of this company, fifty were from Concord and the rest from the immediate neighborhood. By one of those strange coincidences which sometimes startle us, these Concord men left their homes April 19, 1861, just eighty-six years from the time their fathers stood in arms at the old North Bridge, and twice eighty-six years from the time that Lieutenant John Heald led their fathers' fathers to Boston to assist in the overthrow of Governor Andros. This company was stationed at Washington, was in the disastrous affair of Bull Run, and in the retreat four Concord men were captured. In November of the same year Captain Prescott enlisted a new company. This, with three others, made a battalion, which for a time was at Fort Warren. Six companies were afterwards added, one under Captain Charles Bowers of Concord, and the whole made the 32d regiment. This regiment had thirty-one Concord soldiers in it. It took part in the severe campaigns in Virginia and Maryland, was at Antietam, Fredericksburg, Gettysburg, and was with General Grant in that long wrestle which began at the Wilderness and ended at Appomattox Court-House. Before Petersburg, Colonel George L. Prescott, who had been in service from the beginning, — one of those manly spirits of which every town lost its own, — received a fatal wound.

In the month of August, 1862, Sylvester Lovejoy and eleven others joined the 40th regiment. At a later period they were armed with repeating rifles and did excellent service. Captain Richard

Barrett, with a company of which fifty-three were from Concord, joined the 47th regiment of nine-months men on November 7, 1862. The regiment during its term of service was in Louisiana, and gained an honorable name for steadiness and good conduct. Nine men were in the 5th regiment of hundred-days men under Captain Whitcomb of Acton. No other considerable body joined any one regiment; but singly or by twos or threes Concord people were to be found in many regiments. So that, when the war was ended, the record was that two hundred and twenty-nine men had served, a surplus of twelve over all demands. And when, on the 19th of April, 1867, the citizens came together to dedicate that simple, strong shaft which stands in the public square, they chiselled on it these impressive words: —

"The town of Concord builds this monument in honor of the brave men whose names it bears, and records with grateful pride that they found here a birthplace, home, or grave."

To that description thirty-three men, sleeping in honored graves, answered, — the price one little town paid to uphold freedom under the law. Those at home did not forget the absent. When the first company was called into service, \$5,000 were subscribed to aid the company and the families of its members. As other exigencies arose, other subscriptions were started or voluntary taxation made, until the sums thus contributed reached \$17,500. The women of the town were not less patriotic than the men. On the first day of May, 1861, they organized a soldiers' aid society, which, to the end of the war, met once, and often twice and sometimes three and even four times a week, to prepare articles for the sick and wounded. They raised and spent in materials over five thousand dollars, while donations of cloth, jellies, dried fruits, pickles, etc., of greater money value were received. Forty thousand articles were sent forward, mainly through the Sanitary Commission. Bandages were a specialty. None were permitted to go which were not both strong and soft, and which had not in each roll three of the best pins which could be procured. Nearly twenty thousand were made.

At the close of the war in many households there was hardly an article, made of cotton, as old as the war itself, so thorough had been the glean-ing. We scarcely comprehend what twenty thousand bandages mean. A homely statement may help us. Twenty thousand bandages put together would reach in continuous line fifty miles. After

Sheridan's great victory in the Shenandoah Valley, for many hours all, or nearly all, the bandages procurable were two thousand of the best, sent from Concord ten days before. The special relief agent of the commission writes: "We arrived at Winchester about eleven o'clock at night, and before daylight I presume not less than a thousand wounds were dressed with what you supplied. The next day surgeons kept coming in, saying, 'Can you give us some of the Concord? they are the best we ever laid hand on.' A few weeks after, a surgeon, having charge of a hospital ship from City Point, sent his warm thanks 'for that box of soft Concord bandages, which replaced the stiff new cloth which was all the government was able to furnish,' and especially noticing 'what a blessing those good pins were.'"

The first event of considerable importance after the war was the removal of the courts. Where the courts should meet had long been in discussion. When, in 1812, the county buildings in Cambridge needed to be replaced, there was an unsuccessful effort to make Concord the only shire-town. On the other hand, when the Concord court-house, in 1849, was burned, an equally unsuccessful effort was made to prevent its restoration. But on May 24, 1867, with the consent of all parties, the county property was conveyed, for a nominal consideration, to the town, and the courts left. This was really one result of the building of the railroad. Before that time cases of great importance were tried, and able men came and lived for weeks in the town, bringing with them fresh life and interest. The famous Phoenix Bank trial is remembered quite as much because of the remarkable men — Webster, Choate, Dexter, Bartlett — who figured in it, as from its own importance. But when the trains took men up in the morning and away at night, the social interest was gone, especially as the large cases gravitated to Cambridge and Lowell, and the town easily consented to the removal.

The second striking event was the gift by William Munroe, a native of Concord, of a library building for the use of the town. Mr. Munroe, having accumulated a fortune, chose with rare wisdom to superintend the execution of his own beneficent designs. The unique building, which stands at the junction of Main and Sudbury streets, is a monument to his judgment, taste, and liberality. With the building Mr. Munroe gave a fund of \$10,000 to keep it in repair, and at his death

left bequests for the benefit of the library to the amount of \$43,000. Library history began early in Concord; for in 1672 this record was made, "That care be taken of the *Book of Martens*, and other bookes, that belong to the Towne, that they be kept from abusive usage, and not be lent to persons more than one month at one time." In 1786 a library was formed, which apparently in 1795 was merged in the Charitable Library Company, which in 1821 became the Concord Social Library, which was conveyed to the town in 1861, and which finally, in 1873, was put in charge of the trustees of the Concord Free Public Library, in accordance with an act of the legislature accepted by the town. The library contained, on March 1, 1879, over 14,000 volumes, and has a yearly circulation of 26,000 volumes.

In 1874, in accordance with a vote of the town at its annual meeting, a work of great value was begun and completed; — the introduction of water from Sandy Pond in Lincoln. The projector of this enterprise, its warm advocate, and the chairman of the board of commissioners who carried it into execution, was Mr. John S. Keyes. Sandy Pond is a body of singularly pure water of one hundred and sixty or one hundred and seventy acres, situated about two miles from the village, with a surface a hundred feet above the base of the soldiers' monument. On the 15th of June, 1874, the town entered into a contract with the American Water and Gas-Pipe Company of Jersey City for \$39,000, to do all the work and to furnish all the material necessary for the introduction of the water. Work was immediately commenced. Some difficulties were encountered, owing to the quicksand in the bottom of the pond, and to the peculiarly intractable character of the rocky rim which confines it. But they were finally overcome, and on the second day of December the water was let into the pipes. Thus the town obtained an ample supply of pure water, with so great a head that it can, in case of fire, be thrown from the hydrants over any building in the village, and at so moderate a price that almost from the beginning the water-rates have paid the interest on the cost of construction. William Wheeler, a native of the town, — then just entered upon his profession as engineer, but now president of a college in Japan, — made the surveys, furnished the plans and specifications, and superintended the work.

One morning in October, 1871, Ebenezer Hubbard, an old citizen of the town, was found sitting

in his chair, dead, in the house which his father and grandfather had occupied before him. By will he left one thousand dollars to aid in the construction of a monument on that side of the river on which the Americans had stood in arms on April 19, 1775; and before his death he had placed six hundred dollars in the hands of the town treasurer to help rebuild the Old North Bridge on its original

site. The town accepted the bequest, and decided to procure and erect a statue of a continental minute-man, to rebuild the bridge, and to complete and dedicate the statue on the hundredth anniversary of Concord Fight. Reuben N. Rice took charge of the bridge, adding some adornment at his own cost. A committee, with John S. Keyes as chairman, was appointed to obtain and place



The two Monuments.

the statue. Daniel C. French, a young artist, a resident of the town, furnished an admirable model. The government gave ten condemned brass cannon, and at the appointed time all was completed.

Meanwhile the town had appointed a committee of thirty, of which George Keyes was chairman, to arrange for the centennial. E. R. Hoar was appointed president for the day, and Grindall Reynolds chaplain. Mr. Emerson consented to deliver the address at the unveiling of the statue. George William Curtis gave the oration, James Russell Lowell recited an ode, and General Francis C. Barlow acted as chief marshal. These three gentlemen had all been residents for a longer or shorter period in the town.

The Concord centennial was a striking occasion. "To a New England man the 19th of April is the birthday of the nation," and its hundredth anniversary called forth the greatest enthusiasm. The celebration really began on Sunday, the 18th, when the President and his Cabinet, governors of states with their military escorts, and a great crowd of interested worshippers, gathered in the old church, where the Provincial Congress first met, and where the measures which made resistance possible had been passed. The morning of the 19th of April

rose clear and cold. At an early hour the long trains, crowded to their utmost capacity, and the lines of vehicles coming from all directions, showed that the attendance was to be beyond all precedent; and, by eleven o'clock, not less than fifty thousand people filled the streets. The national government was represented by President Grant and his Cabinet, by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, by senators and judges, by famous soldiers and sailors. Each New England state sent its governor, with a military organization. Every one of the towns which sprang to arms on the eventful day had its delegation. The centennial at Concord was no mere pageant, but an occasion full of living interest. The men who took part in it were not selected simply as great names to lend lustre to the hour, but because they had had some vital relations with the town or the occasion. The president of the day, the chaplain, Mr. Emerson, and a majority of the committee of arrangements were descendants of the men who fought a hundred years before, and the ranks of the procession were filled with people who had come back from the East and the West to their early home. The sobriety, the good behavior, the manifest interest of fifty thousand people, dropped in the streets of a little village,

furnished striking evidence of the elevating influence of free institutions. By half-past six o'clock the crowd had disappeared, and the town resumed its ordinary quiet. The centennial closed with a ball in the evening at the Agricultural Hall, whose walls were bright with flags, whose pillars flashed with stars and shields wrought of bayonets and sword-blades, and whose whole space was filled with a cheerful, animated company.

In the summer of 1873 the Lexington Branch Railroad, under the name of the Middlesex Central, was extended to Concord, giving to the village another way of communication with Boston. This road in the month of February, 1879, began a still farther extension, to enable it to connect with the Acton and Nashua Road. The Framingham and Lowell Railroad was built in 1871, and crossed the Fitchburg Railroad two miles above the village, making the Concord Junction, which two years later became the real terminus of the Acton and Nashua Road. The establishment of this junction, from which communication with all parts of the state was easy, was probably one of the reasons why Concord was selected as the site of the new state-prison. The Cook farm, a little estate of fifty or sixty acres of dry, sandy land, lying between the Assabet River and Pail-factory Brook, was purchased by the state, and extensive buildings erected, to which in June, 1878, the convicts were removed.

The last hundred years have wrought a great change. A hundred years ago the farmer lived more within himself. He raised his own flax and wool, and his wife spun and wove them. His beef, pork, corn, rye, oats, were the products of his own farm. His fuel came from his woodlands. The articles which he sent to Boston now come from towns farther back. The Fitchburg Railroad reached Concord in 1844. It left its mark on agriculture as upon everything else. Joseph D. Brown began the next year to run a milk-car. At first the farmers held back. But the tendency was irresistible, and in twenty years the daily supply had risen to more than eight hundred cans, bringing back a return to the town of nearly \$100,000 a year. The vast enlargement of Boston, and the great improvement in railroad transportation, began fifteen years ago to produce another change. Early vegetables and small fruits were more largely raised; so that in 1875, while retaining three quarters of the milk business, Concord sent to market more asparagus, cucumbers, and grapes than any other town in

the state, and more strawberries than any except Dighton.

A hundred years has made a great change in the mode of caring for the poor. For forty-five years of that period they were, in accordance with a barbarous custom, let to the lowest bidder; although for twenty years of that time the Cargill farm, left for the benefit of the poor, had been in the possession of the town. From 1821-27, for the use of this farm and a specified sum, Messrs. Stows and Merriam took charge of them. Since then they have been kept by the town under the care of a suitable person. A comfortable building was erected for a poor-house a few years ago. One of the most interesting things connected with the care of the poor is what is called the Silent Poor Fund. In 1718 Perez Wright, weaver, died. He ordered that his little estate, upon the death of his wife and his cousin Elizabeth Hartwell, should go to the poor of Concord. This estate produced a fund of \$300. To this fund at various times, and chiefly by bequests, Abel Barrett, John Beaton, John Cummings, Jouathan Wheeler, Ephraim Merriam, Peter Blood, Charles Merriam, Reuben Hunt, Samuel Barrett, Ebenezer Hubbard, and Abel Hunt have added, until the principal now amounts to \$8,100. The interest of this fund is annually divided just before Thanksgiving. The recipients are deserving persons, who from age or other cause are able to earn only a partial support, and who are thus kept from coming upon the town.

If we turn from material to higher interests we shall find an equal change. The new school-houses, which in 1799 were thought to be so good, have been replaced again and again; each generation seeking to improve upon the work of its predecessor, while the methods of education have kept pace with the times. The Cummings and Beaton fund, left for the benefit of the schools, reaches about \$1,300; Cyrus Stow having given a lot of land and \$200 towards the erection of a high-school house, left at his death \$3,000 for the benefit of the high school; and the library has received legacies from Charles Merriam, William Whiting, Ebenezer Hubbard, Cyrus Stow, and others. Before 1835 Concord sent to college seventy-one persons, and she has sent forty since.

From graduates, born in a little cluster of half-a-dozen houses on the main street of the village, Massachusetts has chosen four members of Congress. Of later years Concord has attracted many literary and professional people. In 1835 Mr.

Emerson, then in his early manhood, made his home in the town in which his father was born and where his grandfather preached, and here wrote the essays by which his name is known wherever the English tongue is spoken. Henry D. Thoreau was born in Boston, but came to Concord in boyhood, and lived and died here, and found, in its quiet rivers, lakes, and woods, inspiration for works which are full of the flavor of Nature. Channing, the poet, has lived in Concord thirty or forty years. George William Curtis was here in early manhood. Nathaniel Hawthorne found the seclusion he loved in the Old Manse and at the Wayside, and at these places wrote several of his powerful romances. A. Bronson Alcott, whose conversations have made his ideas and presence so widely known, has been a resident since 1857. Warrington (William S. Robinson), the

trenchant correspondent of the *Springfield Republican*, began in Concord his newspaper experience as editor of the *Yeoman's Gazette*. Frank B. Sanborn, his successor, has his home on the banks of the quiet river. Frederic Hudson, an editor of the *New York Herald* and author of the *History of Journalism*, ended his days in the town. Mrs. Samuel Ripley, who was chosen as one of five to represent "the worthy women of the first century of the Republic," and who was said to have been the most learned woman in America, came in 1845 to live in the Old Manse. Miss Elizabeth P. Peabody, the earnest advocate of the Kindergarten system, has come to Concord; while Miss Louisa M. Alcott, the author of the most fascinating books for the young which have appeared in our generation, lives with her father and sister in the Thoreau house. This list might be greatly



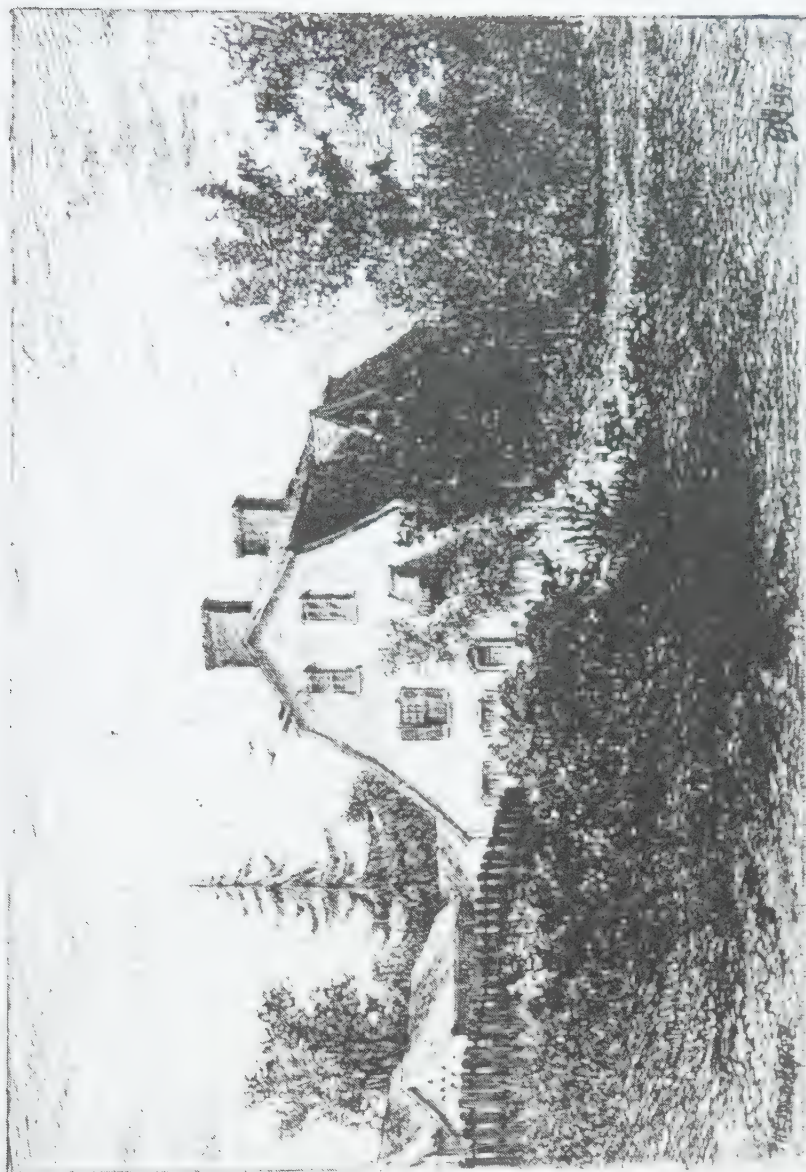
"The Wayside." Hawthorne's Residence.

enlarged. Fifteen members of the bar, five of whom have occupied judicial positions, also live at Concord.

For nearly two centuries—if we except the brief period of secession in the time of Mr. Bliss—Concord had but one church organization. But June 5, 1826, the Trinitarian Congregational Church was gathered, and the following December dedicated a place of worship. The First Universalist Society was formed December 29, 1838, and had a meeting-house on Bedford Street, but ceased

to maintain worship in the year 1852. The Roman Catholics held occasional meetings in private houses as early as 1857. But by the purchase of the Universalist meeting-house they came into possession of a church edifice, which they moved so as to face upon the public square. Fathers Flood, O'Brien, Bresnahan, and McCall have had charge of this society.

On the 21st of September, 1841, in his ninety-first year, died Ezra Ripley, who for sixty-three years had been minister, at first of the town and



BOSTON-LIBRARY
SOCIETY

then of the First Parish. He died while the meeting-house in which he had so long ministered was in process of repair and alteration. He died just before that great change in manners, ways of living, and methods of industry had taken place, which the coming of the railroad with its swifter communications made inevitable. In his personal appearance, in his modes of thinking, and in the relations which he cherished to the town and parish, he preserved the traditions of a stalwart past. As was well said of him, "He and his coevals seemed the rear-guard of the great camp and army of the Puritans." Not until the weight of more than seventy years pressed upon him did he seek relief from the sole care of pulpit and parish; when, February 17, 1829, at his request, Hersey Bradford Goodwin was settled as his colleague. Mr. Goodwin was a man of amiable character and persuasive eloquence, who died after a brief ministry of seven years, July 9, 1836. Seven months after, February 1, 1837, Barzillia Frost succeeded to his work, and remained over twenty years, when, on account of failing health, he requested a dismissal. He visited Fayal, with no benefit, and came home to die where he had lived and labored, December 8, 1858. Mr. Frost was a man of strong character, firm in his opinions, and deeply interested, not only in the welfare of his parish, but also in all the higher needs of the town. The present minister of the parish is Grindall Reynolds, who was settled July 9, 1858.

The first minister of the Trinitarian Congregational Church was Daniel S. Southmayd, a graduate of Andover, who remained from April 25, 1827, until June 8, 1832. John Wilder succeeded him in 1833, remaining six years. James Means was settled in January, 1840, and was over the parish four years. "To an unusual degree he won the respect of the community and the affection of his own people." After his resignation, for a time he

taught Groton Academy, and died a chaplain in the army at Newbern, N. C., in 1863, at the age of fifty. William L. Mather was minister from 1844 to 1848, and Luther H. Angier from 1851 to 1858. Since 1858 the ministers have been Charles B. Smith, Edward S. Potter, Frank Haley, N. S. Folsom, C. H. S. Williams, and A. J. Rogers. The present minister, Henry M. Grout, was settled in June, 1872.

The only person ever settled over the Universalist society was Addison G. Fay, who was ordained in 1842, and preached about four years. He was a man of great native vigor, and as a speaker had that power which a strong man, saying what he thinks, just as he thinks it, always has. After his four years' ministry he engaged in business, first as a pencil-maker, and afterwards as treasurer of the American Powder Company, and was killed by an explosion at the mills March 23, 1873. The pulpit of the Universalist society was at various times supplied by Messrs. Greenwood, Beckwith, Skinner, and others.

The growth of Concord from 1800 to 1860 was slow. It had no great manufactories to attract and support labor, and under the old modes of transportation its distance from Boston, in time quite as much as in miles, was too great to enable people doing business in the city to make it their home. In 1860 it numbered only 2,232. But in the next ten years it gained 180. Five years later it had 2,676 people. And in 1879 its population, not including the reluctant inhabitants of the state-prison, cannot be much less than three thousand. The valuation has increased quite as rapidly as the population, and is now nearly three millions of dollars. The average of life has perceptibly increased, and for health and longevity the town takes its place in the upper and favored quarter of the towns of the commonwealth.

DRACUT.

BY REV. ELIAS NASON.



DRACUT is pleasantly situated on the left bank of the Merrimack River, and contains 1,875 inhabitants, most of whom are engaged in agricultural pursuits. The town is about three miles in width, and extends from Tyngsborough on the west about eight miles to Methuen on the east. Pelham, New Hampshire, forms its northern boundary. The land is finely diversified by hill and valley, and the soil is generally productive. The principal streams are the Merrimack River and the Beaver Brook, the latter of which affords considerable motive-power. The town has two Congregational churches, nine public schools, a post-office, and three or four cemeteries. The underlying rock is Merrimack schist and granite; a mine of zinc in the easterly part of the town is now worked to good advantage. The scenic aspect of the town is unusually beautiful.

Originally the lands in this region were in possession of the Pawtucket tribe of Indians, whose favorite resorts were at the Pawtucket Falls in the Merrimack River and at the Wamesit Falls in the Concord River; the famous powwow, Passaconaway, was the chieftain. His son, Wannalancet, succeeded him and was, like his father, always friendly to the English.

As early as 1647 the celebrated John Eliot commenced his missionary labors among these Indians, and continued his visits to this region until the War of King Philip, by which the tribe was broken up and Wannalancet forced to fly into the distant wilderness. During that war, and subsequently, the English settlers were obliged to live in garrison houses, and to carry weapons when travelling or working on their farms. One of the garrison houses, with its solid walls and projecting stories, still remains, reminding the present generation of the dangers and privations of the forefathers of the town. A fort was erected at Pawtucket Falls, in

April, 1676, and placed under the charge of Lieutenant James Richardson, which served, both under his command and that of Thomas Henchman, to defend the new settlement against its wily foe.

Among the earliest settlers in what is now, or was afterwards, Dracut, were Edward Colburn and Samuel Varnum. Both came from Ipswich, and the former purchased for £200 a tract of 1,600 acres of land of John Everett, on the Merrimack River, September 30, 1688, and on the 3d of April, 1671, he bought a large tract of land of Thomas Henchman in the same locality. A part of this land has continued in the Colburn family to the present time. Samuel Varnum took up lands in the same neighborhood, which still remain in the Varnum family. The Indian title to these estates, as also to that of Hannah Richardson, a widow, was relinquished April 7, 1701, for £300. in silver by John Thomas, sagamore of Natick. They embraced a large portion of what was subsequently the town of Dracut.

Mr. Samuel Varnum first resided on the right bank of the Merrimack River above the falls; and while crossing the stream one morning in 1676, with three children in a boat to milk his cows, two sons were shot by Indians lying in ambush: they were buried in the field of Mr. Howard, near the river. The other sons of Mr. Varnum were Thomas, John, and Joseph, all of whom settled on land purchased by their father. The present Mr. Thomas Varnum is of the fifth generation from the above-named Thomas, all having the Christian name of Thomas and all occupying the same homestead.¹

As the land was fertile, and the land and salmon

¹ Some of the land originally purchased of the Indians by Samuel Varnum is now owned by Major A. C. Varnum, — a lawyer by profession, and a paymaster in the United States army during the late war, — which he inherited, and which has remained in the family for more than two hundred years, it having descended through each successive generation. The late Samuel Varnum, who died February 6, 1879, lived and died on the identical spot, as it is supposed, where the bullet-proof house was erected by the original settler for a protection against the Indians. A considerable portion of this territory was annexed to Lowell by an act of the legislature, which took effect August 1, 1874.

fishing good, many settlers soon came in from Salem, Ipswich, Chelmsford, and other places, so that at the commencement of the eighteenth century the settlement numbered about twenty-five families; and in 1701 a petition, signed by Samuel Sewall, Ephraim Hunt, Benjamin Walker, John Hunt, and Jonathan Belcher, proprietors, together with Samuel Varnum and several other inhabitants and proprietors, was presented to the General Court, asking for an act of incorporation as a township under the name of Dracut,¹ this being the name of a parish from which Mr. Varnum emigrated. The petition having been accepted, it was, on the 26th of February, 1701-1702, —

“Resolved, That the prayers of said petitioners be granted, and that the tract of land therein described be made a township and to be called by the name of Dracut; provided that the bounds specified intrench not upon any former grant, or grants of townships; that the inhabitants of said land assist in maintenance of the Ministry at the town of Chelmsford as at present they do, until they be provided with a Minister as y^e Law directs; that the General plat of said land taken by a sworn Surveyor be laid before this Court at their Session beginning at May next, and that if any land shall happen to fall within the bounds above mentioned that hath not been heretofore granted, it shall be reserved to be disposed of by this government.”

The following is the survey of the town as then laid before the General Court: “It begins at the Island lying in Merrimack river called Wekasook and takes about half of it, and is bounded by Captain Scarlet and Dunstable line on the North-west as farre as Kimballs farme at Jerimer Hill which is about six miles in a crooked line, — then it is bounded by Dunstable line on the West about four miles, — It is bounded southerly by Merrimack River in a straight line from Wekasook where we began. The South East Corner is a white oak marked with D, — a little from the river and from thence it runs due North six miles, which line is paralell with Dunstable line, on that side. Then by a North West line it again closeth to Dunstable line. This North West line is four miles long — then on the West is bounded by Dunstable line four miles. Laid out and bounded by Jonathan Danforth, Surveyr.

“Additional, — Dracut township contains 22,334 acres; attests, Jo: Danforth, Surveyr.

“On the 6th of June, 1702, it was ordered by

¹ Several places in England have a similar name, as Draycott Moor in Berkshire, Draycott-in-the-moors in Staffordshire, and Draycot-orne and Draycot Foliat in Wiltshire. It may be that Samuel Varnum emigrated from one of these places. In his diary, Sewall spells the word “Dracut.”

the General Court that Dracut be rated with Chelmsford, as formerly, in the tax to be raised that session, and that Dracut might choose one assessor to act with those of Chelmsford.”

The land of Dracut was at this period, for the most part, wild and uncultivated. The deer, the wolf, the wildcat, the beaver, and the bear still frequented the deep recesses of the wilderness and the only lines of travel were by Indian trails and bridle-paths, or by boats and rafts along the streams. It was a frontier settlement, and the Indians were held in check only by the warlike attitude of the inhabitants, by the soldiers under Major Thomas Henchman, or by those under the brave Jonathan Tyng at Dunstable.

It may be seen, by the following extracts from the records, that efforts were early made to secure the service of a minister of the gospel for the settlement. At a general meeting of the town, April 4, 1712, it was voted “Mr. Cheevers for to come to be our gospel minister if he will come on the terms we have formerly offered to him.” It was also voted that “Thomas Colburn and Joseph Colburn be the committee to treat with him in the way for a settlement; also that Mr. Wigglesworth should come to preach for a time in a way to making a settlement after Mr. Cheevers has been treated with and don’t come to preach in a way to making a settlement.”

On the 20th of June following the town voted that “Mr. Wigglesworth should be our gospel minister to preach the gospel of Christ with us and if he will spend his days with us then we have granted to him fifty pounds in current money of New-England and as the town grows abler then to add to his salary. Also granted 80 pounds in current money of New-England for his settlement and we have three years to pay this money which is twenty six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence a year, — also voted that Joseph Varnum, John Varnum, and Sargent Hildreth should be the committee to treat with Mr. Wigglesworth concerning his settling with us and to receive his answer, and bring it to the town this day month.”

Mr. Wigglesworth did not accept this call, but was subsequently settled over the church at the hamlet in Ipswich.

Measures were taken by the town in 1714 for the building of a meeting-house which “should be 30 feet longe and 25 feet wide.” Thomas Coburn, Ezra Coburn, Joseph Coburn, Thomas Varnum, and John Varnum were appointed trustees for

building the house, and were to get the "work done as cheap as they can." It was voted, April 11 of the year ensuing, to set the house "on a peice of land near the south side of a hill called by the name of 'Flag Meadow Hill' on Thomas Varnum's land"; also to grant "one barrel of cider and such a quantity of rum as the trustees shall think needful for the raising of said meeting-house." The meeting-house stood on the south-eerly side of what is now "Varnum Avenue," about half a mile above Pawtucket Bridge, and was dedicated, though then incomplete, September 29, 1716.

The people now listened to as many as fifteen candidates, among whom was the Rev. David McGregor, subsequently settled at Londonderry, N. H. The call extended to him is in the following quaint language: "Dracutt, October y^e 15, 1718 Mad Choice of Mr. Mackggor to settel in Dracutt to prech the Gospel and to do the Whole Work of a Settled miniistor; and likewise Voted to give to Mr. Macgregor Sixty five pounds a year for his salary for the first four years and then Seaventy pound a year till there Be fifty families in the town of Dracutt, and then it Shall Be Eighty pounds a year; and likewise voted for a settlement fifty pounds the one half the Next June inseying and the other half the next June in the year 1720."

This young clergyman did not accept the invitation; when a call was extended to the Rev. Thomas Parker of Chelmsford, which was accepted, and he was installed as pastor on the 29th of March, 1721; his salary being eighty pounds per annum and his settlement one hundred pounds. A church was organized on the same day. The income of the fishing-grounds at Pawtucket Falls was appropriated towards the payment of the salary of Mr. Parker.

Much of the territory was held as "common land," and laid out to the original settlers by a committee appointed by the proprietors for that purpose. The first book of the proprietors is extant, and serves to supply some of the deficiencies in the town records. The quaint orthography indicates that the spelling-book and dictionary had not then reached the settlement, and that the leading men had but little time while laying the foundations of the town to bestow on grammar or penmanship. The earliest entry in this curious book bears the date of 1710, and from it may be learned the names, as well as something of the

estates, of the principal settlers at that time. The first record herein made is this:—

"We do Except of y^e parsons within named to be Proprietors of the Reserved Land in the Township of Dracutt and do order thir Loots and thir Nains to be Entered in the Book of records for Dracutt accordingly, Jonathan Tyng, John Lane, John Stearns.

"This is a trew Coppy of the Gennerall Corts order. Wittnas ouer Hands. Joseph Varnum, Ezekiel Cheever, James Fales.

"Dracutt Janevery y^e 2d 1710. These are the Nams of the men that have the Loots now in Possession with y^e Consent of y^e Geuneral Corts Committe and sum that have sould to outhers with the consent of the Selectmen of the Town of Dracutt. John Varnum Joseph Colbon Ebenezer Goodhew. Benjamin Barans 1 Ebenezer Goodhew 2 Ezekell Cheevers 3 James Colbon 4 Benjamin Hoore 5 Ebenezer Wright 6 Onesimus Marsh 7 Benjamin Barans 8 Solomon Wood 9 Josiah Richardson 10 Nathanell Foxe 11 Anthony Neggerow 12 Ezekell Cheevers 13 William Reed 14 Nathanill Cheevers 15 Samuel Prime 16 John Higgoson 17.

"These are ye fifteen that Lye between mr Bellshers Farme and mr wintrips Farme and Every mans nam is seet to his Loot. samuell prime his Loot Lyes below mr wintreips Farm Lying on merimack river. John Higgosons Loot lyes on merimack river below samuell Primes Loot. Minestirs Loot and the Minestirs Farme lies att Gompos on y^e North Sid of bever Brook. Solomon Woods Loot lyes on Gompos Brook. George Brouen 2 Joseph Crosby 3 Ezekell 4 Calbreys Balle 5. John Hayward, Cheney Flage, these two Loot Lye on the north Sid of Bever Brook west of the Minestirs Farm. Sollomon Wood his Loot lyes on y^e Easte Side of beaver brook and on north Sid of y^e Colbons ould Meadows. john barans, hesacaah Townasane, joseph whitter, these three Loots lys north of mr winterips Farm."

The laying out of the lands and the roads, the construction of buildings and fences, together with the clearing of the forests, the planting, the care and the harvesting of the crops, engrossed the attention and occupied most of the time of the early settlers; and the tavern, the mill, and the blacksmith shop were places of general resort for learning the news from Boston, and for discussing the concerns of the young municipality. On Sundays they crossed the river in boats or rafts to attend public worship at Chelmsford. The lots along the

margins of the streams were the first ones occupied, and, as English hay was then unknown, the meadow lots were greatly coveted, as affording subsistence for the cattle during the winter season. The following is a record of a proprietors' meeting, held in the spring of 1716-17:—

"At a generall meeting of the proprietors of the common and undevided land belonging to the Township of Dracutt legally assembled on the Last thursday of march in the year of our lord 1716 by vertue of a warrant from justice Tying. 1, chosen for moderator for this present meeting Ezekiel Cheever, Senior. 2ly Chosen for a clarke for the proprietors afore said Nathaniel Fox. 3ly Chosen for a committy to act about the undevided land belonging to the fore said proprietors mr George Brown of Bilrical, Captain Joseph Varnum Ezekiel Cheever senr, mr Nathaniel Fox, mr Jeams Fails. 4ly Voted that this committy now chosen shall go upon the undevided land and view the land that is not yet devided and lay it out into two squadrons and the land that lyeth nearest the river lotts to be laid out into the river Lotts and that which lyeth nearest the Gumsetts Lotts to be laid out unto the Gunset Lotts. 5ly Voted that there shall be a considerable quantity of upland to each mans meadow laid out of the land that lyeth about his meadow laid out by the committy according to the quantity of meadow he hath and so much upland as every man hath laid to his meadow it shall be reckoned as so much of his share in the undevided land. 6ly Voted that when the land is laid out into squadrons then they shall lay out unto every lott an hundred and thirty acres, or more if they shall judge it best and the next rest at the next laying out. 7ly, Voted that this Committy, or the major part of them, are fully impowered to lay out all the undevided land as soone as can conveniently be done and that this committy shall be allowed for shillings a day for their service by the proprietors. 8ly, Voted that this committy shall have power to sell some of this undevided land to pay the charge of laying out the said land and the sale of the land to be posted up in some public place. 9ly, Voted that for the time to come any two of the committy and the clarke shall have power to call a proprietors meeting by posting up a notification in some publick place 14 dayes before the meeting. 10ly, Voted that this committy shall have to imploy the serveir or artist so much as shall be needfull and the proprietors to bare the charge of it. 11ly, Voted that this committy shall

have full power to lay what high wayes they shall judge needfull. Lastly, it is Voted and agreed upon that no man shall debarr any other from coming to his meadow where there shall not be highwayes laid out, but every man shall have sufficient liberty to come at his meadow for mowing and making and carrying off his hay. These were the things that were agreed upon and Voted at this meeting. Attest, Ezekiel Cheever moderator."

It appears that one of the early settlers of Dracutt was a negro, or, as it was written, "neggerow," who bore the name of Anthony, or Tony. A lot of land was laid out to him in 1721, which is thus described:—

"March y^e 25th 1721. a Lott Laid out to Anthony of dracutt in the Reserved Land in Dracutt in the County of Middlesex in New england. Containing Eighty Eight acres, be it more or Less, as it is bounded Lying Southerly of Higginsons medo, bounded Northerly on Higginsons medo Lotts, Bounded Easterly by a Line of marked Trees, Letered A, by Thorntons Land, bounded Southerly by Land Laid out to ezeziel cheever of Salem Village which was Sould to the s^d Anthony. The above s^d Anthony had Ten acres of Land Laid out in the bounds of the above s^d Cheevers Land: the Westerly Line of the above s^d Anthonys Land is Pine trees by ffoxes marshes and thorntons Land, the Northwest Corner is a Stake and Stones; also another Lott of Land Laid out to anthony negro of Dracutt in the above s^d Reserved Land in Dracutt Containing one Hundred and Sixteen acres, be it more or less, as the Same is bounded easterly on s^d Anthonys medo and Ceader Pond, Bounded Southerly with A Line of marked trees, bounded Westerly with a Line of marked Trees Lettered with A, bounded northerly by a line of marked trees by the Land of Benjamin Wood, also another Lott of Land Laid out to the above s^d anthony negro in the above S^d Reserved Land in dracutt containing four and a half acres, be it more or less, Lying westerly of his home stead house Lott, bounded easterly on s^d Anthoneys house Lott and westerly by Country Rhoad, North westerly by the Rhoad Leading from the Caneuytry to Curtises house, also another Lott Laid out to the above Said anthony negro, Lying in the above Said Reserved Land on the South Side of the Colburns New medows Bounded Southerly by a Rhoad Leading to Ceader Pond medows westerly by the Land of benij: wood, Northerly by the Colburns new medo farine, Easterly by a Line of marked trees Caled

four Lott in order from Belchers and Hildreths Land and Contains Twenty Eight acres, be it more or less, Laid out and recorded by us with some help of Nathaniel Fox in Laying out. joseph varnum, ezeziel cheever, james fales Cmte for Said work. witness joseph varnum, ezeziel cheever."

A lot was also laid out at the same time for the first minister that should be settled in town:—

"march y^e 25th 1721. A Lott of Land Laid out to the first Settled minister in Dracut in the Reserved Land in s^d dracutt in the County of Middlesex in New england Containing one Hundred and Twenty one acres Called the Sixth Lott Southward from Gouldings Pond Bounded westerly on William Colburns Distracted Medo Line Northerly by a Line of marked trees Lettered with S B by the fifth Lott, Easterly upon the East Line of Dracutt, the South East Corner; is a rock Stones on it. bounded Southerly by a Line of marked trees and heeps of Stones, also another Lott of Land Caled the fourth Lott Northward from Gouldings and Collecuts farne is Laid out to the first Settled minister in Dracutt in the above s^d Reserved Land and Contains one hundred and eighty Six acres, be it more or Less, Bounded as followeth, ees westerly by j. varnum Line, Northerly by a Line of marked trees Lettered with S B. Easterly by that Land that was Laid out to make Gunpas Lotts equall with the River Lotts, Southerly by a Line of marked tres Lettered with S B. Numbered with four chops, also another Lott of Land Laid out to the first Settled minister in dracutt in the above s^d Reserved Land Containing Twenty Eight acres, be it more or Less, Lying Easterly of the first settled minister Lott and the minister farne, bounded westerly on the Ministers Lott and ministree farne, Northerly and Easterly by a Line of marked trees, Southerly by a Line of marked trees by a medo thnt Lyeth on beavour Brook, also Seven acres of upland Laid out to the first Settled minister in the Town of Dracutt, Lying in the Colburns New medo farne. also one acre of Land Lying at the west end of the Seventh Lott Northward from Gouldings and Calecuts farne. Laid out and Recorded by us with some help of Nathaniel Fox in Laying out. joseph varnum ezeziel cheever james fales Committee for s^d work. witness, joseph varnum ezeziel cheever."

At this time common land was laid out to Ebenezer Ingalls of Marblehead; Anthony, a colored man, of Dracut; William Colburn of Dracut; Col. Samuel Brown of Salem; Caleb Moody of New-

bury; Joseph Wheeler of Concord; Thomas Wyman of Dracut; Solomon Wood of Bradford; George Brown of Billerica; Ezekiel Cheever of Salem Village; Ephraim Curtis, John Barron, Nathaniel Fox, Benjamin Wood, of Dracut; Ebenezer Thornton of Boston; Onesiphorus Marsh of Dracut; Mr. Proctor of Boston; Ebenezer Wright of Dracut; Jonathan Waldo of Boston; Josiah Richardson of Dracut; Nathaniel Cheever of Salem Village; Joseph Varnum of Dracut; Alexander McNeal; Ebenezer Goodhue; Benjamin Richardson and Samuel Prime of Rowley. Most of them were actual settlers of the town.

Among the localities mentioned in the proprietors' book are Ridge Hill, Mine Pit Hill, Walker Brook, Mine Brook, Beaver Brook, Ayer's Hill, Island Pond Hill, Cedar Brook, Dennison's Brook, Island Pond Brook, Golding's Brook, an affluent of Beaver Brook, Toney's Brook, so named from the negro Anthony, Dunstable Brook, Long Pond, North Pond, Ledge of Rocks Pond, Bumpas, The Cove, Distracted Meadows, and Peter's Pond. Some of these names are still retained.

At the town-meeting last mentioned several roads were laid out, of which the description of one will serve as a specimen:—

"March the 25th 1721 A high way Laid out in dracutt in Middlesex in new england in the reserved Land at a place called Prims Lott and Higginsons Land two or three Rod wide as it is here platted out with heaps of Stones and trees blassed with two blasses next the way beginning westerly at Winthrops farm with heaps of Rocks, running easterly over rocky land, then turning partly north easterly with trees marked down a hill of a plain, then running partly easterly on the north Side of the little pond hole, so continuing easterly to the mine pit hill with a little crosse also on the north side of the mine pit, then running northeasterly on the south Side of a Spruce bog in Higginsons Land, then turning partly easterly to the east line of Dracutt Town. this is for a Country Road from dracutt to haver hill. Laid out and platted and recorded by us Committy for Said worke. Ezekiel Cheever, Joseph Varnum, James Fales."

This was the main thoroughfare leading easterly to Haverhill, and the mine pit referred to is that which has been recently reopened, and which now yields a considerable quantity of zinc.

The price of land at this period may be seen from a report made by Ezekiel Cheever, Joseph

Varnum and James Fales, acting for the proprietors: "Dracutt Janevery the last in y^e year of Lord 1722, according to the vote of the proprietors we have sold 21 acres of said land upon y^e mine pit, also 140 acres at the east line of the Town about a mile off from Merrimac river, be they more or lesse, according as they are bounded, sold to Jams Colburne for eight pounds and one shilling, also 100 acres at north pond sold for five pounds to Alexander Mackneal, also 100 acres by Goldings farne. sold to Alexander mackneal for 13 pounds, be they more or lesse according as they are bounded, also a 100 acres by Seder pond, sold for 8 pound to Richard Jaques, be it more or lesse according as it is bounded, also sold 75 acres to Nathaniel Cheever for Seaven pounds ten shillings, be it more or less according as it is bounded, all this above said land was measured with the same measure as the other Lotts were, and were all posted in at the meeting house and some at y^e tavern 14 days before they were sold."

The earliest records of the town are missing; the first entry of the choice of town officers is March 25, 1712, when John Varnum was chosen town-clerk, and John Varnum, Joseph Coburn, and Ebenezer Goodhue were chosen selectmen.

December 17, 1715, it was voted "to buld a pound for the town of Dracut, and to set it by the north side of Thomas Varnums little orchard, and granted money for a block staff for the town of Dracut." August 25, 1718, "voted that Quartermaster Colburn should have a plas for a pue on the north side of the East Dore"; also, "that Edward Colburn should have the northeast corner of the meeting house for a plas to buld a peu. Ephraim Hildreth Town Clerk."

August 9, 1721, Captain Joseph Varnum was chosen to represent the town in the General Court. He was also chosen to the same office the following year.

Among the notices of births and marriages, interspersed among the records of the public transactions, is the following: "Jonathan Negro, the Son of Anthony Negro and Sary his wife was Born unto them august y^e 8th day 1721." The father's name was John Anthony, and while coming one day from Tyng's meadow, one of his companions, Elisha, a friendly Indian, was shot by the hostile savages and thrown into what is now called "Elisha's Brook," near the house of Mr. J. P. Coburn. The town at this time contained about two hundred people, and its affairs were

prosperous. The young minister was popular, and the few soldiers at the fort kept the aborigines at bay.

For the first expedition of the famous Captain John Lovewell into the wilderness in search of the hostile Indians, in the year 1724, Dracut furnished at least two men, their names being Henry Colburn and John Varnum. They killed one man, and took a lad about fifteen years old captive. For this service Mr. Colburn subsequently received a tract of land in Suncook, N. H. John Varnum of Dracut attended Captain Lovewell on his second expedition, which left Dunstable January 20, 1724, and on the 20th of February the party succeeded in killing ten of the enemy, whose scalps they brought in triumph to Boston. This exploit took place near a sheet of water since called Lovewell's Pond, in what is now Wakefield, N. H.

"During the march," says Penhallow, "our men were well entertained with moose, bear, and deer, together with salmon trout, some of which were three feet long and weighed twelve pound apiece."

After the exploit of Captain Lovewell and the consequent departure of the Pequawkett tribe of Indians to Canada, the fear of the enemy subsided, and the soldiers were soon withdrawn from the garrisons. This letter to Colonel Tyng of Dunstable shows the condition of things:—

"SIR,—The enemy being drawn off and the season of Danger pretty well over, you must forthwith see that the soldiers in the Frontiers be reduced to the following Numbers; viz., twenty-five men at Dunstable and Dracut, Ten at Turkey Hills, Fourteen at Groton, Fourteen at Lancaster, Twenty-five at Rutland, and ten at Brookfield and That all the rest of the Soldiers in the Counties of Middlesex and Essex, Including Lient. Brentnal's scouts, be forthwith disbanded. And the several officers are required to put these orders in execution accordingly."

The following are entries from the records:—

"Dracut, February y^e 9, 1727—28. Then tacken up and Strayed By Josiah Colburn of Dracutt a black Mair Colt Coming in two years old with Star in her fourhad. Ephraim Hildreth, Town clerk."

"Mar. 5th 24, 1731—32. Foted, y^e Colonel Joseph Varnum Shall have y^e fishing sales in Dracut for this year insewing for twenty pounds."

The first notice of a school in the town is in the words following:—

"Dracut, October 1, 1736. We the Subscribers, in the town above s^d, agreed with Mr. Phineas

Stevens of Andover to Keep a Reading and Wrighting Schooll In Dracutt three Months Beginning on or aboute the 20th of this Instant October for which he Is to Receive twelve Pounds In Bills of Credit, as Witnis our hands,

"PHINEAS STEVENS

EDWARD COLBURN

JOHN VARNUM

JOHN BOWERS

} Selectmen
of
Dracutt."

The town voted, May 22, 1738, £8 to John Varnum "for his Servis and Expenses In Gitting the Town free from Charg of Billirica Bridg." This was over the Concord River on the main route to Boston.

By the divisional line run between the states of Massachusetts and New Hampshire in 1741, the town of Dracut was obliged to yield a large portion of her territory to the latter state. This land was, with other territory, incorporated, July 5, 1746, as the town of Pelham. Setting off so much of the town to New Hampshire was not at all agreeable to the remaining inhabitants, and the town chose, November 26, 1741, John Varnum, Josiah Richardson, and Nathaniel Fox a committee to present a petition "that the land might be set back into Massachusetts"; but the request proved unavailing.¹

About the year 1745 the people of Dracut began to agitate the subject of erecting a new meeting-house; but as there was a disagreement as to the place on which to build it, the question was referred to the General Court for settlement. The spot finally selected was on the roadside, a short distance to the east of Beaver Brook, and the house was built in or about the year 1748. It contained only twelve pews, and these were arranged around the walls, the central space being occupied by long seats for the common people. The dignity of the seats was established by a vote of the town as fol-

¹ After the decision on the boundary adverse to Massachusetts was made, she neglected to appoint surveyors jointly with New Hampshire to run the new line, when called upon to do so. New Hampshire, therefore, proceeded alone. The survey was made by Richard Hazen in 1741. The starting-point being fixed at Pawtucket Falls really gave New Hampshire a strip of territory she had never claimed, these falls being situated nearly at the lowest point of the southerly bend of the Merrimack. From this point a due north line was measured for three miles, from which began the west line of the province. This deviation of the Merrimack from a true westerly course was not understood at London when the decision of the king was made, but the case of Massachusetts was badly managed. Hazen's journal and field-notes are, for the first time, published in *The Historical and Genealogical Register* for July, 1879. See also *ante*, pp. 79, 80, 101. — Ed.

lows: "The fore seat below, second seat below, fore-seat in front gallery, third seat below, second seat in front gallery, fourth seat below, second seat in side gallery." Other seats were subsequently introduced as they were needed.

In 1752 Captain Josiah Richardson, Ephraim Hildreth, and Timothy Colburn were the selectmen, and Nathan Jones and John Williams were the "to Build a School hous or housen in s^d Town," tything-men. It was voted, March 2 of this year, and £8 were granted for school purposes.

March 6, 1758, it was voted "to sell the old meeting-house to the hiest bidder," and the same day David Abbott purchased it for £17. In the year following a French family is mentioned on the records. They were Acadians, whose sad history Mr. Longfellow has so touchingly told in *Evangeline*. The name of the family was Lande-rée, and they resided while in Dracut in the families of John Taylor and Ephraim Curtis. It was voted by the town, May 18, 1757, "to give the French family (viz.) Sarah, Mary, and Betty Landre, those three of the French family that belong to the town of Dracutt, twelve dollars to transporte them to Quebec upon these Restrictions that the money shall be Lodged in Mr. Peter Fry's hand, who is one of the Overseers of the Poor of Salem, and not to be Delivered to them unless they Do actually go off and pay there passage for transporting them to Quebec. Ephraim Hildreth, Town Clerk." They remained in Dracut till August 15, 1760. Lawrence Clark was one of the schoolmasters in 1756; David Fox and Timothy Clement taught school here in 1757. John Varnum, a lieutenant in the army, died at Crown Point in 1760, at the age of twenty-one years.

In 1762 the town was visited by the small-pox, and Asa Kimball died of that disease.

On the 18th of March, 1765, the town was called to deplore the death of its beloved minister, the Rev. Thomas Parker, who had faithfully served it as a pastor for the space of about forty-four years. A meeting of the town was held the following day, when John Varnum was chosen Moderator, and it was then voted, "1st, to buy Madam Parker a mourning suit. 2nd, to buy six rings for y^e bearers of y^e deceased. 3d, to appropriate 20 pounds for y^e mourning suit and rings included. 4th, to raise four pounds more, so that y^e whole amount to 24 pounds."

Mr. Parker was the son of Josiah Parker, was born December 7, 1700, and graduated at Harvard

College in 1718. He was somewhat skilled in music, and sometimes entertained the Indians by playing for them airs upon the clarinet. He had a colored servant by the name of Caesar, who was somewhat noted as a wit. One day Mr. Parker attached a rat to a hook which Caesar had let down through the ice for pickerel. When Caesar returned home in the evening, Mr. Parker thus accosted him: "Well, my boy, what have you caught to-day?" "I don't know, sir," replied the wag; "it had on a black coat, I guess it was a minister!" Mr. Parker was a good preacher, and his epitaph, which may be read upon an old slab in the burial-place on the left bank of the Merrimack River, well delineates his character:—

"Memento mori. Under this stone is Interred the Remains of *y^r* Rev^d. THOMAS PARKER, a gentleman of Shining Mental Powers, Adorned with Prudence; Benevolence and Courtesy of manners. A warm and Pathetic Preacher of *y^r* Gospel. . . A most watchful and tender Pastor of *y^r* Church in Dracut, for the space of 44 years. Accomplished with learning—Humane and Divine, and endowed and adorned with *y^r* social virtues and affections—who departed this life March 18th, 1765, in the 65th year of his age."

The house he lived in was subsequently owned by Colonel Louis Ansart, and then by Mr. Daniel Varnum. It occupied the spot where Mr. Varnum's house now stands. Nathaniel Fox, one of Mr. Parker's venerable and worthy deacons, died December 20, 1765, aged eighty-one years.

The Rev. Mr. Parker was succeeded in the pastorate by the Rev. Nathan Davies (H. C. 1759), whose ordination occurred November 20, 1765, the Rev. J. Swift preaching the sermon. The town voted, January 13, 1769, "that the Rev. Mr. Davies should introduce as soon as may be into his Church and Congregation the Psalms of Brady and Tate with Hymns adjoining thereto from Dr. Watts." Mr. Davies was, after a faithful ministry, dismissed at his own request in January, 1781. His successor was the Rev. Solomon Aiken, who commenced his pastoral labors here June 4, 1788, and closed them in 1815. During his ministry two other religious societies were organized in the town, drawing many persons from his church and society. His successors in the pastorate of the original church have been Rev. William Gould, 1815–1817; Rev. Joseph Merrill, 1820–1833; Rev. Euphras Goodman, 1836–1838; Rev. George W. Adams, 1844–1847. The first Sabbath school in town was commenced by Deacon Amos Perly, about the year 1818. A new church

edifice, called the Side-Hill Church, was dedicated on the 25th of February, 1835. The church itself claims to be the original one of the town.

In the War of the Revolution Dracut bore an active and honorable part. Alive and earnest in the American cause, it furnished its full quota of brave and hardy men for the army, and was well represented in most of the great battles of the time. As the crisis came on, it chose, January 12, 1775, Peter Coburn, a sterling patriot, to represent it in the Provincial Congress. At the same time it appointed Deacon Thomas Hovey, Deacon Amos Bradley, Isaac Fox, William Hildreth, and Dr. Joseph Hunt a committee of correspondence; and Samuel Colburn, Dr. James Abbott, Reuben Sawyer, John Bowers, William Hildreth, Parker Varnum, Eliseus Barron, Stephen Russell, and Joseph B. Varnum a committee of inspection. It also voted "to have baggonets for a company of merit men." This company was soon formed, and preparations were made for active service. On the 6th of March following the town voted "for each man to be equipt according to the old Province law," and also to comply with the resolves of the Provincial Congress, "so far as in their power."

On the 29th of May Deacon Amos Bradley was chosen to represent the town in the Provincial Congress, Captain Peter Coburn being engaged in drilling his company for the anticipated service. This gallant officer was present with his men at the battle of Bunker Hill on the 17th of June following. He was in Colonel Ebenezer Bridge's regiment, his lieutenant being Josiah Foster, and his ensign Ebenezer Farnum. The whole number of the company was fifty-one, and most of them were Dracut men. This company was hotly engaged during the action, and "Captain Coburn's clothes," says Mr. Frothingham in his *History of the Siege of Boston*, p. 177, "were riddled with balls." Colonel James Varnum, then a sergeant in Captain Coburn's company, "had the top of his hat shot off and two bullets through his jacket." As Captain Ebenezer Bancroft was returning from the fight, wounded and fatigued, "Colonel James Varnum," said he, "saw me and came to me. He took me by the arm and led me to the horse. While he was with me, the ball of the last cannon I heard that day passed within a foot or two of me, and struck the ground at a short distance before me." Captain Coburn was in the redoubt, and it is related that just as the order to retreat was given, a British officer mounted the breast-

works, exclaiming, "Now, boys, we have you!" when Captain Coburn, picking up a stone, hurled it at his head and knocked him down.¹

The following letter was written by Captain Peter Coburn immediately after the battle of Bunker Hill in which he took such an active part:

"CAMP CAMBRIDGE, June 17, 1775.

"The regiments were ordered from Cambridge to Charlestown, and they arrived at Charlestown about eleven o'clock at night, and then and there begun a breastwork, and pursued it until about sunrise next morning. About sunrise the troops fired on us from the ships as they lay in the ferry-way, and killed one Pollard, that lived in Billerica, and they continued their fire at times all the forenoon; and we finished our breastwork about twelve o'clock, at which time they began to land nigh to our breastwork, and landed about four thousand men, and in about two hours began to fire upon us at the breastwork, and continued their fire very brisk near about two hours. At length they stormed our breastwork and we were obliged to flee and they pursued us as far as Bunker Hill. But we killed and wounded fourteen or fifteen hundred, and the loss sustained by us was few; about one hundred and fifty killed, wounded, and missing; and on the 17th day of June I arrived at Cambridge, about sunset, alive, though much tired and fatigued. Blessed be God therefor."

The population of Dracut in 1776 was 1,173; William Hildreth was the town-clerk and Major Joseph Varnum the town-treasurer. In November of this year committees from the neighboring towns met at the house of Major Varnum and petitioned the legislatures of Massachusetts and New Hampshire to regulate the prices of articles of trade, they having greatly advanced by reason of the war.

The committees of correspondence, inspection, and safety, chosen February 27, 1777, consisted of Isaac Fox, William Hildreth, Captain Stephen Russell, Captain Peter Coburn, Eliseus Barron, Reuben Sawyer, and Lieutenant Ephraim Coburn. The town voted £4 to Deacon Thomas Hovey for taking care of the poor of Boston who had come there during the siege the preceding year.

In 1780 Joseph B. Varnum was a member of the convention which formed the state constitution; and that year, September 4, the town cast ninety-one votes for John Hancock and four for James Bowdoin as governor. On the 5th of March, 1781, the town chose William Hildreth, Deacon Thomas

Hovey, Reuben Sawyer, and Benjamin French to assist the officers in raising men for the prosecution of the war. On the 4th of March, 1782, it voted to raise £30 for the support of the schools, and also "to sell the ministree Land lying in Pelham." On the 1st of August of this year it voted to extend a call to Mr. Ebenezer Allen to settle as a minister. Captain Joseph Bradley Varnum was chosen May 12, 1783, to represent the town in the General Court. He ably served the town in this capacity for many years. A call was extended, January 31, 1785, to the Rev. Timothy Langdon, which he declined accepting.

For the better accommodation of the people, it was deemed advisable, about the year 1792, to build another meeting-house. The town voted, December 30, 1793, "to build a meeting-house of the same bigness of the meeting-house in Pelham." The question of its locality was sharply discussed in successive town-meetings held for that purpose. The town was surveyed, and a central point was determined where, in 1794, what is called "the Centre Church" was erected. This did not suit the people in the westerly part of the town, and about the year 1794 they built the meeting-house still in use at Pawtucket Falls. This was furnished with a sounding-board, which was suspended over the head of the minister to reflect his voice into the ears of the people. This useless piece of church furniture was removed about the year 1829, though not without some opposition,—one man exclaiming, "They have taken away the ark of the Lord from the sanctuary, and I will go too," which he did, never to enter the house again. The Pawtucket Church was incorporated, under the name of the West Congregational Church in Dracut, June 22, 1797, the petitioners for it being Parker Varnum, John Varnum, Peter Coburn, Jr., James Varnum, James Abbott, Coburn Blood, Moses Clement, Jakes Coburn, Jonathan Morgan, Hezekiah Coburn, Thomas Varnum, Joseph Dane, and forty-five others. The first parish meeting was held July 6, 1797, when Colonel James Varnum was chosen moderator and Peter Coburn, Jr., clerk. The church was long supplied by students from Andover, who used to come on horseback and preach two sermons "for 2 dollars and found." The church became Presbyterian on the 19th of April, 1819, and so continued until 1837, when it became Congregational. The first settled minister was the Rev. Reuben Sears, who was installed January 31, 1820,

¹ Cowley's *History of Lowell*, p. 23.

and continued in the pastorate until October 2, 1827. It was voted that his farewell sermon should be printed. His successors in this pastorate have been the Rev. Sylvester G. Pierce, 1829-1832; Rev. Tobias Pinkham, 1836-1839; Rev. Joseph Merrill, 1842-1848; Rev. Brown Emerson, 1850-1854; Rev. Perrin B. Fiske, 1863-1865; Rev. Joseph Boardman, 1870-1874; Rev. James A. Bates, 1876; Rev. Elias Nason, the present pastor, 1876. A communion service was presented to the church in 1804 by Mrs. Martha and Mrs. Abiah Varnum, and a second one, in 1877, by Atkinson C. Varnum. A Sabbath school was organized about the year 1828, and the superintendents of it have been Robert Bartly, Jonas Varnum, Amos Pearson, Joseph Conant, Abel Coburn, Asa Clement, H. M. Woodward, A. M. Clement, John J. Colton, James M. Coburn, and Henry L. Newhall. On the 10th of December, 1825, the parish voted "to give those persons who have purchased a stove liberty to set it up in the meeting-house." An organ, costing \$400, was introduced into the church in 1850, and a bell of very fine tone was suspended in the tower of the church in 1859, on which occasion the following rhyme was perpetrated:—

"They delivered the bell to Josiah Sawtelle,
Who hung it in the steeple, —
A wonderful sight, which gave great delight
To crowds of gazing people."

A commodious parsonage was built in 1867, the land on which it was erected having been donated by A. C. Varnum, Esq.

The pews of the Centre Church were sold December, 1, 1794, and for some of them the following prices were paid: Captain David Varnum, £17 8s.; Colonel Joseph B. Varnum, £15 6s.; Nathaniel Jones, £15 6s.; Lieutenant Peter Haseltine, £16 16s.; Ezekiel Cheever, £11 14s.; Richard Hall, £11 14s.; Captain Moses Newell, £10 16s.; Peter Parker, £11, 2s.; William Hildreth, Jr., £8 11s.; Joel Fox, £8 17s.; Ens. Joshua Thissell and Caleb Blanchard, £8 17s. This meeting-house stands on a commanding site, and the lower story is occupied as a town-house.

The present Evangelical Church was organized here in 1847, and is now under the pastoral care of the Rev. Elias Nason. It has had but one minister regularly settled over it; this was the Rev. George Pierce, who was installed October 14, 1863, and remained until 1867.

In 1792 Parker Varnum and others constructed

a bridge across the Merrimack River at Pawtucket Falls. This was replaced by a better one in 1805, costing over \$14,000. A substantial iron one now takes the place of it. The population of Dracut in 1800 was 1,274, and the town was generally in a prosperous condition. Israel Hildreth was the town-clerk.

Colonel Lewis Ansart, who came to this country in 1776 to teach the Americans the art of casting cannon, and settled in Dracut at the close of the war, died here in 1804, and was buried in the cemetery about a mile above Pawtucket Falls. This is his epitaph:—

"Erected
In memory of
COL. LEWIS ANSART,
Who departed this life
May 22 A. D. 1804,
Æ. 69.

"Col. Ansart was a native of France; he arrived in this Country in 1776, and by the Authorities of Massachusetts was immediately appointed Colonel of Artillery and Inspector General of the Foundries in which capacity he served until the close of the War of the Revolution."

The town voted, June 2, 1812, "to those Soldiers that have Volunteered themselves, or have been detached to be marched in defence of their country, if called for, the sum of \$12 per month, including what sum of money the government gives them per month, for so long a time as they shall be in actual service." In the year following Dracut gave one hundred and forty-eight votes for Joseph B. Varnum and sixty-one for Caleb Strong, as governor. Captain Peter Coburn, who fought so bravely at Bunker Hill, died suddenly in May of this year (1813), aged seventy-four years, and was buried in the Coburn burial-place on his own land. The town voted in 1814 to choose one committee-man for each school district, and the Rev. Mr. Aiken was sent as representative to the General Court.

March 1, 1819, General Joseph B. Varnum, Captain Life Hamblet, and Phineas Coburn were chosen selectmen, and General Varnum and Nathaniel Fox, tything-men. The sum of \$500 was appropriated for the support of the public schools. In the year following General Varnum was sent as a delegate for the revision of the state constitution. His death occurred September 11, 1821. Descended from Joseph Varnum, an early settler of Dracut, he was born here in 1750, and, with such an education as the public schools could impart, became an eminent legislator and statesman. He

was a captain during the Revolution, and, at the time of his decease, the oldest major-general in the state. He served the state with signal ability as representative, senator, and councillor, and was a representative in Congress from 1795 to 1811. He was four years Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, and a zealous supporter of Mr. Jefferson. In 1811 he succeeded Mr. Pickering as United States Senator. He was among the few Northern men who, in 1798, opposed the admission of slavery into the Mississippi Territory. In reply to Mr. Harper on that question he made this memorable remark: "Where there is a disposition to retain a part of our species in slavery, there cannot be a proper respect for the rights of mankind." His estate is on the road from Lowell to Methuen, and there he lies buried. His mental powers were of the highest order, and he has been called "the most distinguished man of his age in the Merrimack Valley." His son, Benjamin F. Varnum, born in 1795, was appointed sheriff of Middlesex in 1831, and died January 11, 1841, greatly respected by all who knew him.

James Mitchell Varnum, an older brother of General Joseph B. Varnum, who graduated at Brown University in 1769, became a brigadier-general in the army of the Revolution, and was an eloquent and influential member of Congress, 1780-1782 and 1786-1787. He subsequently became judge of the Supreme Court in the Northwest Territory, and died at Marietta, Ohio, in June, 1788.

The travel between Dracut and Lowell increasing, the Central Bridge, taking the place of "Bradley's Ferry," was constructed in 1826, and rebuilt in 1844. In 1850 the number of inhabitants, by reason of the prosperity of Lowell on the opposite side of the river, had increased to 3,503. J. V. B. Coburn, Timothy Coburn, and Archibald O. Varnum were the selectmen, and George Hovey was the town-clerk. By the annexation of a part of Dracut (Centralville) to Lowell, February 28, 1851, the population had declined in 1860 to 1,881.

During the War of the Rebellion Dracut was true to her ancient record, and liberally furnished men and money for the support of the government. The whole number of men furnished by the town for the army and navy was one hundred and thirty-five.

In the year ending May 1, 1865, the town employed two hundred and fifty persons in the manufacture of cassimere and twelve in the manufacture of paper. The mills are situated on the falls on Beaver Brook. It had then one hundred and ninety-three farms, and sold milk to the value of \$31,848. The population had increased in 1870 to 2,078; but another surrender of a portion of its territory (Pawtucketville) to Lowell, August 1, 1874, had so reduced the number that in 1875 it was only 1,116. The selectmen for 1878 were Gayton M. Hall, Edward E. Stevens, and Robert Mills; the town-clerk and treasurer was Charles H. Stickney. The total valuation was \$931,261, and the rate of taxation, \$8.70 on \$1,000.

DUNSTABLE.

BY REV. ELIAS NASON.



THE town of Dunstable, in the northerly part of Middlesex County, contains four hundred and fifty-two inhabitants, one hundred and eight dwelling-houses, and has New Hampshire on the north, Tyngsborough on the east, Groton on the south, and Pepperell, from which it is separated by the Nashua River, on the west. The land is uneven, rising into several beautiful eminences, as Forest Hill, Spectacle Hill, and Nutting Hill; and it is

drained by the Nashua River, Salmon Brook, and Unquetynasset Brook.

The people are mostly engaged in agricultural pursuits, for which the soil is well adapted. The town is accommodated by the Worcester and Nashua Railroad, running through the westerly section, and by the Nashua and Acton Railroad, following the line of Salmon Brook and nearly bisecting the territory of the town.

Originally the town embraced a large extent of land running far away into New Hampshire; but section after section was taken to form other towns, so that now it stands among the smaller towns of

Middlesex County, and has an area of only 10,500 acres.

The town was incorporated October 16, 1673 (O. S.), and received its name in honor of Mrs. Mary Tyng, wife of the Hon. Edward Tyng, who had emigrated from Dunstable, Bedfordshire, England, and was among the earliest settlers of that part of Dunstable, now called Tyngsborough. In May, 1674, Captain Jonathan Danforth completed a survey of the territory and thus describes its boundaries:—

"It lieth upon both sides of the Merrimack River on the Nashaway River. It is bounded on the south by Chelmsford, by Groton line, partly by country land. The westerly line runs due north until you come to Souhegan River, to a hill, called Dram Cup Hill, to a great pine near to y^e said river at y^e northwest corner of Charlestown school farm; bounded by Souhegan River on the north, and on the east side Merrimack it begins at a great stone which was supposed to be near the northeast corner of Mr. Brenton's land, and from thence it runs south-southeast six miles to a pine marked F, standing within sight of Beaver Brook; thence it runs two degrees west of south four miles and a quarter which reached to the south side of Henry Kimbles farm at Jeremies Hill; thence from y^e southeast angell of said farm, it runs two degrees and a quarter westward of the south, near to the head of Long Pond, which lieth at y^e head of Edward Colburns farm, and thus it is bounded by y^e said pond and y^e head of said Colburns farm, taking in Capt. Scarletts farm, so as to close again all which is sufficiently bounded and described. Dunstable 3d mo. [May] 1674."

This tract included something like two hundred square miles; and some twelve years subsequent to the act of incorporation the title to it was purchased of the Wamesit and Naticook Indians for the sum of £20 sterling. It was then a vast wilderness, heavily wooded with pine, oak, walnut, maple, and birch timber, and infested by wild beasts and savages.

The English began to settle on the banks of the Merrimack River, and especially at the mouth and along the margin of Salmon Brook several years prior to the act of incorporation, erected a garrison-house and commenced clearing up the wilderness. Among the early settlers were John Acres, John, William, and Samuel Beale, John Blanchard, John Cromwell, Edward Colburn, Andrew Cook, Isaac, John, and Thomas Cummings, Henry

Farwell, Samuel French, John and Samuel Gould, Joseph Hassell, John, John Jr., and Joseph Lovewell, Thomas Lund, Robert Parris, Obadiah Perry, Robert Proctor, Christopher Reed, John Sollendine, Christopher Temple, Edward Tyng, his son Jonathan Tyng, Robert Usher, Daniel and John Waldo, Samuel Warner, Thomas Weld, Joseph Wheeler, and Samuel Whiting.

Although Dunstable was an outlying frontier, it does not appear to have been, except in the case of John Cromwell, spoken of under the head of Tyngsborough, molested by the Indians prior to King Philip's War in 1675. This was doubtless owing to the friendly disposition of Passaconaway, chief of the Pawtucket tribe, and a convert of the celebrated John Eliot.

On the outbreak of the war the settlers, fearing an attack, abandoned their plantations and sought refuge in the towns of Chelmsford, Billerica, Concord, and Boston. Jonathan Tyng, however, whose house stood near Wicasuck Island in the Merrimack River, bravely faced the danger, and remained the sole white inhabitant of the place during the continuance of the war. On the approach of the enemy he petitioned the General Court for three or four men to help him garrison his house, which he had been at great charge to fortify, and they were sent to him.¹

Soon after the death of Philip the settlers returned to their habitations, and employed John Sollendine to complete their unfinished meeting-house, which was of logs, and stood "between Salmon Brook and the house of Lt. Joseph Wheeler."

The earliest town-meeting of which any record remains was held at Woburn, November 28, 1677, when Captain Thomas Brattle of Boston, one of the largest landholders, Captain Elisha Hutchinson of Woburn, Captain James Parker and Abraham Parker of Groton, and Jonathan Tyng were chosen selectmen. They selected the Rev. Thomas Weld (H. C. 1671) for their minister, at a salary of £50 per annum. He began to preach here as early as May, 1679, and November 9, 1681, married Elizabeth, daughter of the Rev. John Wilson of Medfield.

The first recorded birth in town was that of William, son of Jonathan and Mary (Usher) Tyng, April 22, 1679. It is mentioned, under the caption of "Lambs born in Dunstable"; the first

¹ He says in his petition: "There being never an inhabitant left in the town but myself."

recorded marriage is that of John Sollendine, under date of August 2, 1680. In the year following the infant colony was called to mourn the death of the Hon. Edward Tyng, a prominent citizen who had removed thither from Boston as early as 1679. He was buried in the old cemetery about a mile south of Tyngsborough Centre, and this inscription may be read upon the granite headstone of his grave:—

"Here Lyeth the Body of
MR. EDWARD TYNG, Esq., aged 71 years.
Died December 27 Day, 1691."

In 1684 a new meeting-house was erected, and on the 16th of December of the year following a church was organized, consisting of six male members; namely, John Blanchard, John Cummings, Sr., Samuel French, Obadiah Perry, Jonathan Tyng, and Cornelius Waldo. The Rev. Thomas Weld was on the same day ordained as pastor.

The progress of the settlement was now peaceful and rapid until the opening of King William's War, when the Indians again made assaults upon the inhabitants along the eastern frontier. On the 23d of July, 1689, the town applied to the governor and council for "twenty footmen for the space of a month, to scout about the town while we get our hay."

On the evening of September 2, 1691, the Indians suddenly assaulted the town and massacred four of its inhabitants. This is the record:—

"Anno Domini 1691. Joseph Hassell, Senior, Anna Hassell, his wife, Benjamin Hassell, their son, were slain by our Indian enemies on Sept. 2d in the evening. Mary Marks, the daughter of Peter Marks, was slain by the Indians, also, on Sept. 2d day in the evening."

It is further stated that "Obadiah Perry and Christopher Temple dyed by the hand of our Indian enemies on September, the twenty-eighth day, in the morning."

Such were the depredations committed by the Indians, that by the year 1696 nearly two thirds of the white settlers had left the town, and the colony afforded aid for the maintenance of the ministry and the garrisons, now under the care of the brave Jonathan Tyng. The friendly Indian, Joe English, was of great service in giving intelligence of the movements of the enemy.

The first grist-mill in town was erected by Samuel Adams at the "Gulf" at Massapoog Pond, prior to 1689; and in July of that year John Blanchard, John Lovewell, Christopher Read,

Samuel Whiting, and Robert Parris petitioned the General Court for soldiers to defend it from the enemy. This pond originally covered an area of some six hundred acres, and the outlet was on the eastern side. A natural dam about thirty feet in height restrained the waters on the north. Through this dam Mr. Adams cut a channel for his mill. His negro servant, whom he kept on cold bean-porridge, was one day left in charge of it. He had a grudge against his master, and seeing the water working its way through the sand he said that, though he might have stopped the current with his hat, he thought of the small bits of meat in his bean-porridge, and resolved to let it run. There had been a freshet, and the current, gaining strength by action, soon broke in full force through the embankment, swept the mill away, and formed another pond, called "Little Massapoog," below. This Gulf, thus formed, is now the outlet of the greater pond, and so far have the waters sunk that a little stream now falls into the pond at the original outlet by a descent of about twenty feet. The level of the water prior to the formation of the Gulf may be distinctly traced by the layers of sand in the adjacent hills. The scenery at the Gulf is quite romantic, and attracts the attention of the scenic painter and the geologist.

The Rev. Thomas Weld died June 9, 1702, and was buried in the old cemetery near his church. He was noted for his piety, and highly respected. There is no proof that he was slain (as Mr. John Farmer has asserted) by the Indians. His second wife, Hannah (Tyng) Savage Weld, died at the house of her son, the Rev. Habijah Savage Weld of Attleborough, in 1731.

During Queen Anne's War, which commenced in 1702 and continued ten years, Dunstable was kept in a state of constant alarm by the insidious machinations of the red men. Another garrison was established December 25, 1702, and defended by William Tyng, John Bowers, Joseph Butterfield, John Spaulding, John Cummings, Joseph Hassell, Ebenezer Spaulding, Daniel Galusha, Paul Fletcher, Samuel French, Thomas Lund, and Jonathan Tyng. About this time Robert Parris, his wife, and oldest daughter were killed by the Indians. His other two daughters escaped by hiding in a hogshhead till the savages had left the house.

The soldiers of Dunstable often left their homes on distant expeditions against the common foe, and then their wives and daughters bravely took their places in the garrisons. In the winter of 1703

Captain William Tyng, with a small company, made his way through the deep snows to Winnepiseogee Lake, where he took six scalps, for which the colony paid him £200. Captain John Tyng made another expedition as far as Pequawkett in the winter of 1704, and killed five of the enemy. When the attack was made on Lancaster in the following summer, Captain Jonathan Tyng assisted in repulsing the enemy, when his "horse was by the Indians taken out of the said pasture and driven into the woods where they killed and ate the said horse"; also "one John Spaulding, who was a soldier under his command, was killed in that action, and his gun taken by the Indians." In the winter following he went to Norridgewock, where he lost several soldiers, among whom was Eleazer Parker.

A garrison-house, in which Captain Pearson of Rowley and twenty of his soldiers were posted, was assaulted July 3, 1706, by two hundred and seventy Mohawk Indians, who killed Mrs. John Cummings, took her husband captive, and then rushing into the house met the soldiers, who were off their guard, and a bloody fight ensued, during which several on both sides were killed. The savages then attacked the house of Daniel Galusha on Salmon Brook, killed Rachel Galusha, and would have killed another woman had she not made her escape through a window, and concealed herself in the bushes till they were gone. On the same day they entered the garrison-house of Nathaniel Blanchard, killed him, his wife Lydia, his daughter Susannah, and also Mrs. Hannah Blanchard. On the 27th of the same month the faithful Joe English, grandson of Masconnoio of Ipswich, was shot near Holden's Brook, in what is now Tyngsborough. He was acting as guard to Captain Butterfield and his wife, when the enemy came up and took Mrs. Butterfield captive, while her husband had the good fortune to escape. They then fired, and wounded Joe English; but knowing the exquisite torture to which they would subject him, he dared them by taunting words to kill him on the spot, which they immediately did. It is not easy for us in these days of peace to imagine the hardships and sufferings of the early settlers of this town. Every house was a watch-house; every man a soldier with his gun in readiness for action. Every woman and every child was day and night upon the lookout for the skulking and the merciless foe.

The number of garrisons in 1711 was seven; namely, Colonel Jonathan Tyng's, Henry Farwell's, John Cummings', Colonel Samuel Whiting's,

Thomas Lund's, Queen's Garrison, and John Solendine's. They had in all thirteen families and nineteen soldiers.

During these troublesome times the town was unable to support a minister. It said in a petition to the General Court, March 8, 1703-4, that the inhabitants "can never hear a sermon without travelling more than twelve miles from their principal post." For several months the Rev. Samuel Hunt (H. C. 1700) supplied the pulpit; but he was dismissed April 23, 1707, to go as a chaplain to Port Royal. In the autumn of 1708 the Rev. Samuel Parris, in whose family witchcraft commenced at Salem Village in 1692, began to preach here, and remained until 1712. He was followed by the Rev. Ames Cheever (H. C. 1707), who supplied the pulpit from 1713 to 1715, at a salary of £40 per annum. The Rev. John Pierpont of Reading, the Rev. Enoch Coffin of Newbury, and other ministers officiated here until August 20, 1720, when the town voted to call the Rev. Nathaniel Prentice (H. C. 1714) to settle as its minister. He continued in office here until his decease, which occurred February 25, 1737. He was greatly beloved by his people, and was buried in the old cemetery near his church. His grave-stone bears the following inscription:—

"REV. NATHANIEL PRENTICE,

Born December 1693,

Settled as the second minister in Dunstable 1720.

Died Feb. 25th 1737 Æt. 39."

He was succeeded by the Rev. Josiah Swan (H. C. 1733), December 27, 1738, and who continued in the pastorate until 1746, when he resigned, and subsequently became a noted school-teacher in Lancaster. A new meeting-house, which stood near the burial-place at Little's Station, was erected during his ministry.

The Treaty of Utrecht, April 11, 1713, silenced for several years the war-whoop, and the people of Dunstable consequently increased in numbers and in property. Roads were laid out, mills erected, and the farms improved. But, instigated by Sebastian Rale, a Jesuit priest at Norridgewock, the Indians began in 1720 to commit depredations on the eastern frontier, and early in 1724 menaced the town of Dunstable. A company under Lieutenant Jabez Fairbanks, having in it Joseph Blanchard, Ebenezer Cummings, Jonathan Coombs, Thomas Lund, Isaac Farwell, and John Usher, was sent out to scout the woods in search of them. On the 4th of September of that year a party of French

and Indians came to the town and took captive Nathan Cross and Thomas Blanchard. A small band of men under Lieutenant Ebenezer French pursued them as far as Thornton's Ferry, but falling into an ambush were mostly killed or carried into captivity. Judge Samuel Penhallow gives this account of the event: "Sept. 4, the Indians fell on Dunstable and took two in the evening. Next morning Lieut. French with fourteen men went in quest of them; but being waylaid, both he and one half of his men were destroyed. After that as many more of a fresh company engaged them; but the enemy being much superior in number, overpowered them with the loss of one man and four wounded." Eight of the bodies of those killed at this time were recovered and buried in one grave, still to be seen in the burial-place at Little's Station. This quaint inscription is on the stone at the head of it:—

"Memento mori. Here lies the body of Mr. THOMAS LUND who departed this life Sept. 5th, 1724 in the 42d year of his age. This man with seven more that lies in this grave was Slew All in A day by the Indians."

Three other stones of the same date near this bear the names of Benjamin Carter, aged twenty-three years; Ebenezer Cummings, aged twenty-nine years; and Mr. Oliver Farwill, aged thirty-three years.

It was thought best to prosecute the war more vigorously, and the General Court voted, November 17, 1724, that John Lovewell, Josiah Farwell, and Jonathan Robbins "be allowed 2s. 6d. per diem each and also the sum of £100 for each male scalp." Lovewell raised a company of thirty men, pressed into the wilderness, and on the 19th of December struck an Indian trail about forty-four miles "above Winnepisockee Pond," and soon came to a wigwam, where they killed and scalped an Indian and took a boy captive. For these scalps they received "£50 over and above £150 allowed them by law."

Raising another company, embracing his brother Zaccheus Lovewell, Thomas Colburn, Peter Powers, Josiah Cummings, Henry Farwell, William Ayres, Samuel Fletcher, and others of Dunstable, the intrepid Captain Lovewell set out on a second expedition on the 30th of January, 1724-25, and, coming to a sheet of water, since known as Lovewell's Pond, now in the town of Wakefield, New Hampshire, and falling in with a party of ten Indians, killed the whole of them, and brought their scalps, stretched on poles, into Boston.

Elated by his success, Captain Lovewell started

with another company of forty-seven men, April 15, 1725, on an expedition against the Pequawketts, whose chief was Paugus, and whose headquarters were on the Saco River, in what is now the town of Fryeburg, Maine. It was a bold adventure; the march was through a wilderness, the distance more than two hundred miles. On arriving at Great Ossipee Lake, Captain Lovewell erected a stockade fort and left in it a sick soldier, with eight others as a guard.

On the 7th of May the main body arrived at the margin of a beautiful pond, now in Fryeburg, Maine, and encamped for the night. On the following morning, Saturday, May 8, the men were startled at the report of a gun, proceeding from the opposite shore of the pond. They then perceived an Indian, about a mile distant, standing on a point of land extending into the pond. Supposing him to be acting as a decoy, they held a consultation as to whether it were better to proceed or not; when their gallant chaplain, Jonathan Frye, exclaimed: "We came out to meet the enemy; we have all along prayed God that we might find them; and we had rather trust Providence with our lives,—yea, die for our country,—than try to return without seeing them, if we may, and be called cowards for our pains!" His advice prevailed, and, moving forward, the company soon arrived at a plain, with here and there a pine-tree, and laid down their packs, supposing the enemy to be in front of them. Proceeding thence about one mile, they came suddenly upon the hunter whom they had seen in the morning, and, discharging several pieces, killed him on the spot; not, however, until he had seriously wounded Captain Lovewell and Samuel Whiting with beaver-shot.

The party then turned back towards the spot where they had left their packs; but in the mean time Paugus, at the head of about eighty warriors, returning from an excursion down the river, found the packs, and, inferring from the number that the English force was inferior to his own, determined to engage in battle. He concealed his men, and when the English came up for their packs, the Indians, raising the war-whoop, rushed upon them and a desperate fight ensued. The gallant Captain Lovewell and eight of his brave men were soon left dead upon the field. The English, now under Ensign Seth Wyman, fearing they should be surrounded by the enemy, fell back to the margin of the pond, where their right was protected by a

brook, their left by a rocky point, and their front by a deep morass. Here they stood against their enemy for the remainder of the day. About three o'clock in the afternoon the brave Chaplain Frye received a shot from which he subsequently died. Near the close of the day the redoubtable Paugus, chief of the Pequawketts, fell, and probably by a shot from Ensign Wyman.

There is a tradition, that, being near each other on the margin of the lake, Paugus, forcing down his bullet, said to Wyman, "Me kill you quick!" When the latter, whose gun primed itself, replying, "Maybe not!" fired, and brought the chieftain down.¹ Soon after sunset the Indians, for some cause, withdrew, and then the remnant of the brave Lovewell's band retreated, leaving their wounded chaplain, Lieutenant Josiah Farwell, Eleazer Davis, and Josiah Jones on the way² to the stockade fort on Ossipee Lake. They found the post abandoned, and, marching homewards, arrived at Dunstable about the middle of May. Colonel Eleazer Tyng immediately proceeded with a company of eighty-seven men to the fatal battle-ground, and there identified and buried the bodies of Captain Lovewell, Paugus, Ensign Jonathan Robbins, Ensign John Harwood, Robert Usher, Sergeant Jacob Fullam, Jacob Farrar, Josiah Davis, Thomas Woods, Daniel Woods, John Jefts, Ichabod Johnson, and Jonathan Kittridge. A sergeant and twelve effective men were detached from Colonel Flagg's regiment for the defence of Dunstable during the absence of Colonel Tyng. They were to be posted at the garrisons of Joseph Blodgett (near Massapoag Pond), Nathaniel Hill, John Taylor, and John Lovewell, near "the harbor" on Salmon Brook.

Captain John Lovewell, son of John Lovewell, was born in Dunstable, July 24, 1691. He left three children, John, born June 30, 1718, Hannah, born July 24, 1721, and Nehemiah, born January 9, 1726.³ He was a courageous and experienced

Indian hunter, and died with his gun directed towards the foe. His death was not in vain. A treaty of peace with the Indians was made soon after the Pequawkett fight, and the town of Dunstable was not afterwards troubled by the aborigines.

The exploits of Lovewell and his brave company were recounted in a famous ballad, written soon after the Pequawkett fight, which was sung at the fireside on winter evenings through the province. It is one of our earliest and best compositions of the kind. It commences:—

"Of worthy Captain Lovewell, I purpose now to sing,

How valiantly he served his country and his king;

He and his valiant soldiers did range the woods full wide,

And hardships they endured to quell the Indians' pride."

In 1730 the whole number of families in Dunstable was about fifty, and £90 were appropriated for the salary of the Rev. Mr. Prentice. On the 4th of January, 1732–33, certain families living east of the Merrimack River were set off to form the town of Nottingham, which was subsequently called West Nottingham, and, on July 1, 1830, received the name of Hudson. In 1734 another section of Dunstable was incorporated under the name of Litchfield; and that part of this town lying west of the Merrimack River was subsequently formed into another town, called at first Rumford, and now Merrimack. In 1739 that section of the town called by the Indians Nissitisset, was incorporated under the name of the West Parish, and soon afterwards Hollis. The westerly part of this town was subsequently incorporated under the name of Roby, now Brookline. By the divisional line between Massachusetts and New Hampshire, established in 1741, these towns, together with the territory which for some time bore the name of Dunstable, then Nashville, and which is now the city of Nashua, were included in the latter commonwealth. The easterly part of Dunstable, Massachusetts, was incorporated as the town of Tyngsborough, February 23, 1809. The territory thrown into Dunstable, by the divisional line in 1741, embraced the Tyng estate, extending from the Merrimack River about six miles westward, by one mile wide, to Massapoag Pond. It was mostly given to Jonathan Tyng, Esq., in consideration of £23 due to him by the town, and now forms a large part of the town of Tyngsborough; and it also contained an extensive tract, known as the Brattle Farm, which extended from Massapoag Pond northeasterly towards the present city

¹ The tradition is usually applied to John Chamberlain of Groton, having first appeared in print in an edition of Rev. Zecbariah Symmes' account of the fight. The authority for connecting Wyman's name with the exploit narrated is from a ballad of unknown origin. — Ed.

² After travelling some distance, Chaplain Frye, from whom the town of Fryeburg was named, sank under his wounds; Lieutenant Josiah Farwell died on the eleventh day after the fight; Eleazer Davis reached Berwick, May 27, in a miserable state; Josiah Jones, after wandering fourteen days in the wilderness, arrived in Saco. He was severely wounded.

³ For a more extended account of him and of his last fight, see *Kidd's Expeditions of Captain John Lovewell*, and Nason's *History of Dunstable, Mass.*

of Nashua. Captain Thomas Brattle of Boston bought this land July 14, 1671, of Kanapatune and Patatucke, Indians of Wamesit, and it was described as being two thousand acres "in the wilderness on the west side of Merrimack, between the river and Mashapopog Pond, on the line of Chelmsford." It was formerly owned by Cuttahuno-a-muck, the original proprietor of what is now the town of Dunstable. This land in 1788 belonged to Thomas and Nathaniel Cummings, Jacob Kendall, Abraham and John Taylor, and James and Thomas Jewell.

The first recorded town-meeting in Dunstable was held at the inn of Ebenezer Kendall, March 5, 1743, when Eleazer Tyng, John Kendall, and John Woodward were chosen selectmen; and it was then voted that Josiah Blodgett "shall be a Dear Reave to prevent y^e Killing of Dear out of season."

The names of the tax-payers of this period (1744) are Eleazer Tyng, Esq., John French, John Cummings, Jonathan Taylor, John Kendall, Abraham Taylor, Ebenezer Parkhurst, Nathaniel Cummings, Henry Farwell, John Woodward, Abraham Kendall, Andrew Foster, Ebenezer Proctor, Ebenezer Butterfield, Samuel Taylor, Isaac Colburn, Josiah Blodgett, Thomas Chamberlain, John Steele, Oliver Colburn, Joseph Eaton, Robert Scott, Adford Jaquith, Ebenezer Kendall, Thomas Frost, Oliver Farwell, Benjamin Scott, Timothy Bancroft, Benjamin Farwell, John French, Jr., Jonathan Taylor, Jr., Noah Tarbox, Stephen Adams, James Whitney, Jonathan Robbins, Samuel Howard, Samuel Roby, Thomas Estabrook, Thomas Estabrook, Jr., William Scott, Robert Blood, Moses Estabrook, Zachariah Adams, David Taylor, John Woodward, Jr., William Blanchard, John Kendall, Jr., Thomas Howard, Joseph Taylor, John Buck, George Addison, Thomas Adams, Ephraim Adams, and Timothy Taylor. Total, fifty-four.

By the division of the town, 1741, the meeting-house came on the New Hampshire side, and some disagreement arose in respect to the adjustment of claims which the people on the Massachusetts side had on the building. A few persons continued to worship over the line, but the majority preferred to have preaching nearer to their homes. Hence it was voted, May 2, 1744, "that the Select Men, with Mr. Abraham Taylor and Mr. Tim^o Bancroft be a committee to tak Cair to huer the Gospel to be preached among us"; and in order that the ministry might be the more easily supported, it was voted, July 23, "to except som

of y^e peopell of Groton Living in y^e Northeast parte of it Called joynt Grass to be enexed to us." The town at this time petitioned the General Court "for fortifications to defend us." One of them was erected in front of the house of Robert Blood, and another eastward of the house of Mr. James Bennett. On the 14th of March, 1744-45, it was voted "y^e Deacon Abraham Taylor's Hous shall be y^e place to preach in for the present." Who the preacher was at this period is not known.

A notable contention now ensued in respect to the location of the meeting-house. The town, extending from Dracut on the east as far west as the Nashua River, could not easily convene in one place for public worship, and hence the people in the eastern section strove for several years with those of the western as to which should have the building nearer to them. This vexed question was referred to a committee from the neighboring towns, and to the General Court; many town-meetings were held respecting it, and many hard words spoken; but it was finally agreed, in 1753, to set the meeting-house "by y^e Highway Side which Leads from y^e house of Mr. Temple Kendall to Mr. Robert Blood's house." The spot selected is about one mile easterly of the present church edifice, and commands a very fine prospect of the surrounding country, and of Wachusett Mountain in the distance. Nothing now, save the old burial-place, marks the locality. The meeting-house was raised with "spike poles," July 18, 1753; but the day was signalized by a sad calamity. While the frame was going up Mr. Abiel Richardson fell from a spar, and, striking on a rock, was instantly killed. The building was finished and furnished by degrees, as the people could command the time and means to do it. Various clergymen, as the Rev. Josiah Goodhue, Rev. Elizur Holyoke (H. C. 1750), Rev. Josiah Cotton (H. C. 1722), Rev. Joseph Perry, and Rev. Timothy Minot supplied for a time the pulpit; at length, on the 12th of May, 1757, a church was organized, and on the 8th of June following the Rev. Josiah Goodhue (H. C. 1755) was ordained as its pastor. The names of the original members of the church are as follows: Josiah Goodhue, Joseph Pike, John Kendall, Ebenezer Sherwin, Ebenezer Butterfield, Samuel Taylor, Josiah Blodgett, Ebenezer Kendall, Adford Jaquith, Timothy Read, Stephen Adams, Joseph Taylor, Samuel Cummings, Benjamin Robbins, John Swallow, Susannah Kendall, Alice Butterfield, Susannah Taylor, Jemima

Blodgett, Hannah Kendall, Olive Taylor, Sarah Cummings, Elizabeth Robbins, Elizabeth Goodhue, Joseph Fletcher, Abraham Kendall, John Cummings, Robert Blood, Sarah Swallow, Elizabeth Fletcher, Ruth Kendall, Elizabeth Cummings, Sarah Blood, Sarah Parkhurst, Mary Cummings, Hannah Taylor, Susannah Haywood, and Abigail Blood.

Not satisfied with the location of Mr. Goodhue's meeting-house, the people in the easterly part of the town (now Tyngsborough) were formed into a precinct, and erected a small church on the right bank of the Merrimack River near the spot now occupied by the Unitarian Church edifice.

The earliest mention in the records of a public school is December 27, 1748, when the town voted "to Raise £30 old Tenor for the Support of a school."

Wolves were at this period very troublesome, and it was voted, 1749, to pay 12s. 6d. to any person in Dunstable or the towns adjoining "that shall kill any Grone Wolf within one year within the bounds of their Respective towns or shall take the tracte in any of their townes and follow it till they kill it where they will if y^e hed be produced by way of evidence and y^e Ears cut off as the Law directs."

The following curious paper will show that one negro slave at least was held and sold in Dunstable:—

"DUNSTABLE September y^e 10th 1756.

"Received of Mr. John Abbott junior of Andover, Fourteen pounds Thirteen shillings and Two pence. It being the full value of a Negrow Garl, Named Dinah, about five years of Age of a Healthy Sound Constitution, free of any disease of Body and I Do hereby Deliver the same Garl to the said Abbott and Promise to Defend him in the improvement of hear as his Servan forever. Witness my hand.

ROBERT BLOOD.

JOHN KENDALL.

TEMPLE KENDALL."

Endorsed: "Oct. 28, New Stile, 1756. This day the Within Named Garl was Five years old."

It appears that each member of the parish built his own pew in the meeting-house, and that the people were seated according to their age and the amount each paid for the support of the minister.

The town was well represented in the old French War, and many of its men were therein trained for service in the War of the Revolution. Ensign John Cheney and William Blodgett were present at the surrender of Louisburg, 1758. Their pow-

der-horns are still preserved. Others in the service were Ebenezer Bancroft, Simeon Blood, James French, Ebenezer French, John Harwood, John Gilson, Joshua Wright, Ephraim and Benjamin Butterfield, Jonathan Woodward, "the miller of Massapoag Pond," Thomas Woodward, killed by the Indians in Canada, and Samuel Taylor, who died at Lake George, November 14, 1755. In August, 1760, some of the family of Peter Landerée, a Frenchman from Acadia, were brought into town for support. They were kindly cared for by the inhabitants, and busied themselves in making baskets, wooden shoes, and sugar-bowls. In the division of the family, Peter Landerée, his wife Sarah, and their son Peter were sent to Dunstable, Mary and Elizabeth Landerée to Dracut, and Mary Magdalene and Jane Landerée to Tewksbury. Some of the Landerées were also sent to Billerica.

On the 23d of February, 1764, it was voted that "Brother Abraham Kendall, Brother Josiah Blodgett and Brother Sam^l Cummings be Quersters in y^e congregation." The Psalms were still "lined out" by the pastor or one of the deacons. In the year ensuing Robert Blood and Josiah Blodgett were chosen "to inspect the Salmon and Fishery according to law." The streams and ponds were then teeming with salmon, shad, and alewives, which the dams on the Merrimack River have long since mostly prevented from ascending.

By the census of this year Dunstable had 90 dwelling-houses, 98 families, 138 males and 143 females above 16 years old, and a total of 559 inhabitants, of whom 16 were colored, and probably held as slaves. On the 25th of May, 1767, the town voted "to Raise and assest £36 2s. for the use of a school, Repairing the pound, Building one pair of Stocks and other Town charges."

In the War of the Revolution Dunstable bore an active and honorable part, and as early as 1768 chose the Hon. John Tyng as a delegate to the convention held in Boston, September 22, "to deliberate on constitutional measures and to obtain redress of their grievances." On receiving the news of the Boston Massacre, March 5, 1770, the old firelocks were put into order, and the people began to look forward to an open contest with the mother country.

There was now a growing disaffection towards the Rev. Mr. Goodhue, and on the 8th of March, 1773, the parish voted not to be assessed for his salary. In August, 1774, he issued a writ against

the town for £175 and 87½ cords of wood: then due to him, and on the 28th of September following he was by a mutual council dismissed from his pastorate. His claims on the parish were subsequently paid, and the only apparent reason for his dismissal was "that the people were weary of him." He was afterwards settled in Putney, Vt., where he died in November, 1797. In a sermon preached at his funeral, November 16, of that year, the Rev. William Wells said of him that "piety to God and benevolence to man were leading features of his character."

On the 1st of March, 1775, twenty-eight men signed a paper in which they "voluntarily engage with each other in defence of our country," and their names are as follows: Edward Butterfield, Nathaniel Holden, Lemuel Perham, George Bishop, Ebenezer French, Jonathan Bancroft, John Cheney, Reuben Lewis, John Cummings, John French, Zebedee Kendall, Joseph Farrar, John Marsh, John Cockle, Samuel Boby, Eleazer French, Philip Butterfield, Jeralmeel Colburn, William French, Jonathan Sherwin, John Manning, Jacob Davis, Jesse Butterfield, Hezekiah Kendall, Henry Shephard, William Glenn, Jonathan Woodward, and Thomas Trowbridge. On the 4th of April the town voted "to have menite men." A committee of correspondence was early chosen, and the Dunstable company, composed of fifty men under Captain Ebenezer Bancroft, participated in the battle of Bunker Hill. The captain was severely wounded in the engagement; Eleazer French had an arm shot off, and his brother, Samuel French, was shot through his right ear. Jonathan, William, and Jonas French, Ebenezer and Temple Kendall, fought bravely on that day. Isaac Wright, sitting exhausted on a bank, saw a cannon-ball come rolling along at his feet, and was asked why he did not stop it. "I should then," said he, "have come home with but one leg!" Captain Oliver Cummings, being ill at the time, was not present with his company. Many town-meetings were held, patriotic resolutions were adopted, and men and money raised to meet the exigencies of the war. The town's stock of ammunition was stored in the meeting-house, and this, or Asa Kendall's tavern, was the "alarm post" of the town. While the town of Boston was held by the British troops in 1775, several of its citizens repaired to Dunstable, and it was voted by this town, November 20, that "Y^e Poor and Indigent inhabitants of the town of Boston which are now

in this town be supported with y^e provisions of this town so long as it could be procured in s^d town therefor." On the 31st of May, 1776, Oliver Cummings was commissioned captain of the Dunstable company in Colonel Simeon Spaulding's regiment. Every soldier was provided with a fire-arm, cutting-sword, or hatchet, cartridge-box, from fifteen to one hundred pounds of buckshot, jack-knife, powder, from fifteen to one hundred pounds of balls, six flints, a knapsack (often of strong tow cloth), blanket, and canteen. Under such equipment the Dunstable soldiers performed effective service on almost all the great battle-fields of the Revolution.

The town chose, February 17, 1777, Ebenezer Bancroft and Abraham Kendall selectmen and assessors in place of "Captain Reuben Butterfield and Lieutenant Joel Parkhurst, absent in y^e army," and Ebenezer Bancroft was sent to the General Court. In March of this year Lieutenant Richard Welch hired eight foreigners to serve in Captain Oliver Cummings' company during the war. The following Dunstable men were also drafted: "1st time. Jonathan Fletcher, Samuel Taylor, Benjamin Jaquith, James Perham, Joseph Parkhurst, Jonathan Proctor, Samuel Butterfield, Edward Kendall. 2d time. D. Fletcher, Oliver Cummings. 3d time. Jacob Kendall, Temple Kendall, Abraham Kendall, Leonard Butterfield."

As there were several tories in town, Lieutenant Nathaniel Holden was chosen, September 11, 1777, "to procure and lay before y^e court evidence y^e might be had of y^e Eniucial disposition of any of this town that may be complained of."

The following men were hired and paid by the second parish for a term of service in 1777-78: Amos Taylor, William Davis, John Proctor, Oliver Cummings, Jr., and Jonathan French of Dunstable; Jonas Whiting, Simeon Stevens, Isaac Stearne, and Josiah Wright of Billerica; Samuel Parker of Pepperell; and Jonathan Dickinson of Charlestown. These men served in various companies.

The women of Dunstable were not less patriotic than the men; and while their husbands and brothers were absent in the army, attended to the work on the farms, and prepared clothing, not only for their families, but also for the soldiers. The second parish voted, February 15, 1779, £100 "for the support of the Persons this Parish have hired to Engag into Continental Army."

At the first gubernatorial election under the new state constitution, held September 4, 1780, Dunstable cast sixteen votes for John Hancock and three for James Bowdoin, as governor. Many voters were absent in the army. The town furnished this year 7,500 pounds of beef for the soldiers. In March, 1781, Lieutenant Samuel Perham, Josiah Blodgett, Jr., and Abel Colburn, were chosen a committee of correspondence, and in April following the town voted 4,480 pounds of beef and £120 in silver for the army.

The news of peace in 1783 was received with demonstrations of joy. The soldiers returned to their homes, and the town gradually assumed its wonted prosperity. Though heavily burdened by the demands of the war, the town did not fail to support its public schools and religious institution. It had no settled minister, but the pulpit was supplied by the Rev. John Strickland, the Rev. Phineas Wright (H. C. 1772), and other clergymen. In 1785 the town raised £40 for schools, and "voted and chose Mr. John Chaney, Jr., to Lead in Singing in Publick worship." The school-teachers in the year following were John Blodgett, Joseph Butterfield, Jr., and wife, Susannah Bancroft, Elizabeth Swallow, Joseph Dix, Rachel Fletcher, and Elizabeth Powers. Overseers of the poor were for the first time elected, and Solomon Pollard was chosen "Deer reeve."

In the beginning of the year 1787 Captain Nathaniel Fletcher, Leonard Parkhurst, Isaac Kendall, and Nathaniel Cummings left town for the suppression of Shays' Rebellion, and after a long and wearisome journey returned home at the end of March.

An effort was made this year towards the union of the two parishes; but a donation made January 7, 1789, by Mrs. Sarah [Tyng] Winslow for the support of a minister and a grammar school, with the proviso that "y^e town repair y^e east meeting-house," and also that "a convenient house for a grammar school be built within a year, as near the said meeting-house as the grounds will admit," prevented the completion of the scheme, and on the 22d of June following, what is now Tyngsborough was incorporated as a district. It was voted then by the town, August 10, that a school-house should be built "on the great road and in the centre of the town according to pay and travel"; and also that "the meeting-house should be removed to within 30 rods of the school-house." "Brother Zebedee Kendall" was appointed by the

church, October 22, to "Read the Psalm — a vers at a time."

The meeting-house was removed to the centre of Dunstable in 1791, and dedicated October 2, 1793, the Rev. Mr. Bullard of Pepperell preaching the sermon. This year about twenty families of Groton living at Unquetynasset were set off to Dunstable, rendering the boundary line between these towns very circuitous.

The Rev. Joshua Heywood was ordained as the second pastor of the church June 5, 1799, the Rev. John Bruce preaching the sermon. Mr. Heywood's salary was fixed at \$266.66 per annum, and his "settlement" was \$333. The population of the town in 1800 was four hundred and eighty-five, and health, hard work, and competence prevailed. In 1803 the town voted \$40 for purchasing a set of weights and measures, and also \$30 for a singing-school. About this time the bass-viol, under strong opposition, was introduced into the church. In 1810 the population of the town was four hundred and seventy-five. Captain Jonas Kendall was the commander of the militia company.

As by the state law of 1811 any person was allowed to pay his church rate to whatever religious denomination he should prefer, Mr. Heywood generously proposed to relinquish as much of his salary as any persons leaving his society might have previously paid. This offer served to endear him to his people, and probably but few left his ministrations.

The following soldiers from this town served in the War of 1812, Jesse Blood, Oliver Gilson, Abel Johnson, Benjamin Wetherbee, John Pratt, Nathan Proctor, Henry Woods, Peter Kendall, Nehemiah Gilson, Noah Woods, Isaac Gilson, Jonathan Woodward, Jr., Jonathan Swallow, Jr., Samuel Kendall, Jonathan Emerson, and Benjamin Parker. The two last named died at Sackett's Harbor, N. Y. Orderly Sergeant John Woodward, Jr., also died at the same place, September 4, 1813, and a sermon commemorating his virtues was preached at Dunstable, October 24 of the same year, by the Rev. Mr. Heywood. It was subsequently published. A cenotaph in the Central Cemetery, Dunstable, bears this inscription:—

"In memory of MR. JOHN WOODWARD, JR., who died Sept. 4, 1813, aged 23 years.

"Sackett's Harbor is the place
Where my body lies at rest;
There at rest it must remain,
Till the dead are raised again."

The spotted fever was very prevalent and fatal in town this year. About twenty persons died of it.

The Rev. Joshua Heywood died, greatly lamented, November 11, 1814. He graduated at Harvard College, 1795, married Lydia French of Boston, January 27, 1800, and labored successfully amongst his people. He was tall and dignified in person, courteous in manner, and faithful in his duties both as a pastor and a citizen.

A Universalist society was formed in 1818, of which Edmund Page, Esq., was annually chosen clerk until 1828. Among the clergymen who officiated here were the Rev. Hosea Ballou, Rev. Paul Dean, Rev. Sebastian and Rev. Russell Streeter, Rev. Thomas Whittemore, D. D., and Rev. Thomas B. Thayer, D. D. In 1820 the number of inhabitants was 584.

On the 12th of June, 1822, the Rev. Samuel Howe Tolman, who had been preaching in Dunstable a part of the time for three years previous, was installed over the Orthodox church, which then consisted of about one hundred and five members, and December 24 of that year it was voted to substitute Dr. Samuel Worcester's *Watts' and Select Hymns* for the *Psalms and Hymns* of Dr. Watts. Several musical instruments, as the bass-viol, violin, and clarinet, were now used to assist the choir in singing.

In 1826 the sum of \$300 was appropriated for the support of the public schools.

After a faithful ministry the Rev. Mr. Tolman was, for want of adequate support, dismissed January 28, 1829. On the 13th of February of this year a post-office was established here, and Josiah Cummings, Jr., appointed postmaster. The population in 1830 was 593.

In the year following the Evangelical Church erected the present meeting-house, which was dedicated December 21, and on the same day the Rev. Eldad W. Goodman was installed as pastor. December 29 the First Parish was legally reorganized, and Temple Kendall was annually chosen clerk until 1843, when the records terminate. Venus Pitman, a colored woman, said to have been the last representative of those persons once held as slaves in Dunstable, died here March 16, 1833.

On the morning of January 4, 1835, the mercury fell to 40° below zero; this is the lowest point it is known to have reached in this vicinity.

The Rev. Mr. Goodman was dismissed from his pastorate on the 25th of August, and his departure was greatly regretted by his people. He was suc-

ceeded in the pastorate, March 15, 1837, by the Rev. Levi Brigham.

The population in 1840 was 603, and the town valuation \$191,314. On the 24th of December of this year Mr. Jonathan Woodward died, at the remarkable age of 101 years, 7 months, and 13 days. He was a worthy citizen, and a sermon was preached at his funeral in commemoration of his virtues. In 1842 the town was entirely free from debt, and nothing at this period occurred to interrupt the "even tenor of its way." The schools were mostly taught by young ladies, and a picnic or boating excursion in the summer, a sleighride, singing-school, or ball in the winter, were the chief amusements of the people.

The Worcester and Nashua Railroad was opened through the westerly part of the town December 18, 1848; but it has never been of much service to the place. In 1850 the town contained 590 inhabitants, and the number of men then liable to do military duty was sixty-one. After a faithful and efficient ministry, the Rev. Mr. Brigham was, at his own request, dismissed March 21 of this year; and on the 5th of September was followed by the Rev. Darwin Adams (Dartmouth College, 1824), son of the celebrated Daniel Adams, M. D., who wrote so many text-books for the public schools. In 1856 the two storekeepers were William Dunn and Liberty C. Raymond, and a hotel, owned by Peter Kendall, was doing a very good business at a mineral spring now covered by the waters of Massapoag Pond. The Rev. Darwin Adams, an excellent minister, was dismissed September 22, 1857, and now resides in Groton. He was followed in the pastorate by the Rev. William C. Jackson (Dartmouth College, 1831), who was installed November 2, 1859. In 1860 the population was 487, of whom eighty were farmers, four were merchants, and five were school-teachers.

The old church was reduced to ashes on the 8th of October, 1863. The only ministers who preached in it permanently after the division of the society were the Rev. Russell Streeter, Rev. Hiram Beckwith, Rev. Josiah Gilman, and Rev. William Hooper, who were all liberal and popular preachers.

The town of Dunstable furnished sixty-four men for the late war, of whom nine were killed or died in the service. It paid \$3,100 for bounties. It had no commissioned officers in the war. Five of its men enlisted in other towns.

In 1865 the town had 90 farms, 1,540 apple-

trees, 157 sheep, 113 horses, 392 milch cows, and the value of milk sold annually was \$8,998.

The Rev. Mr. Jackson was dismissed from his pastorate, at his own request, November 13, 1867, and is now settled at Brentwood, N. H.

The Rev. Edward P. Kingsbury was ordained as pastor of the church November 28, 1869. The town appropriated this year for its public schools the sum of \$800. The population in 1870 was 471, and of these, 128 were legal voters. The health of the Rev. Mr. Kingsbury declining, he retired from his pastorate March 12, 1871, and died two weeks later, much lamented by all who knew him. The Rev. Charles Rockwell, though not installed, was the pastor from May 4, 1871, till May 1, 1873. The valuation of the town in 1872 was \$326,152.22. The Rev. Franklin D. Austin was employed to supply the pulpit, July 1, 1873, and still continues in that office. The liberal sum of \$900 was appropriated this year for the support of the public schools, which are now taught altogether by young ladies.

The Nashua, Acton, and Boston Railroad, following the line of the Salmon Brook, was opened through the town in June, 1873, and on the 17th of September of this year the town observed the bicentennial anniversary of its incorporation. The oration was delivered by the Hon. George B. Loring, and has been published. The day was fair, the concourse of people large, the collation fine, and nothing occurred to mar the pleasure of the occasion.

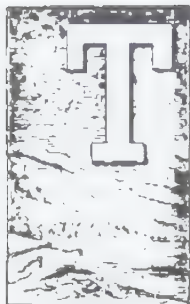
The Hon. Isaac Fletcher, son of Joseph and Molly (Cummings) Fletcher, and grandson of Dea-

con Joseph Fletcher, was born in the northwest part of Dunstable, November 22, 1784, graduated at Dartmouth College in the class of 1808, studied law, and, in 1811, engaged in his profession at Lyndon, Vt. He held various state offices, and was a Representative in Congress from 1837 to 1841. He was a good lawyer and an able statesman. He married Miss Abigail Stone in 1812, and died, greatly respected, October 19, 1842. A brief memoir of him was published in 1843 by Isaac F. Redfield.

Amos Kendall, son of Deacon Zebedee and Molly (Dakin) Kendall, was born in the northerly part of Dunstable, near Salmon Brook, August 16, 1787. He was early made acquainted with hard work on his father's farm; but, employing many of his leisure hours in study, he made such progress in learning that it was decided that he should have a collegiate education, and he was therefore sent to Dartmouth College, whence he graduated with the highest honors of his class in 1811. He studied law, removed to Kentucky, where he became the editor of *The Argus* at Frankfort, advocating the election of Andrew Jackson to the presidency. By him he was appointed, in 1829, fourth auditor of the United States Treasury, and from 1835 to 1840 he held the office of post-master-general, introducing many reforms into the department. He was a man of great executive ability, of sterling integrity, and of active benevolence. He died November 12, 1869, leaving an interesting autobiography which has since been published by his son-in-law.

EVERETT.

BY DUDLEY P. BAILEY.



THE town of Everett, named in honor of Edward Everett, was formerly a part of Malden, known as South Malden, and was incorporated March 9, 1870. On the south it is separated from Somerville and the Charlestown District of Boston by the Mystic River, except at the bridge, where a section of Boston territory

embracing the Charlestown poor-house and grounds extends a short distance north of the river. On the west is the town of Medford, separated by Malden River, on the north the town of Malden, and on the east the town of Revere and the city of Chelsea. Everett contained at the time of its incorporation an area of 2,473 acres, which was in 1875 diminished by the annexation to Medford of the territory west of Malden River, embracing about 200 acres, leaving the present area of Everett about 2,273 acres. The distance of Everett post-office from the city hall, Boston, is about three miles. Everett is situated on the Eastern Railroad, having ready communication with Boston both by the main line and the Saugus Branch. The Middlesex Street Railway also passes through the westerly, central, and southwesterly parts of the town, landing passengers in Boston within forty-five minutes from the time of leaving Everett Square. There are, besides the centre, three villages, or clusters of residences, known as Mystic Village in the southwest, Glendale in the northeast, and Mount Washington in the east, the latter communicating with Boston more naturally by way of Chelsea.

The first settlement of this section dates from about the year 1630, when Malden was a part of Charlestown called Mystic Side. Among the earliest settlers, if not the earliest, were the Bucknam family, who formerly occupied what in more recent times was known as the old Swan House on Bucknam (erroneously called Buckman) Street. Another early settler was Thomas Whittemore, who

settled in the southeast part of the town near Chelsea as early as 1645. Several descendants of both families still live in Everett. There are a few residences still remaining which belong to a period little if any later than these settlements.

The main part of Malden was separated from Charlestown in 1649, but the southerly portion was not annexed to Malden until 1721. Long before its separation from the parent town in 1870, South Malden formed in many respects a distinct community. The great swamp which extends from Chelsea line westerly just beyond the present northerly boundary of Everett broke the continuity of the habitable territory, except along a strip of land about a mile wide, extending from the swamp on the east to the marsh on the west. This territorial isolation of South Malden early induced efforts to obtain a distinct corporate existence. Being dissatisfied with the location of a new meeting-house erected in the northern part of the town in 1730, the people of South Malden proceeded to make arrangements for a separation, and, on the 13th of September in that year, held their first meeting for worship. Jonathan Sargeant, some of whose descendants still live in Everett, gave a lot of land for a meeting-house on Belmont, formerly called Nelson's Hill, on the east corner of Broadway and High Street as now laid out, his deed bearing date August 6, 1731. There was no road leading to the spot at that time. A house of worship appears to have been erected on this lot in 1731. In 1733 an effort was made to have South Malden incorporated as a distinct township or precinct, and after several years the effort proved successful, the South Precinct in Malden being incorporated in 1737. On the 18th of April, 1734, a council of three churches had embodied the South Church with sixteen male members. For some years the South Parish appears to have gained in numbers and strength, and, in 1752, declined a reunion with the North Parish, which in its turn, in 1758, declined similar overtures from the South Parish for a partial union of interests.

There appears to have been some disaffection growing out of the refusal of the South Parish to unite with the North, and the interests of the former soon after this began to languish. In 1786 they were so far reduced in circumstances as to be obliged to dispose of their parsonage house and land (more recently known as the Sargeant-Popkin estate) to the Rev. Eliakim Willis in return for pastoral services to be rendered by him. After the expiration of the term for which he was to serve in exchange for the parsonage, the parish being still unable to pay a regular salary, Mr. Willis, in 1770, consented to carry on the work of the ministry for a free contribution from Sabbath to Sabbath. During the Revolution the parish appears to have become nearly extinct, no record of any proceedings being made from 1775 to 1787, when the addition of some fourteen or more influential members who had left the North Parish on account of disaffection with Rev. Adoniram Judson, then settled there, revived for the time the declining fortunes of the South Parish. The old church on the hill was repaired, and began to wear a less desolate aspect. On the dismission of Mr. Judson from the North Parish, in 1791, the way was opened for the reunion of the two parishes, which was effected by act of the legislature passed February 23, 1792, after a separation of about fifty-five years. The successive pastors of the South Church were Rev. Joseph Stimpson, from September 24, 1785, to 1744; Rev. Aaron Cleaveland, May 23, 1747, to November 23, 1750; and Rev. Eliakim Willis, from February 20, 1752, to February 23, 1792; after which Mr. Willis became the pastor of the reunited parish, and so remained until his death, which occurred March 14, 1801, at the age of eighty-seven years. He was a man of excellent character, exalted piety, and unselfishly devoted to the work of the ministry. After the reunion of the two parishes the old meeting-house continued to be used for occasional religious services until near 1800, when it was sold, and the funds given to the South School District, then just established.

The educational advantages of South Malden in early times were quite limited. The first mention made of any school kept in this section is found in a vote of the town of Malden in 1710, that the school be kept "one quarter in y^e southwardly end" of the town. In 1737 the term of schooling was increased to six months. The first mention of a school-house in South Malden is

under date of March 3, 1739, when, at a meeting of the South Precinct, in the words of the old record, "a vote was called for to see if y^e Pre^s would finish y^e school house, and y^e vote passed in y^e negative," indicating the need as well as the recent erection of the school-house. For a century or more schools were maintained in only three sections of the town, one in the northern (Melrose), one in the central, and one in the southern part (Everett). The increase of population was very gradual. In 1737, when the South Precinct was incorporated, the entire town contained about 210 polls, indicating a population of from 900 to 1,000. In 1790 it had reached only 1,033, and in 1800, only 1,059. Judging by the proportions obtaining in recent years, South Malden had between one fourth and one fifth of these numbers. Previous to the erection of the Charles River and Malden bridges, in 1786 and 1788, the latter at the place formerly known as Penny Ferry, the growth of population was retarded by the want of convenient means of reaching Boston. A new era appears to have commenced with the present century.

At a town-meeting held May 6, 1799, the town was divided into school districts, the South District corresponding very nearly with the present town of Everett. The old school-house was purchased of the proprietors by the town, and sold for \$35, it having previously been private property. In the year 1800 a lot of land was purchased for \$20 on Belmont Hill, at the north corner of Broadway and Hancock Street as now laid out, and a new school-house erected by the town on the same, the building and land costing about \$300. The whole sum raised in the year 1801 for the school expenses of the entire town, then including Malden, Melrose, and Everett, was \$420, of which the proportion of the South District was probably less than \$100. In 1812 the appropriation for schools had risen to \$800, and in 1842 to \$2,000. The sum allotted to the South District in 1839 was \$641.37. The number of houses in the district in 1842 had increased to 88 against 52 in 1823, while the number of families in 1842 was 105; indicating a population of 525. It was, therefore, deemed advisable to divide the district, the territory occupying the slope towards the Mystic River being set off as the Southwest School District. The remaining portion retained the old district name and property, and removed the old building to the present site of the Glendale school-house, bought in the same year. In 1854 the old build-

ing was removed from its ~~new~~ site, and the present Glendale School-house erected. The Southwest District purchased, in 1842, the present site of the Centre School-house in Everett, and erected a school building which was burned on the morning of Friday, February, 27, 1846. In the same year the district erected a new and larger edifice, which was remodelled and enlarged in 1871. This building was in turn partially destroyed by fire on the morning of November 7, 1875, but was restored and is still standing. In 1853 the town of Malden abolished the school-district system, and the schools of the South and Southwest districts were withdrawn from local control. The school appropriation in 1852 was \$4,000, of which the South and Southwest districts had \$1,186.56. In 1866 the Ferry Street and Thorndike school-houses were erected, and a primary school was opened in each in the spring of 1867. The Hancock Street School-house (sold in 1874) was erected in 1868, and a primary school was opened in it in the spring of 1869.

After the reunion of the North and South parishes in 1792 there appears to have been for about half a century no local place of worship. In 1847 South Malden again commenced to have a distinct religious history, a Sunday school being opened on the first Sunday in May, in that year, by several members of different evangelical denominations. In the following autumn arrangements for preaching were made, to continue for six months. The services were held in the school-house of the Southwest District, which was first opened for this purpose December 19, 1847. On the 16th of March, 1848, at a council of Orthodox churches, the Winthrop Congregational Church was recognized, with twenty-four constituent members. In 1849 Rev. Francis G. Pratt became pastor of the church, in which position he remained until April 13, 1858. During his ministry, in 1852, the present house of worship on Broadway, with a seating capacity of about three hundred and fifty, was erected, the first service being held there December 12, 1852. Mr. Pratt was succeeded by Rev. James Cruikshanks, who remained less than one year. A schism arose on account of the settlement of Mr. Cruikshanks, and a portion of the members left, and formed a new church known as the Chapel Congregational Church, on Cottage Street, of which Rev. L. H. Angier was pastor. This church continued to exist for about two years, when, in October, 1861, both disbanded and reunited as the

South Malden (now Everett) Congregational Church. The successive pastors from the time of the reunion have been as follows: Rev. Oliver Brown, from April 8, 1862, to February 26, 1864; Rev. David M. Bean, from June 28, 1864, to November 24, 1868; Rev. Albert Bryant, from March 25, 1869, to May 13, 1874; Rev. Webster Hazlewood, from January, 1875, to May 4, 1876; Rev. William H. Bolster, from August 1, 1876, to the present time. The church has been served in the ministry by four pastors and three acting pastors. The membership has now risen to one hundred and forty-seven, with two hundred and seventy in the Sunday school. The society has raised for its expenses during the thirty-one years of its existence \$67,000, besides the cost of building.

For about seventeen years the Congregationalists constituted the only religious society in South Malden. In the meanwhile this section was making rapid progress in all that constitutes material prosperity. The means of communication with Boston were improved by the opening of the main line and the Saugus Branch of the Eastern Railroad in 1854, and of the Middlesex Street Railway, July 19, 1858. A great impetus was given to the growth of population and wealth, the former rising from 1,087 in 1854, to 1,547 in 1860, and 1,986 in 1867; the latter, according to the assessors' valuation, not including estates of non-residents, increasing from \$779,125 in 1854, to \$910,675 in 1860, and \$1,104,493 in 1867. In 1847, 1848, 1856, and 1857 unsuccessful efforts were made to have South Malden incorporated as a separate township.

A second religious society, the Universalist, was formed in 1865. As nearly as can be ascertained, religious services began to be held in 1864; but the earliest record extant of any meeting for business is under date of March 28, 1865, at which it was voted to employ Rev. B. K. Russ of Somerville to supply the pulpit for a year. Religious services and a Sunday school have ever since been maintained. Until 1872 meetings were held in Badger's Hall. In May, 1871, steps were taken to raise funds for the erection of a house of worship. On the 19th of October, 1871, about \$3,000 having been subscribed, it was decided to commence building. The corner-stone of the chapel at the junction of Summer Street and Broadway was laid May 14, 1872, and the first service held in the vestry on the first Sunday in June. The completed edifice

was dedicated Wednesday, September 25, 1872, and the first regular service in the main audience-room was held on the Sunday following. The whole building, finished and furnished, with the land on which it stands, cost about \$10,000, and has a seating capacity of about three hundred. Eighty or ninety families are connected with the society, and the Sunday school numbers from one hundred and twenty-five to one hundred and fifty members. The society has never had a pastor, but has secured various neighboring clergymen to supply its pulpit, the principal of whom have been Rev. W. H. Cudworth of East Boston, Rev. A. J. Canfield of Chelsea, and Rev. W. H. Rider, formerly of Arlington, now of Malden.

A third religious society, the Glendale Christian Union, grew out of a Sunday school established in Glendale in 1867, and was organized January 1, 1870, with twelve members, since increased to twenty-five, with a Sunday school of about sixty.

Among the important societies which began before the incorporation of Everett is the Palestine Lodge of Freemasons. Fourteen members of Mt. Vernon Lodge in Malden having obtained permission to withdraw and form a new lodge in South Malden, to be called Palestine Lodge, obtained, December 8, 1868, a dispensation from the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts. Their first meeting was held in the hall of the engine-house, January 14, 1869. After operating a year under the dispensation, a charter was obtained from the Grand Lodge on the 8th of December, 1869. They removed to their present quarters on the third floor of the Masonic Building, on the corner of Chelsea Street and Broadway, in February, 1871. Palestine Lodge has now become a large and flourishing organization, the number of members admitted, to January, 1879, being one hundred and two, of whom three have died.

With these various developments of local life, the tendencies toward an independent corporate existence gained fresh momentum. Agitation for this end again commenced in the autumn of 1867. The sentiment of South Malden had become nearly unanimous for separation. After one of the hottest and most protracted contests on record, in the legislatures of 1868, 1869, and 1870, the movement, on the seventh trial within twenty-five years, was crowned with complete success. When, on the 9th of March, 1870, the bill incorporating the new town was signed by the governor, there was great rejoicing in Everett. The people gath-

ered in the public square and in the vestry of the Congregational Church. Speeches of congratulation were delivered, a salute of one hundred guns fired, and such a demonstration made as was never before known in the place by the oldest inhabitant. In May the organization of the new town was appropriately celebrated. Six hundred persons sat down to a sumptuous repast under a large tent; letters from the governor of Massachusetts, the Mayor of Boston, and other distinguished persons were read, and after a short address of welcome and congratulation from the president of the day, A. H. Evans, interesting speeches were made by Lieutenant-Colonel Tucker, Rev. Albert Bryant, P. A. Collins, A. O. Brewster, and others. Among the persons specially conspicuous for their persevering efforts in obtaining the charter of the new town were A. H. Evans, Hawes Atwood, William Johnson, A. Waterman, S. H. Kimball, G. S. Marshall, H. S. Whitmore, Columbus Corey, W. B. Titcomb, and Thomas Leavitt.

The first town-meeting for the election of the various town officers was held March 21, 1870, in the vestry of the Congregational Church, where all the town-meetings continued to be held for the first year after the incorporation of the town. Induced by the necessity for more commodious quarters, a number of public-spirited citizens of the Masonic order in 1870 formed themselves into a corporation, under the name of Everett Associates, and, having purchased the lot of land on the corner of Broadway (then known as Charlestown Street) and Chelsea Street, proceeded to erect the large wooden edifice known as the Masonic Building, to which an addition was made in 1872. The lower story is used for business purposes, contributing materially to the prosperity of the town; the second floor for a public hall and town offices; the third floor by the various secret societies. A project for a town-hall having been defeated, the town, at a meeting held January 11, 1871, voted to lease the hall and offices for town purposes. The first town-meeting in Everett Hall was held March 28, 1871, where all subsequent town-meetings have been held.

The incorporation of Everett as a separate town gave a fresh impulse to every local interest. Tracts of land previously unoccupied were opened to settlement, new dwellings erected, streets laid out, and improvements of all kinds inaugurated. Within the first five years after the separation from Malden the number of dwellings, which was 414 in 1870, had increased to 770, or eighty-six per cent, while

the population increased from 2,220 in 1870 to 3,651 in 1875, the valuation rising in the same time from \$1,736,379 to \$4,404,650. The rise in the value of real estate was very rapid, and has to a great extent been maintained.

Among other evidences of growth was the formation of two additional religious societies shortly after the incorporation of the town. The fourth in point of time in this section was the Methodist Episcopal Church, which commenced with a class-meeting held at the house of Joseph Ladd, April 12, 1870. The society was organized October 11, 1870, with sixteen members, since increased to one hundred and thirty-four, and on the same day ground was broken for their chapel on Chelsea Street. The corner-stone was laid December 19, 1870, and the edifice was dedicated May 24, 1871, being the first permanent house of worship erected since that of the Congregationalists in 1852. A Sunday school was organized May 28, 1871, which now numbers about two hundred. The church has had five pastors, as follows: Rev. W. F. Mallalieu, from October, 1870, to April, 1871; Rev. William A. Cheney, from April, 1871, to April, 1872; Rev. Edward W. Virgin, from April, 1872, to April, 1875; Rev. Edward P. King, from April, 1875, to April, 1878; Rev. Edward B. Thorndike, from April, 1878, to the present time. A parsonage was erected in 1875.

The First Baptist Church in Everett, the fifth religious society organized in what is now Everett, commenced with a preliminary meeting held April 5, 1871, at the house of Deacon Levi Brown on Broadway. The first public service held was a prayer-meeting, April 9, 1871, at Everett Hall. A Sunday school was organized on the same day, now numbering about one hundred and eighty-five. The church was organized at a meeting held June 8, 1871, with thirty-two members, since increased to one hundred and forty-two. The public recognition of the church took place July 3, 1871. Religious services were for several years held at Everett Hall. In October, 1873, a lot of land was purchased on Broadway, and, in the following year, a chapel was erected with a seating capacity of about three hundred and forty-five. The corner-stone was laid June 24, 1874, and the edifice was dedicated September 22, 1874. The cost of land, building, and furnishing was about \$13,000. The church has in eight years raised and disbursed for current expenses and benevolent objects about \$11,000, besides about \$8,000 raised and expended in erecting the chapel. It has had four

pastors: Rev. William B. Smith, from February, 1872, to May 1, 1873; Rev. Francis B. Sleeper, from September 1, 1874, to December 1, 1877; Rev. William F. Stubbett, D. D., from September, 1878, to January, 1879; Rev. Lester L. Potter, from April 1, 1879, to the present time.

The beneficial effects of the separation upon the educational interests of Everett have been very marked. Additional school accommodations in the eastern part of the town were provided by finishing the upper story of the Ferry Street School-house and opening there a grammar school in the autumn of 1870, which three years later was reduced to the sub-grammar grade. In the autumn of 1870, although the population of the town had not reached the number essential to make the maintenance of a high school obligatory, a beginning was made at the Centre School-house with a class of sixteen, of whom five graduated. The school began and has continued under the charge of Mr. B. A. Bideout, for several years principal of the Centre Grammar School. The privileges of the high school have been enjoyed by one hundred and fifty-five different pupils, of whom thirty-six have graduated, the smallest number graduating being two in 1879, and the largest, fifteen in 1877. The greatest number of pupils reached at any one time was forty-three in the fall of 1878. In the thirteen years from the establishment of the Malden High School in 1857 to 1869 inclusive, only fourteen pupils from South Malden graduated from that institution, being twenty-two less than the number of graduates from the Everett High School in nine years. Everett has as yet no high school building proper. A movement in 1871 to provide a suitable building for this purpose having unfortunately been defeated, the Centre School-house was remodelled and refurnished with improved seats and desks, which had previously been of an antiquated pattern. Here the high school remained until 1872, when it was removed to the easterly hall on the third floor of the Masonic Building, whence, in 1875, it was removed to its present quarters on Locust Street.

Prominent among the reasons urged for separation from the town of Malden was the desire to escape from the burden of debt incurred by the latter for the introduction of water, and pains were taken to insert in the charter a clause exempting Everett from any liability on this account. Scarcely was the separation accomplished, however, when the necessity of an adequate water-supply began

to be realized. The subject was first brought before the town at the March meeting in 1871, when a committee was appointed on whose petition the legislature passed an act, approved April 19, 1871, authorizing the town to construct the necessary works for the introduction of water to connect with either Charlestown, Malden, Medford, or Melrose, and, for this purpose, to raise \$50,000 by taxation or borrowing. At a meeting held June 29, 1871, the town accepted the act, and chose a committee of five, consisting of A. H. Evans, W. H. Lounsbury, Otis Merriam, A. Waterman, and L. P. True, to procure estimates from different sources and report at a future meeting what was the best plan. This committee entered into negotiations with the town of Malden and the city of Charlestown, and received from the latter proposals for supplying Everett with water. The town of Malden was also disposed to consider the matter favorably, but was unable to act without the consent of Medford and Melrose, which could not then be obtained, though there was a prospect of favorable action at an early day. At a town-meeting held September 5, 1871, the committee reported in favor of introducing water as soon as practicable, the report was accepted, and the town voted to introduce water, and, for this purpose, to authorize the treasurer to issue bonds of the town to the amount of \$50,000, running twenty years, at six per cent. The committee estimated that the amount of pipe required (nine and one fourth miles), with twenty-five gates and fifty hydrants, could be laid for this sum.

A contract was concluded with the city of Charlestown on the 5th of October, 1871, for furnishing water on very onerous terms, that city receiving eighty-five per cent of the water-rates collected, besides twenty-eight dollars for every three hundred and fifty inhabitants for hydrants. A contract for laying pipes was concluded with George H. Norman, October 11, 1871, and about 23,000 feet of pipe laid before the work was interrupted by cold weather. The original estimate of \$50,000 having proved insufficient, the legislature, on application of the town, authorized a further expenditure of \$50,000, to be raised by taxation or borrowing. The town, on the 22d of April, 1872, accepted the act, and authorized a further issue of bonds, like those already issued, to the amount of \$50,000. As soon as the spring opened work recommenced, and was carried forward without interruption to its completion, which occupied

about two months and a half, the amount of pipe laid being about thirteen miles, or three and three fourths miles more than the original estimate. Water was introduced May 1, 1872. By the last report of the Water Commissioners about fourteen and three fourths miles of pipe had been laid, with sixty-seven hydrants and eighty-seven gates. The amount of water-bonds issued and outstanding was \$100,000, the interest on which, paid by taxation, has reached \$37,020, and the water-rates collected in 1878 amounted to \$7,146.80, of which the town of Everett received \$1,072.02. Owing to the insufficiency of the income even to meet the annual outlay on the works, the interest on the bonds has always been met by taxation, as the principal must be at maturity, even if, as is hoped, the water contract should be so modified as to give Everett a larger per cent of the income.

The rapid growth of the town in population soon demanded a further enlargement of its school accommodations. This demand was partly met by finishing the second story of the Thorndike Street School-house, and opening a sub-grammar school there, in 1873. In the same year a movement was set on foot to obtain relief on a more comprehensive plan by erecting two new school-houses, one in the easterly, the other in the northerly, part of the town. Reports favorable to both were obtained from committees appointed at the annual meeting in March. The latter project — after an appropriation of \$11,000 had been secured at a meeting in April, a building committee chosen, and a lot of land bargained or — was defeated by a reconsideration at an adjourned meeting, and the former was even more summarily strangled. Within a year public sentiment had so completely changed that on the 24th of March, 1874, the sum of \$8,000 was appropriated, with little opposition, for the purchase of land and the erection of a school building in the northerly part of the town. With this sum, increased by \$1,461 from the school fund and other sources in 1874, and about \$1,349 more for finishing the upper story in 1875, making \$10,810 in all, the land was purchased, and the tastefully constructed edifice on Locust Street erected. Two schools of the sub-grammar and primary grades were opened there about the 1st of November, 1874.

Among the great public improvements of the past nine years should be mentioned the widening and straightening of county roads, which was

effected pursuant to an order of the County Commissioners of January 6, 1874. The work was finally completed in 1875, at an expense for construction and land damages amounting to \$43,218, of which sum the county paid \$6,000. From the incorporation of the town to March 1, 1879, a further sum of \$73,399 has been expended in the construction and repair of streets and sidewalks, making a total highway expenditure of \$116,617. The improvement in this particular is conspicuous to all who take pains to compare the present condition of the streets with their condition in 1870.

In 1875 a further addition was made to the secret societies of the place by the organization, March 18, of the Everett Lodge of Odd Fellows, with fifteen charter members. Its meetings have always been held in the Masonic Building. The membership at the fourth anniversary had reached sixty-nine.

There was also for several years a lodge of Good Templars, which accomplished a good work in the cause of temperance by means of lectures and otherwise. It has now ceased to exist, though the sentiment of the place continues to be, as it has always been, strongly in favor of temperance.

Besides the societies already noticed, the following have been recently organized: The Knights of Honor, Columbia Lodge, organized February 9, 1877, with twenty-two members, present membership sixty-one; the Royal Arcanum, Palladium Council, organized March 22, 1879, with nineteen members, with a present membership of twenty-eight; the Independent Order of Foresters, Court Benevolence, organized September 9, 1878, with twenty-nine members, with a present membership of twenty-six.

To meet the wants of the large Catholic population residing in town, but not having any local place of worship, a Roman Catholic Sunday-school was opened in Everett Hall, in June, 1876, where religious services were held for a year and a half. In 1877 a lot of land was purchased at the corner of Broadway and Mansfield Place, on which a chapel was at once erected. The vestry was finished ready for occupancy about January 1, 1878, and has since been used for religious services and Sunday-school.

After the defeat in 1873 of the movement for a new school-house in the eastern part of the town, the matter was allowed to slumber until 1877. An appropriation was secured in April, 1877. A lot

of land was purchased on Florence Street, on which the present convenient and substantial edifice known as the Mount Washington School-house was erected. The land, building, and furnishing cost \$6,804. The schools previously kept in the Ferry Street School-house were transferred to the new building in May, 1878, and have shown marked improvement as the result of having larger rooms and a better situation.

The want of proper accommodations for the high school, as well as the crowded condition of the lower grades in the Centre, has been a serious drawback to the educational progress of the town. A town-meeting, called to consider the subject in July, 1878, voted, one hundred and forty-three to twenty-nine, indefinitely to postpone the matter; but more favorable action is confidently anticipated at an early day.

A movement for establishing a public library, though talked of for several years, first took definite shape in the spring of 1878, in an effort to induce persons interested to make contributions of books to form the nucleus for a larger collection. The movement was organized at a citizens' meeting held June 21, 1878, when a board of five directors was chosen (since increased to nine), under whose management the enterprise has gone forward successfully, the dedication ceremonies taking place May 1, 1879, when the number of volumes had reached one thousand two hundred and eighty-nine. Everything thus far has been done by voluntary effort, without any assistance from the public treasury, though the library is soon to be offered to the town.

The population of the town May 1, 1879, was 3,888, an increase of 1,668, or seventy-five per cent, in nine years. The total amount of the taxes raised in the ten years, 1870-1879 inclusive, has been \$463,294.21 of which \$125,115 have been for school purposes, and \$87,492.36 for streets and sidewalks. The appropriations for 1879 were \$41,297.75, of which \$10,000 were for schools. There are seventeen teachers and fourteen schools, of which two are of the grammar grade; and the number of grammar-school graduates in nine years has reached two hundred and twelve, those of 1879 numbering thirty.

There were in 1875 twenty manufacturing establishments in Everett, with an aggregate capital of \$321,325, and an annual product of \$896,036.

The manufacture of bricks has been carried on

in what is now Everett from an early period. There were in 1875 five establishments engaged in the business, with a capital of \$33,600, and an annual product of \$60,000. The largest single manufacturing establishment in town is the Chemical Works of A. Cochrane & Co., situated on the Eastern Railroad, near the Mystic River. This establishment was first started by the New England Chemical Company in 1868, with a capital of \$300,000. This company not being financially successful, the business was, in April, 1872, purchased by the present proprietors, who in 1865 had succeeded Alexander Cochrane in the same line of business, originally established by him in 1858 at Malden, where a part of the business is still carried on. Messrs. A. Cochrane & Co. have erected two new buildings and doubled the capacity of their works in Everett, transferring thither a portion of the business previously carried on in Malden. They manufacture chiefly sulphuric, muriatic, nitric, and other acids. The number of hands employed is from fifty to sixty, and the value of the annual product from \$300,000 to \$400,000. Next in importance is the Union Stone Company, located on Island End River, near

Chelsea line. This company, established in 1869, manufactures emery-wheels and emery-wheel machinery, for grinding and polishing. It has a capital of \$150,000, employs forty hands, and turns out an annual product of \$200,000. The Bradley Fertilizer Company, formerly William L. Bradley, was established in 1873. It manufactures grease and fertilizers, has a capital of about \$50,000, employs ten to twelve hands, and turns out an annual product of about \$25,000. The grist-mill of H. W. & J. C. Van Voorhis, established by Henry Van Voorhis in 1839, employs seven hands, and grinds at present about two hundred and fifty bushels of grain per day. The quantity was formerly five hundred bushels per day, and the capacity of the mill is one thousand bushels per day. S. H. Kimball's factory for the manufacture of children's carriages, toys, etc., established at Everett in 1875, formerly employed twenty-five to thirty hands, and had a capacity for turning out thirty carriages per day. The operating expenses were formerly \$1,000 per month. The factory and most of its contents were burned January 29, 1879, but it has now been rebuilt, and is likely to resume operations at an early day.

FRAMINGHAM.

BY REV. JOSIAH H. TEMPLE.



MIS town is situated midway, and on a direct line, between Boston and Worcester.

The original plantation contained about 20,500 acres. In 1715, what was known as Simpson's farm, containing 500 acres, was included in the new town of Hopkinton. In 1724 Holliston took off a point of

the southern extremity of the town. Southborough took in the long strip of land known as Fiddle Neck in 1727. The Leg was annexed to Marlborough in 1791. In 1846 a tract of about 3,000 acres was set off to form, with parts of Hopkinton and Holliston, the new town of Ashland. In 1871 a triangular piece of land was taken from Natick and annexed to Framingham. The present area of the town is 15,930 acres.

The more striking natural features of the territory are the range of high hills on the north, near Sudbury line, known by the names of Nobscot, Doeskin Hill, and Gibbs Mountain; the four ponds lying in a cluster near the southern border; Cochituate Pond, on the eastern border; and the Sudbury River, which flows diagonally through the town from southwest to northeast. The view from the top of Bare Hill, at the Centre, is one of great variety and beauty.

This territory first became known to the English as early as 1633. In that year a small party of explorers, going from the Bay to the Connecticut River valley, passed up between the Charles and Sudbury rivers by the northerly end of Cochituate Pond, thence on a southwesterly course, keeping east of the ponds and shunning the marshy lands, through the north part of Sherborn, and so through Hopkinton, Grafton, and Thompson, Conn. This

trail was followed, in 1636, by Rev. Messrs. Hooker and Stone and their large company, on their way from Cambridge to Hartford, and was known for two generations as the old Connecticut Path.

Indian Occupants.—At the date of this first discovery by the English several Indian clans were in occupancy of these lands. A considerable tribe had headquarters at Cochituate, which was the name applied by the natives, not to the pond, as in modern usage, but to the bluff forming the western shore. Their principal fort was situated on the highest point to the south of the outlet, and remained undisturbed till within the remembrance of men now living. They had another fort directly east of the present village of Saxonville. They also occupied several sites to the west of the falls. Old Jethro and his son Peter—famous in the times of King Philip's War—lived on the west part of Nobscot. The falls, both in Sudbury River and in Cochituate Brook, furnished excellent fishing-places for shad and alewives, which in their season were the main dependence of the natives for food.

Another considerable Indian village, called by the natives Washakamaug, was located on the southern and eastern shores of Farm Pond. These families were a branch of the Nipnet tribe. Later they united with the Speens family and others to form the Indian plantation at Natick, as gathered by the Apostle Eliot in 1650.

An Indian village was gathered by Eliot at Magwonkomuk,—commonly contracted into Magunkook,—in that part of Framingham which afterwards became Hopkinton, now in Ashland. All these lands, with the exception of Nobscot and the Gloyer Farm, were purchased of the natives, at a fair valuation, by the English settlers.

Early Land Grants.—In the earliest notices of the territory now embraced in the township, it is described as "Wilderness Land lying North of the path from Sudbury to Nipnox." Later it is called "the tract of Waste Lands belonging to Thomas Danforth Esq. lying between Marlbury and the old Connecticut Path."

The earliest grant of land within the town limits by the General Court was made in 1640 to Mrs. Elizabeth Glover, widow of Rev. Josse Glover. This tract, containing six hundred acres, lay around the northerly end of Cochituate Pond, extending south to Cochituate Brook, and bounded west by Sudbury River and north by Sudbury town. Other grants, on the easterly side of Sudbury

River, were made as follows: to Edmund Rice of Sudbury fifty acres at Rice's End, in 1652, and eighty acres easterly of the Beaver Dam; in 1659; to Richard Wayte of Boston three hundred acres lying west of Farm Pond, in 1658; to Richard Russell five hundred acres lying southwest of Washakum Pond, in 1659; to the Indian plantation at Natick a considerable tract cutting into our southern border, in 1659; to William Crowne five hundred acres, in 1662 (this was sold in 1687 to Savil Simpson, and is now in Ashland). On the northerly side of Sudbury River, John Stone purchased an Indian Planting Field of the natives in 1656, which was confirmed to him the same year by the Court, and "a grant of fifty acres more to be added thereunto." Small grants were made to Rev. Edmund Brown, minister of Sudbury, and Elijah Corlett, the schoolmaster of Cambridge. But the largest part of these west-side lands was conveyed to Thomas Danforth, Esq., in 1660-62. This tract was known as Mr. Danforth's Farms, and is described "as a parcel of land lying between Marlbury and Kenecticut Path, and is bounded easterly by Sudbury lands, adjoining to that part of their bounds near Lannunt, the land of John Stone, and a part of Natick plantation; southerly, the lands of the said Thomas Danforth and Natick lands; northerly with the other part of Sudbury bounds towards Marlbury; and westerly, with the country lands." Mr. Danforth purchased the Wayte and Russell grants, and thus owned not less than two thirds of the Framingham plantation. In 1693 he leased the major part of these lands to Joseph Buckminster and Joseph White, and in 1699 renewed the lease to Joseph Buckminster for nine hundred and ninety-nine years, at a rent of £22 per annum.

Early Settlers.—The first dwelling-house within the town limits was built by John Stone in 1646 or 1647. It stood near the river-bank a half-mile north of the Falls. His sons settled near him twenty years later, and the place has since been known as Stone's End. The second house was built in 1654 or 1655 by John Glover, son of Rev. Josse Glover. It stood on the old Connecticut Path, at the northerly end of Cochituate Pond. Houses were built by Henry Rice and John Bent at Rice's End before 1663. Thomas Faines put up a large house and barn at the southerly side of Mount Wayte in 1669. Several other families purchased lots and were preparing to come on, when the sudden outbreak of King Philip's War put



Massacre of the Kuma Family.

a stop to settlements. But on the return of peace a considerable colony located on Pratt's Plain. During the years 1677, 1678, and 1679 Mr. Eames rebuilt a little to the east of the old spot. John Death settled near the Beaver Dam, Thomas Gleason built at the south side of Gleason's Pond, Thomas Pratt, Jr., just north of the pond, and Thomas Pratt, Sr., where the State Arsenal now stands. Zachariah Paddleford and Isaac Larned settled near Learned's Pond. These families all located on or near the old Connecticut Path. Thomas Drury, John Adams, Thomas Walker, and John How were early settlers at Rice's End, on this path.

Families of the name of Mellin, Collier, and Whitney leased farms of Governor Danforth in 1687, and located on the west and south shores of Farm Pond. Nathaniel and John Haven settled in the near neighborhood in 1690. About this date Mr. Danforth gave leases of some farms on Doe-skin Hill and to the south of Nobscot. George Walkup and John Shears came on in 1689, Samuel Winch the next year, and Thomas Frost as early as 1693. In 1692-93 came the great rush of settlers. The families of Bridges, Nurse, Claves, Elliot, and Provender, who had lived at Salem Village (Danvers), and were involved in the trials for witchcraft, came in a body and located at Salem End. John Town, connected by marriage with the Bridges, settled south of Bare Hill. The Pikes and Belknaps formed Pike Row; the Hemenways leased the meadows north of the Mountain; the Buckminsters built in the upper valley of Baiting Brook; the Eatons pitched to the east of Nobscot. In 1699 the number of dwelling-houses then standing and occupied was sixty-four.

The Plantation.—Framingham is first named as a plantation in 1675. Up to this date all the adults were connected with the church in Sudbury, and had home ties and civil rights there. No act of the General Court has been found which established plantation limits and privileges; but this year Framingham is taxed a country rate of one pound, and is required to furnish one soldier for the country's service. After King Philip's War, as families came on, they were reckoned as belonging to Sudbury, Sherborn, or Marlborough, according to location,—the statute providing that "for all such places as are not yet laid within the bounds of any town, the same lands with the persons and estates thereupon, shall be assessed by the rates of the town next unto it, the measure or

estimation shall be by the distance of the meeting-houses."

Indian Assault on the Eames Family.—The principal tragic event which requires notice in our annals happened February 1, 1676, when a party of Indians—of those lately driven from Magunkook—assaulted the family of Thomas Eames, then living on the south slope of Mount Wayte, burned his house, barn, and cattle, killed his wife and five children, and carried five more into captivity. Mr. Eames was absent, having gone to Boston for ammunition and help to protect his property. The tradition is that the mother courageously defended her home, using such weapons as were at hand in the kitchen. According to the confession of one of the murderers, the party had returned to Magunkook for some corn left in their granaries there, and finding that it had been removed, started at once—partly for food, and partly for revenge—towards the nearest English settler. And it is probable that the stout resistance of the brave woman so provoked them that they left nothing alive. Three of the children taken found means to escape from their captors, and returned in the course of a few months. The two girls—one probably a daughter of Mrs. Eames by a former husband—were seen by Thomas Reed at Turner's Falls about the middle of May. They were heard from later, near Albany. The younger was redeemed; the elder never returned. Of the Indian murderers, three were tried, convicted, and hanged, two were sold into slavery, two died violent deaths, and two were pardoned.

The Town.—The first movement for incorporation as a town is indicated by the following petition, dated March 2, 1692-93. "The petition of their Maj^{ties} subjects now dwelling upon sundry ffarms granted in those Remote lands scittuate and lyeing betweene Sudbury, Concord, Marlbury, Natick, and Sherborn, and westerly is the wilderness—

Humbly Sheweth

That your peticoñⁿ some of us have there dwelt neere forty Yeares, And have from time to time Increased our numbers, And more especially of Late. Soe that now wee are about forty ffamilies, Some haveing built and some Building. And wee hope may sincerely say that wee have endeavoured to attend the Worship of God, Some of us att one Towne & some att another as wee best might, butt by Reason of our remoteness four ffive and some six miles from any Meeting house, Are

unable to carry our families with us, nor yett to sanctifie God's Sabbaths as wee ought besides many other inconveniences (Inevitable) in our present circumstances Doe therefore humbly request That by the authority of this Court wee may be made a Township" Signed by John Bent, Benjamin Whitney, John Eames, Thomas Gleason, Isaac Learned, John How, Thomas Pratt, and twenty-four others.

But there were conflicting interests to be reconciled. Sudbury had contributed some of her best men as settlers on these lands, and still exercised a *quasi* jurisdiction over the northeasterly portion, under the title of Sudbury Farms. Sherborn had naturally drawn the settlers around Farm Pond towards her meeting-house, received them to her church, and conferred political privileges in consideration of taxes for the support of public worship. Her opposition to a new town here was most determined and persistent and potent. And when, after a struggle of seven years, it became evident that the new township was to be erected, she secured the insertion of a clause in the act of incorporation, "saving unto Sherburn all their rights of land granted by the General Court to the first inhabitants, and those since purchased by exchange with the Indians of Natick or otherwise." This clause gave rise to a legal contest of nine years' duration; to the double taxing of several families; and was only ended by the legislature granting unto the town of Sherborn "4,000 acres of wilderness country land where they can find it any ways convenient for said town, in compensation for these 17 families."

The act of incorporation is dated June 25, 1700. The first town-meeting was held August 5, when the following officers were chosen: Lieutenant Joseph Buckminster, David Rice, Thomas Drury, Jeremiah Picke, Peter Claves, Sr., John Towne, and Daniel Stone, selectmen; Thomas Drury, town-clerk; Simon Millen and Thomas Frost, constables; John How and Benjamin Bridges, assessors; Thomas Walker, treasurer; Abiel Lamb, Sr., commissioner; John Pratt, John Haven, Peter Claves, Jr., and Samuel Winch, surveyors of highways.

The settlers that came on in 1690-94 were direct from Reading, Roxbury, and Essex County, and had no ties of affiliation with either Sudbury or Sherborn. They felt the need of church privileges of their own. And, largely through the influence of the Claves, Bridges, Nurse, Town, Pike,

Haven, Mellen, and Hemenway families, a meeting-house had been erected as early as 1698, and a minister employed. August 21, 1700, the town made overtures to Mr. John Swift of Milton, then supplying the pulpit, to continue their minister, offering him, in case he should be settled, "one hundred acres of land and ten acres of meadow." May 13, 1701, the town chose Peter Claves, Sr., Benjamin Bridges, John Haven, John Town, and Samuel Winch, Sr., to go to three ordained ministers for their opinion whether Mr. Swift "be a person qualified for the work of the ministry, as the law directs." The committee applied to Rev. James Sherman of Sudbury, Rev. Grindal Rawson of Mendon, and Rev. William Brattle of Cambridge, who gave the required certificate. May 22, 1701, the town voted "to give a call to Mr. John Swift to abide and settle with us, the inhabitants of Framingham, as our legal minister; to give Mr. Swift, in addition to the land and meadow, £60 in money yearly, and find him in his wood [thirty-five cords]; to fence in twenty acres, with a good ditch where it is ditchable, and where it can't be ditched to set up a good five-rail fence; and to give £100 towards the building of a house, one-fifth of the same in money; to raise the salary by a rate; and it shall be paid by contribution, every man to paper his money, and that which is not papered to be accounted as stranger's money."

The church was organized, and Mr. Swift was ordained pastor October 8, 1701.

At this date there were thirty-three houses on the westerly and thirty-one on the easterly side of the river. The number of inhabitants was "above three hundred and fifty souls."

The new town had two inherent drawbacks to contend with. The geographical centre was an unsuitable place for a village. The inhabitants were not homogeneous. The settlers came on in distinct clans. The Stones and the families at Rice's End were connected by blood and marriage. The same was true of the Pratts and Gleasons, who located together. The Eameses were a power in themselves from early settlement, large proprietorship of lands, and numerous family connections. The same, substantially, may be said of the Buckminsters, Havens, and Mellens. The Salem End colony had strong ties in common, and no outside connections. The Reading colony, which located on Pike Bow, and the Walkup, Frost, and Gibbs families, were each united by a community of in-

terests. The Hemenways and Mixers formed an isolated district.

And there was another circumstance, in a certain sense trivial, which yet had an influence in keeping interests separate. The settlers on the easterly side of the river held their lands in fee-simple, while the settlers on the Danforth Lands had only leases. But the leased farms held certain valuable rights in common from which the east-side dwellers were debarred. Mr. Danforth was a man of large views and disinterested aims. He planned to build up a township of enterprising men by leasing the lands on easy terms, and securing to each tenant a right of pasturage and fuel in the reserved commons, which embraced a tract of about 5,000 acres. But he died before his plans were fully executed.

In addition to the common lands, Mr. Danforth set apart a large tract "for the benefit of the Ministry." The diverse social elements were slow in assimilating, were often agitated by disturbing influences, and once came near a destructive explosion. The ministerial lands were the subject of unchristian contention; and the commons, which were intended to be a bond of union, became a field for individual avarice and over-reaching.

The first meeting-house stood on the west bank of Sudbury River, in the old cemetery. This was "the most accommodable spot" on the ministerial land for the scattered population. The east-side settlers gravitated to the Great Bridge at this point by easy paths from Rice's End and Sherborn Row. The people from Nobscot and Stone's End had paths to Pike Row, and thence by the Edgell Place on nearly a straight line to the meeting-house. A road from the Hemenways met the road from Salem End on the present R. W. Whiting place, which then ran east, past the house of C. J. Frost, about twenty rods east of which it received the path from the Haven and Mellen neighborhoods, and then led to the meeting-house.

This first meeting-house was a rude structure. It was in size 30 x 40 feet, and two stories high; was clapboarded, but not painted. The windows on the south or front side were of uniform size, and in regular order; on the ends and north side they were put in where and of such size as individual pew-owners pleased. Originally there was one large double door in front; but individuals were allowed, or took the liberty, to cut doors at the ends and back side, wherever most convenient to reach their respective pews. Inside, the walls

were unfinished. The seats were benches without backs. March, 1710, the town voted that "there shall be a decent body of seats set up in the meeting-house." But all the people had helped to build it, and all loved it as their sanctuary. With a small enlargement in 1715, it met the wants of the first generation of settlers. But the second generation and the new-comers demanded something better, and with great unanimity voted to build a new house on the old spot. This was in 1725. Through the opposition of an interested minority the location of the new meeting-house proved a bone of contention which nearly resulted in dividing the town into two, and in the end rent the church asunder.

The new house was not built till 1735. It was placed on the Centre Common, near the site of the present church of the First Parish.

Except the controversy about the meeting-house site and the legal ("illegal," they were characterized by the majority of the inhabitants at that date) measures adopted by Colonel Buckminster to get possession, under the general terms of his lease, of the ministerial lands and the reserved commons, nothing of special interest occurred in the civil history of the town during the forty-five years' pastorate of Mr. Swift.

In 1735-45 the highways were readjusted to the new centre, in the main as they exist to-day.

The population had increased from 350 to 900. The appropriations for ordinary town expenses in 1745 were £735, Old Tenor, — £200 for highways, £300 for preaching, £135 for schools, £100 for incidentals.

Mr. Swift died April 24, 1745. His successor, Mr. Matthew Bridge, was ordained February 19, 1746. The town granted him a settlement of £600, Old Tenor, and a yearly salary of £260. The expenses of his ordination were £139 8s. 2d.; including £96 9s. 4d. for keeping the ministers and messengers two days, £3 18s. for chickens, £10 2s. for beef, and £6 3s. for tavern bills.

As a result of the contest which grew out of the seizure of the ministerial lands, in connection with the action of the majority in constituting the ordaining council, a minority seceded, and organized a new Congregational Church. This took place in October, 1746. A small meeting-house was built, and Mr. Solomon Reed was ordained pastor by a council in January, 1747. The new church numbered over eighty members, and continued a separate organization about ten years,

when a part returned to the old church, and a part united in forming the First Baptist Society in Framingham.

Emigrations. — A considerable number of Framingham families became grantees of Oxford in 1713. Among them were Town, Barton, Elliott, Larned, Gleason, Lamb, and Stone. Some Mellen, How, and Haven families removed to Hopkinton between 1715 and 1720. The Bents, Stevenses, Stones, and Hows contributed to the settlement of Rutland about 1722. Others became incorporated with Holliston in 1724, with Shrewsbury in 1727, and with Templeton a few years later.

Commons Divided. — In the year 1759 so much of the common or neck lands as had not been leased by Colonel Buckminster to individuals was, by consent of the legislature, divided among the inhabitants.

French and Indian Wars. — This town was not the theatre of any of the thrilling events of these wars, but our men took an active part in the defence of the frontiers. Joseph Buckminster, Jr., was colonel in commission and command of the militia at that date, and was active in enlisting and forwarding troops as called for by the provincial authorities. The following men were in the 1st Massachusetts regiment, under General William Pepperell, in the expedition against Louisburg in 1745: Lieutenant John Butler (died in service), Philip Pratt, James Clayes, John Nixon, John Seaver, Robert Seaver, Joseph Seaver, Benjamin Seaver, Jonathan Youngman. Lieutenant Thomas Winch and thirteen men were members of Captain Josiah Brown's company of troopers, called out on an alarm September 23, 1747. John Edgell was taken prisoner by the Indians near Fort Dummer, July 14, 1748, as was also Daniel How, Jr., who was a native of this town. Jonathan Brewer was out in the campaign of 1749, stationed at Fort Dummer. He and John Nixon, both of whom were distinguished officers in the War of the Revolution, took their first lessons in camp and field service in this war.

The old French War ended in 1748, and what is known as the Last French and Indian War began in 1754. In the opening campaign of 1754 Jonathan Brewer and fourteen others enlisted in Captain John Johnson's company, and were out three months. John Nixon enlisted March 27, 1755, received his commission as lieutenant in Captain Jonathan Hoar's company in the Crown Point Expedition, was promoted to be captain Sep-

tember 8, and served through the war. Jonathan Gibbs was lieutenant in the same company; Amos Gates was sergeant; Ebenezer Boutwell was corporal; George Walkup was drummer, and soon was promoted to be drum-major. Simon Edgell, John Edgell, Jonathan Maynard, Thomas Nixon, Jonathan Belcher, Ebenezer Darling, John Darling, Isaac Gleason, Benjamin Tower, John Mathis, John Hemenway, Timothy Stearns, Jr., Jonathan Flagg, David Sanger, Joseph Bigelow, Daniel Hemenway, Nathan Knowlton, and Peter Gallot were in the same company. In the campaign of 1756, Crown Point Expedition, eight Framingham men joined Captain William Jones' company; eleven were with Captain Josiah Stone, and nine with Captain John Nixon. Francis Gallot was in Pepperell's regiment at Oswego, and was taken prisoner at the capitulation of that fort, August 14.

The year 1757 was long remembered as the year of great preparations and great disappointments. The expedition against Crown Point and Ticonderoga was popular, and officers and men enlisted freely, — to be balked in their expectations by the order of Lord Loudon, who sent them on a fruitless expedition against Louisburg. The following characteristic letter will explain itself: —

FRAMINGHAM, July 18, 1757.

May it please the Hon^{ble} His Majesty's Council: In obedience to an order from y^e Honours of the 11th May, 1757, I have taken effectual care and caused every person both upon the Alarm List, and Trained band List in the Reg^t of Militia under my command, and also the respective town stocks in s^d Reg^t, to be furnished with Arms and Ammunition, according to law, and am now ready with my whole Reg^t to meet and confront the French in any part of the Province, at a minutes warning, even with seven days provision.

I am

Your Honors most ob^d serv^t

JOS. BUCKMINSTER.

A considerable part of our militia were out this year in one or other of the "alarms" about Fort William Henry.

In 1758 seventeen men were out in Colonel Ruggles' regiment, mostly in Captain Nixon's company, on the New York frontier; Ensign Thomas Trowbridge and fifteen men were in Captain John Taplin's company for the reduction of Canada; and ten men in Captain Aaron Fay's company for the same destination.

In 1759 twenty-six men were out with Captain

Nixon in Colonel John Jones' regiment, for the invasion of Canada. Captain Jonathan Brewer commanded a company of rangers in the expedition against Quebec this year.

Captain Nixon's company was in service from April 18 to November 17, 1761. It numbered thirteen officers and eighty-eight privates. Eight of the officers and twenty-three of the men were from Framingham. Micajah Gleason and Thomas Drury, who commanded companies in 1775, were corporals in the Canada expeditions of 1759 and 1760.

War of the Revolution.—October 21, 1765, the town "voted to instruct their representative in the General Court. 1. To promote and readily join in such dutiful remonstrances and humble petitions to the King and Parliament, as have a direct tendency to obtain a repeal of the Stamp Act. 2. That you do not give your assent to any Act of Assembly, that shall imply the willingness of your constituents to submit to any taxes that are imposed in any other way than by the Great and General Court of this Province, according to the institution of this Government."

September 26, 1768, Mr. Thomas Temple was chosen to join the committee in convention at Faneuil Hall in Boston, "to consult upon such measures as may be for the safety of the Province."

May 28, 1770, the town declared unanimously against "the pernicious practice of purchasing and drinking foreign Tea, and also of trading with the Importers of English Goods"; and March 25, 1774, it was resolved, "That we ourselves, or any for or under us, will not buy any teas subject to Duty; nor knowingly trade with any merchant, or country trader, that deals in that Detestable Commodity." And the declaration was made: "And since such means and methods are used to Destroy our Privileges, which were purchased by the dearest Blood of our Ancestors—Those that Stand foremost in a proper Defence of our Privileges, shall have our greatest Regards; And if any shall be so regardless of our Political Preservation and that of Posterity, as to Endeavour to Counteract our Determination, We will treat them in that Manner their conduct Deserves."

May 18, 1774, the town chose the following committee of correspondence: Joseph Haven, Esq., Captain Josiah Stone, Deacon William Brown, Ebenezer Marshall, Lieutenant David Haven, Joseph Buckminster, Esq., and Major John Farrar.

Captain Josiah Stone, Joseph Haven, Esq., and Deacon William Brown were appointed delegates to the Provincial Congress, which met at Concord in October. Captain Josiah Stone, with Deacon William Brown as his substitute, was sent to the second congress; and Joseph Haven, Esq., and Captain Josiah Stone were sent to the third congress.

September 9, 1774, the town voted "to purchase at the town's expense five barrels of powder, and 5 cwt. of bullets or lead, for an addition to the town stock."

September 30, 1774, voted, "to purchase a chest of 25 Fire Arms, and two field pieces, of such size as the Committee shall judge proper." Joseph Winch, Daniel Sanger, James Glover, and Captain Benjamin Edwards were the committee. This meeting was adjourned for four days; and public notice was given requesting that "every person above the age of sixteen years shall attend, to consider and determine with regard to the Militia as the whole body shall judge proper." A very full meeting convened, and it was voted, "that there be two Militia Companys beside the Troop in this town; and that each company choose such officers as they judge best to have command in this day of distress in our Public Affairs." This action of the town led to the formation of two companies of minute-men. The first company, consisting of seventy men, organized December 2, 1774, by the choice of Simon Edgell, captain; Thomas Drury, first lieutenant; Lawson Buckminster, second lieutenant. The second company, consisting of sixty men, organized soon after by the choice of Thomas Nixon, captain; Micajah Gleason, first lieutenant; John Eames, second lieutenant. Both companies turned out and took part in the affair of the 19th of April, 1775. Captain Edgell took seventy-seven men to Concord that day, thirty-eight of whom returned at the end of four days; the others continued in service from ten to nineteen days. Captain Edgell was out twenty-two days. The second company marched under Captain Micajah Gleason, Captain Nixon having been promoted. This company numbered forty-nine men, who were in service from three to twenty-eight days. Captain Gleason resigned the command April 23, and at once organized a company for eight months' service. His first lieutenant was James Kimball of Haverhill; second lieutenant, William Ryan of Salem; first sergeant, Jonathan Temple of Framingham. The company numbered

fifty men, eight of whom were from this town. Captain Thomas Drury organized a company for the eight months' service, April 24: first lieutenant, William Maynard; second lieutenant, Joseph Mixer; sergeants, Samuel Frost, Ebenezer Eaton, Joseph Nichols. The company numbered sixty-four men, mostly belonging to Framingham. Five of our men enlisted in Captain Aaron Haynes' company. In all, eighty-nine Framingham men were out in the eight months' service in 1775.

April 24, Colonel Jonathan Brewer, a native of Framingham, then living in Waltham, volunteered his services, and received from the Committee of Safety ten sets of enlistment papers, and at once proceeded to beat up for recruits. When organized, the officers of the regiment were Colonel Jonathan Brewer, Lieutenant-Colonel William Buckminster, Major Nathaniel Cudworth of Sudbury, Adjutant John Butler of Peterborough, Quartermaster Charles Dougherty.

April 27, the Committee of Safety ordered that Colonel John Nixon have nine sets of beating papers. When organized, the regimental officers were Colonel John Nixon, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Nixon, Major John Buttrick of Concord, Adjutant Abel Holden, Jr., of Sudbury, Quartermaster John White of Haverhill. By return of June 17 Colonel Brewer's regiment comprised eight companies and three hundred and seventy-one men. Colonel Nixon's regiment had eight companies and three hundred and ninety men. Both these regiments took a leading part in the battle of Bunker Hill, June 17. Colonel Brewer was ordered by General Ward early in the morning to go to the support of Colonel Prescott. About one half his regiment were absent on leave, or in camp at Brookline, so that he went upon the hill with only about one hundred and eighty men. The regiment took a position at the left of the redoubt, in the open field, which it held through the day, leaving the line of battle only when General Warren, who stood at the head of the rail-fence breastwork,—between the regiments of Brewer and Nixon,—deemed it prudent to retire. Colonel Brewer received a painful wound; Lieutenant-Colonel Buckminster, just before the retreat, received a dangerous wound from a musket-ball entering the right shoulder and coming out in the middle of his back, which made him a cripple for life; Adjutant Butler was wounded in the arm. Seven of the regiment were reported killed, and eleven wounded.

Colonel Nixon's regiment was sent to the support of Prescott about the same time as Colonel Brewer's. His men helped to build the bay breastwork, took position behind it next to Colonel Brewer, and held their ground till the British got possession of the gap. Swett states that Colonel Nixon marched upon the field with three hundred men; and this is believed to be substantially correct. The two Framingham companies, Captain Drury's and Captain Gleason's, had respectively sixty-three and fifty men. A part of Captain Drury's company was sent to the redoubt, to support Colonel Prescott, just before the British charge. One of them, Peter Salem, is said to have killed Major Pitcairn. A part of the same company was with Colonel Brewer's men at the head of the rail-fence. Sergeant Ebenezer Eaton, who was near General Warren, started to leave the defences with him, was close to him when he received the fatal shot, and, with some comrades, attempted to carry him off the field; but the British onset forced them to leave the body. Colonel Nixon was severely wounded during the third attack, and had to be carried off the hill. His regiment deserves honorable mention among those that were the last to leave the line of battle. Three were reported killed, and ten wounded,—all during the last attack or while on the retreat. As one of Captain Drury's men stated, "The British fired over our heads; the tops of the young apple-trees where we stood were cut all to pieces by their bullets."

During the summer Colonel Brewer's regiment was stationed at Prospect Hill. After the re-arrangement of the army he resigned his command as colonel, and November 16, 1776, received the appointment of barrack-master. After the 17th, Colonel Nixon and his regiment went into camp on Winter Hill, where he remained till the army moved to New York. He was commissioned brigadier-general August 9, 1776, and was put in command of Governor's Island. His brigade moved up the North River, and took a leading part in the campaign of 1777 against Burgoyne; was at Stillwater September 19, and at Saratoga October 11. General Nixon was a member of the court-martial for the trial of General Schuyler, October 1, 1778. He resigned his commission in 1780.

On the promotion of Colonel John Nixon his brother Thomas Nixon was put in command of the regiment. He took an active part in the campaign against Burgoyne, and was stationed at vari-

ous points on the North River from 1777 to the close of the war. Captain Micajah Gleason followed the fortunes of his colonel, and died at White Plains in the fall of 1776.

On the order in council, dated December 1, 1775, calling for 5,000 men to defend the fortifications around Boston, Captain Simon Edgell and twenty-eight men of the militia marched to Roxbury, and were in service six weeks.

In the campaigns of 1776, Captain Edgell and his company of seventy-four men were in service at Ticonderoga from August to December; and there were not less than eighty-three others from this town out for longer or shorter terms.

Including the men with the Nixons, Framingham furnished for various services, in 1777, nine commissioned officers and forty-nine privates. Captain Joseph Winch, with a company of ninety-one militia, was in service from August 16 to November 29. This company was at the surrender of Burgoyne, October 17. In the campaigns of 1778, fifteen men from this town were in Captain John Holmes' company, of Colonel Jonathan Reed's regiment of guards, April 2 to July 4, and sixteen men in Captain Amos Perry's company, in the Rhode Island service. Twenty-one men were out in 1779.

In Colonel Abner Perry's regiment of militia, ordered, on an alarm, to Rhode Island, July 27, 1780, out to August 7, were Lieutenant-Colonel John Trowbridge, Major John Gleason, Adjutant James Mellen, Jr., and Mr. Frederick Manson; also ordered for the same service were Captain Nathan Drury and thirty-six men, Captain David Brewer and twenty-three men, Captain Lawson Buckminster and forty-nine men. Lieutenant John Mayhew and thirteen men were in service at Rhode Island from June 30 to September 30.

Captain Peter Claves and ten Framingham men served during the last years of the war in Colonel Thomas Nixon's regiment. Lieutenant James Mellen and thirty-four men were in Captain Staples Chamberlain's company on a forty days' expedition to Tiverton, Rhode Island, in the spring of 1781. Most of the recruits in these last years of the war were young men from sixteen to twenty years old; and they were obtained only by the payment of large bounties.

In addition to the above-named soldiers, drafted or enlisted from the militia to meet emergencies, there were what was known as the three-years men, who were incorporated in the regular army. The

first three-years men were called for in January, 1777; the last were called for December, 1780. Under the first call a small bounty was offered, and the men readily enlisted. Framingham raised, as her quota, sixty-two men. This was in addition to nine commissioned officers in the Continental Army. Under the last call this town raised forty-three men. Of these, twenty-seven were re-enlistments, or those who originally enlisted for the war. The difficulty of raising these last men is seen from the fact that the town voted to grant £50,000 to hire soldiers. And the following receipt shows the large bounties paid:—

"We the subscribers having enlisted ourselves into the Continental Army for the term of three years, and do hereby acknowledge to have received of the town of Framingham for that service the sum of one hundred dollars hard money per year. We say received by us:—

ABEL BENSON
JOHN FREEMAN
JAMES DOSE
SOLOMON NEWTON
EPHRAIM NEWTON
NATHANIEL PRATT
JOHN PRATT
EPHRAIM PRATT

"April 16, 1781."

Owing to imperfect company and regimental returns, it is impossible to make out complete lists of the killed and wounded in the different campaigns of the war. The number of Framingham men known to have died of disease, or to have been killed in battle during the war, is twenty-five.

The number of pensioners belonging to this town, as near as can be ascertained, was sixty-five, of whom, or their widows, fifteen were living in 1840, as follows: Jacob Belcher, age seventy-nine; Hannah Belcher, widow of Joseph, age eighty-three; Abel Benson, age seventy-four; Joel Coolidge, age eighty-one; Ebenezer Eaton, age ninety; Luther Eaton, age seventy-eight; Betsey Fisk, widow of Moses, age eighty-one; Sally Greenwood, widow of Abel, age seventy-eight; Ezekiel How, age eighty-four; Nathan Knowlton, age eighty; Nathan Kendall, age eighty-three; Thomas Nixon, age seventy-eight; Phinehas Rice, age seventy-eight; Uriah Rice, age eighty-three; Mary Trowbridge, widow of Colonel John, age eighty-five.

After the War.—The population of the town at the close of the war was about 1,500; and from

the loss of many of its young men, and the unsettled habits of those who survived, the increase was slow for the next twenty years.

The minister, Mr. Bridge, died September 2, 1775, and Mr. David Kellogg began to preach in Framingham in the spring of 1778, though he was not ordained till January 10, 1781. The ministry was a power in society at that day; and one of the important influences which counteracted the attendant evils of war, and helped to tide over its effects, was the broad conservatism and high character and Christian labors of these two pastors. Mr. Kellogg continued the only settled minister in town till 1807, when Mr. Charles Train commenced preaching for the Baptists; from which date the two held contemporary pastorates for about a quarter of a century. To these two men Framingham owes directly, in a large degree, her present high standing in intelligence, morals, and that general thrift which is not found except in connection with culture and virtue.

Industries. — Next to dwellings and cultivated fields, the prime necessity of a new settlement is corn and saw mills. John Stone built a corn-mill at the falls of Sudbury River as early as 1662, and his son Daniel put in a saw-mill there a few years later. In 1707 Savil Simpson built grist and saw mills on the Hopkinton River, north of his house (the spot can be seen a few rods above where the Boston and Albany Railroad crosses the stream), and three years later put in a fulling-mill at the same point. In 1712 John How bought this privilege and the buildings, and removed the mills down to the point known as the Shepard Paper-Mill site. Colonel Joseph Buckminster built a grist-mill on the brook near his house very early. These mills met the wants of the people for many years.

The mechanical trades were introduced by the first settlers. Isaac Learned, the cooper, was here in 1679; John How, carpenter, 1689; Isaac Clark, carpenter, 1692; Caleb Bridges, bricklayer, 1693; the wife of Joseph Trumbull, weaver, 1693; Jeremiah Pike, spinning-wheel maker, 1696; Jonathan Rugg, blacksmith, 1704; Jonas Eaton, tanner, 1706; Ebenezer Hemenway, weaver, 1711; Ebenezer Boutwell, tinker, 1721. Forges were established by Andrew Newton, on Hopkinton River, in 1745; by Ebenezer Marshall at the site of Cutler's mills, 1747, where he made axes, hoes, scythes, etc.

It was not till after 1800 that the water-power

of Sudbury River and its affluents was fully utilized. The Framingham Manufacturing Company was incorporated February 6, 1813, and built a cotton factory on Cochituate Brook, near the site of Deacon Brown's grist-mill. The Saxon Factory Company, for the manufacture of woollen goods, was incorporated February 4, 1824. The company built mills at the old site of Stone's mills, at the falls in Sudbury River. The successor of this company was the Saxon Cotton and Woollen Factory, incorporated June 11, 1829; and February 16, 1832, the name was changed to the Saxon Factory. The statistics of this company, April 1, 1837, were: woollen mills, 5; sets of machinery, 11; wool consumed, 744,000 pounds; cloth manufactured, 268,640 yards; value, \$311,800; males employed, 105; females, 141; capital invested, \$415,000.

In 1837 the New England Worsted Company purchased this property, and removed hither their worsted machinery from Lowell. The main business since then has been the manufacture of worsted carpet-yarns and woollen blankets. In 1858 this entire property was bought by M. H. Simpson and Nathaniel Francis, and the name changed to the Saxonville Mills. No change was made in the kind of goods manufactured. During the late civil war the company filled large orders for blue kersey army cloth. The statistics for 1865 were: number of mills, 4; sets of machinery, 25; pounds of scoured wool consumed, 2,000,000; gross value of stock used, \$800,000; yards of blanketing manufactured, 1,500,000, value \$900,000; pounds of yarn manufactured and not made into cloth 600,000, value \$300,000; yards of army cloth manufactured 150,000, value \$200,000; capital, \$129,000; males employed, 393; females, 390. Statistics for 1875: mills, 2; capital, \$800,000; value of goods manufactured, \$850,000; males employed, 263; females, 268. In 1878 the company commenced the manufacture of hair-cloth, in imitation of seal-skin.

Paper Mills. — In 1817 Dexter and David Bigelow erected a mill on the Hopkinton River for the manufacture of writing-paper; and in 1828 Calvin Shepard and son purchased the site of the Dench Mills, on the same stream, and put in paper-making machinery. These privileges are now in Ashland. In 1837 the stock manufactured was 278 tons; value of paper, \$46,000; males employed, 12; females, 11; capital invested, \$50,000.

Carpet Factory. — In 1830 Mr. William H.

Knight purchased of Colonel James Brown the old fulling-mill privilege on Cochituate Brook, and commenced in a small way the manufacture of carpets. In 1839 Mr. Knight bought a privilege on the same stream at the highway crossing, eighty rods below his first site, whither he removed his factory and put up new buildings and greatly enlarged his business. Five years later he bought the old cotton-mill privilege, where he put in machinery for spinning woollen yarn. In 1845 Mr. Knight owned three mills; wool consumed, 465,000 pounds; yards of carpeting, 199,037; value, \$149,530; males employed, 191; females, 41. All the privileges on this brook have been sold to the city of Boston.

Villages. — The geographical centre of the town possessed no natural advantages to make it desirable to settlers. The steep northerly declivity of Bare Hill, and the swamps to the northwest and east, were the reverse of attractive. All the early roads shunned it, and the location of the meeting-house alone centralized interests here. Except Buckminster's tavern, just west of the old cemetery, no business enterprise was initiated here till the establishment of the Academy in 1792, and the simultaneous coming, a few years later, of the Wheeler brothers, Isaac Warren, and Martin and Nathan Stone. The opening of the Boston and Worcester Turnpike, in 1809, with this village as the central stopping-place, gave a new impetus to mechanical and mercantile business.

The falls in Sudbury River and the falls in Hopkinton River are the only two points in the original town limits marked by Nature for business centres. The upper site was early set off to Hopkinton, and was late in attracting enterprise, because of the difficulty of constructing a strong dam, owing to the width of the valley. The lower falls were taken up early, as already noticed. The later enterprises, which have built up the flourishing village of Saxonville, and made it a centre of social, educational, and religious influences, seem to have the elements of permanency, though the water-power is destroyed by the seizure of the Sudbury River as an additional water-supply for the city of Boston. The South Village owes its existence to the fact that it is the central station on the Boston and Albany Railroad, which was opened in 1835. Its importance has since been increased by the junction here of the Milford Branch Railroad, and still later by the entrance of the Fitchburg and Chinton and the Framingham and Lowell roads

from the north, and Framingham and Mansfield Road from the south. The earliest general industry of the village was the manufacture of straw bonnets. This was commenced in a small way by Captain J. J. Clark as early as 1815. Lovell Eames engaged in the business about 1830. Alexander Clark opened a shop in 1838 for making straw bonnets, and in 1853 added the manufacture of palm-leaf goods. Franklin Manson started in the business in 1840. Messrs. George Richardson, Augustus Richardson, Curtis H. Barber, and George P. Metcalf have since engaged in the business. The statistics of this industry for 1875 were: manufactories of straw goods, 3; capital invested, \$255,000; value of goods made, \$830,000. Most of the mercantile and mechanical pursuits are now carried on upon a large scale in this village.

Education. — Fortunately for the town there were, among the early settlers, men and women who had received a good common education, and were qualified to teach others. Joshua Hemenway received scholars at his own house, and was employed as schoolmaster early. The Learned girls were noted schooldames, and women's schools were established as early as 1713. Edward Goddard, a teacher from Boston, removed hither in 1714, and at once began to teach in his own house, and in 1716 was put in charge of the grammar school. After 1724 this school was commonly taught by college graduates who were natives of the town. In 1750 the town was divided into five school-districts, and school-houses were built in the outskirts. In 1798 a superintending school committee was chosen.

Framingham Academy. — In 1792 Rev. David Kellogg and twenty-four other citizens organized a society "to disseminate piety, virtue, and useful knowledge"; built a brick school-house on the west side of the Common, at the cost of £176. 9s. 6d.; and established a school under the restriction that "the preceptor shall have received a collegiate education." The school was opened November, 1792, under Mr. James Hawley (H. C. 1702). In 1798 the town voted a grant to the school of \$60 per annum, which continued till 1824. In 1799 the school was incorporated as the Framingham Academy, and received from the legislature a grant of half a township of land. This grant comprised 11,720 acres; was located on the northerly line of the present state of Maine; was sold in 1803, and the avails invested as a per-

manent fund, the interest of which should be used for the benefit of the school. In 1851, by leave of the legislature, the academy was merged into the town high-school.

State Normal School.—The first normal school established in Massachusetts—and the first school devoted exclusively to the education of female teachers—was opened at Lexington, July 3, 1839. This school was removed to West Newton, September, 1844; and was transferred to Framingham, December, 1853. The names of the principals since the last date are Mr. Eben S. Stearns, Mr. George N. Bigelow, Miss Annie E. Johnson, and Miss Ellen Hyde. Length of term of study, two years; total number of pupils who have been connected with the school, 2,106; number of graduates, 1,466.

Library.—Mr. Barry says: "The last of the Common Lands, forty acres, was sold about the year 1785, and the proceeds appropriated to the purchase of a public library." This was the beginning of the Social Library, which, under various auspices, continued till 1834. Number of volumes in 1825, four hundred and forty-three. The Lyceum Library was formed in 1834; and was merged in the Framingham Library in 1851. In 1854, Hon. J. W. Clark, Messrs. George Phipps, Charles Upham, Francis Jaques, and Colonel Moses Edgell started a movement which resulted in the establishment, April 9, 1855, of the Framingham Town Library. The books owned by the Framingham Library, and the periodicals in charge of the Reading Club, were donated as a nucleus of the new public library and reading-room. A library building was erected in 1871. Number of volumes in the library January 1, 1879, seven thousand.

Cemeteries.—According to the custom of the times, at first the dead were buried in the meeting-house lot. This old "burying ground" is still in use. A cemetery, small in size, known as the South Burying-Ground, was set apart by the town about the year 1827. The Saxonville Cemetery lot, then comprising one acre, was purchased by the town in 1838.

June 27, 1846, the town appointed Colonel Moses Edgell, N. S. Bennett, Warren Nixon, Patten Johnson, and Dexter Esty a committee to procure a lot of land near the Centre village, for a new cemetery. In the summer of 1848 the grove west of the Common was purchased, and set apart as the Edgell Grove Cemetery. In a deed, Colonel Edgell made over to the town the lands adjacent to

these enclosed grounds, to be maintained forever as a setting or border to this "garden of the dead"; and bequeathed the sum of \$20,000, a part to be used in building within the grounds a chapel, and the remainder to constitute a permanent fund, the income of which is to be expended in care and improvement of the cemetery.

The Catholic Cemetery was consecrated in 1857.

War of 1812.—The Framingham Artillery Company, Captain John Temple commanding, was ordered out for the defence of Boston in 1814; marched September 10; was discharged October 30. Number of officers, eleven; privates, twenty-nine. Besides this company, one enlisted in the regular army, and seven others enlisted or were drafted, who were in service for periods varying from fourteen days to nine months.

Ecclesiastical. The First Baptist Church.—The first recorded effort to gather a Baptist society in Framingham was made in 1756; the first baptisms by immersion were in 1762. Previous to 1792, thirty persons had been immersed; but a church was not organized till 1811. Rev. Edward Clark preached from 1780 to 1790, and from 1801 to 1809. Rev. Charles Train was pastor from 1809 to 1839. His successors have been Rev. Enoch Hutchinson, 1840; Rev. James Johnston, 1841–1843; Rev. Jonathan Aldrich, 1846–1851; Rev. William C. Child, D. D., 1851–1856; Rev. J. A. Goodhue, 1859–1862; Rev. A. W. Carr, 1862–1865; Rev. Arthur S. Train, D. D., 1866–1872; Rev. W. P. Upham, 1872–1877; Rev. G. E. Leeson, July 29, 1877. Membership, January 1, 1879, one hundred and fifty-five.

The First Methodist Episcopal Church in Framingham was instituted in 1788. The first meeting-house was built in 1834. It stood at the corner of the roads near the house of Benjamin Stone. This house was removed to Saxonville in 1844, and greatly enlarged. A parsonage has since been built.

The Saxonville Religious Society was organized in 1827, and a meeting-house built the same year. The church (Congregational) was formed in 1833. The pastors have been Rev. Corbin Kidder, 1834–1837; Rev. Isaac Hosford, 1838–1847; Rev. B. G. Northrop, 1847–1857; Rev. Henry Allen, 1857–1859; Rev. J. H. Pettengill, 1860–1862; Rev. George E. Hill, 1863–1870; Rev. Charles Jones, 1870. Number of members, one hundred and twenty-eight.

The Universalists formed a society in 1829,

built a meeting-house, and maintained worship for about twenty years. Their house was then used for a carpenter's shop, and in 1859 was sold to the Episcopal Church, and is now occupied by the Catholics.

First Church.—Owing to a division of sentiment between the church and the parish in regard to Christian doctrines, in 1830 Rev. Dr. Kellogg and the majority of the church withdrew from the old meeting-house, and built a new one, which was dedicated September 15, 1830; and the same day Rev. George Trask was ordained colleague pastor. Dr. Kellogg died August 13, 1843. The successors of Mr. Trask have been Rev. David Brigham, 1836–1844; Rev. I. N. Tarbox, 1844–1851; Rev. J. C. Bodwell, 1852–1862; Rev. J. K. McLean, 1863–1867; Rev. M. J. Savage, 1868–1870; Rev. L. R. Eastman, Jr., June 8, 1871. Present membership, three hundred and seven.

At the separation the parish retained the meeting-house, and the church connected therewith has been known as The Church of the First Parish. The pastors have been Rev. A. B. Muzzey, 1830–1833; Rev. George Chapman, 1833–1834; Rev. William Barry, 1835–1845; Rev. J. N. Bellows, 1846–1849; Rev. J. H. Phipps, 1849–1853; Rev. S. D. Robbins, 1854–1867; Rev. H. G. Spaulding, 1868–1872; Rev. C. A. Humphreys, November 1, 1873.

A Catholic Church was erected at Saxonville, and was consecrated in 1845.

The South Framingham Baptist Church was constituted March 17, 1854. The meeting-house was dedicated March 15, 1855. The pastors have been Rev. Bradford H. Lincoln, 1854–1855; Rev. Samuel W. Foljambe, 1856–1858; Rev. Theron Brown, 1859–1861; Rev. Samuel Brooks, two years; Rev. A. M. Higgins, 1865–1867; Rev. T. T. Filmer, 1868; Rev. George R. Darrow, 1874; Rev. Henry G. Safford, December 12, 1875. Membership, in 1854, twenty-two; January 1, 1879, one hundred and thirty.

The St. John's Protestant Episcopal Church, at the centre of the town, was constituted in 1859.

A Methodist Episcopal Church was organized at South Framingham in April, 1869.

The South Congregational Church was organized, and a chapel built, in 1873. Rev. David M. Bean, pastor. Present membership, one hundred and twenty-three.

The Framingham Bank was incorporated March

25, 1833; the persons named in the act as corporators were Micah Stone, Dexter Fay, Sullivan Fay, Elijah Perry, Rufus Brewer, Moses Edgell, and Josiah Adams. Capital stock, \$100,000; increased in 1846 to \$150,000, and in 1849 to \$200,000. It was changed from a state to a national bank in November, 1864. The successive presidents have been Josiah Adams, Micah Stone, Oliver Dean, Sullivan Fay, Francis Jaques, Moses Edgell, James W. Clark. Cashiers: Rufus Brewer, William H. Foster, Edward Illsley, Francis Jaques, Francis T. Clark, James J. Valentine. The first dividend was declared April, 1834; and in no instance since has the regular semi-annual dividend in April and October been passed.

Colonel Moses Edgell has the honor of originating the Framingham Savings-Bank. He believed that if such a place of deposit were established on a safe basis, and were so managed as to command the confidence of the people, young men and women, at work on wages, as well as those who were making small gains in their business, would be induced to save their earnings, and invest them where they would gradually accumulate against a time of need; when, without such a savings-bank, these small gains would be frittered away. The result more than met his sanguine expectations; and scores of families have, by its agency, been saved from want. Colonel Edgell was chosen president at its organization, March 10, 1846, and held the office till 1871. He was succeeded by George Phipps, who held the office till his death, February 19, 1876. Charles Upham succeeded Mr. Phipps. The secretaries and treasurers have been Rufus Brewer, Edward Illsley, Lorenzo Sabine, Coleman S. Adams. Amount of deposits, November 1, 1846, \$4,969; amount November 1, 1878, \$1,025,702.

The following is a list, substantially complete, of persons, natives or residents of Framingham, who have received a collegiate education:—

Phinelas Hemenway, H. C. 1730, Congregational clergyman, Townsend, Mass.

David Goddard, H. C. 1731, Congregational clergyman, Leicester, Mass.

Elias Haven, H. C. 1733, Congregational clergyman, Franklin, Mass.

John Swift, H. C. 1733, Congregational clergyman, Acton, Mass.

Nathan Haven, H. C. 1737, died.

Joseph Buckminster, H. C. 1739, Congregational clergyman, Rutland, Mass.

Amariah Frost, H. C. 1740, Congregational clergyman, Milford, Mass.

- John Mellen, H. C. 1741, Congregational clergyman, Sterling, Mass.
- John Wilson, H. C. 1741, physician, Hopkinton, Mass.
- Ebenezer Winchester, H. C. 1744, physician.
- Samuel Haven, H. C. 1749, Congregational clergyman, Portsmouth, N. H.
- Jason Haven, H. C. 1754, Congregational clergyman, Dedham, Mass.
- Moses Hemenway, H. C. 1755, Congregational clergyman, Wells, Me.
- John Haven, H. C. 1757, teacher, Framingham, Greenland, N. H.
- Eliah Stone, H. C. 1758, Congregational clergyman, Reading, Mass.
- Moses Adams, H. C. 1771, Congregational clergyman, Acton, Mass.
- John Reed, Y. C. 1772, Congregational clergyman, West Bridgewater, Mass.
- Solomon Reed, Y. C. 1775, Congregational clergyman, Petersham, Mass.
- Jonathan Maynard, H. C. 1775, justice of peace, Framingham.
- Samuel Reed, Y. C. 1777, Congregational clergyman, Warwick, Mass.
- Moses Haven, H. C. 1782, died.
- Timothy Reed, D. C. 1782, lawyer, W. Bridgewater, Mass.
- Jacob Haven, H. C. 1785, Congregational clergyman, Croyden, N. H.
- Joseph Bixby, H. C. 1791, died.
- Daniel Stone, H. C. 1791, physician, Sharon, Mass.
- Joseph Locke, D. C. 1797, lawyer, Billerica, Mass.
- John B. Fiske, D. C. 1798, lawyer, New York.
- William Ballard, H. C. 1799, physician, Framingham.
- Moses Madison Fiske, D. C. 1802, teacher, Nashville, Tenn.
- John Brewer, H. C. 1804, physician, Philadelphia.
- Jones Buckminster, H. C. 1804, teacher, ———, Tenn.
- William Haven, B. U. 1809, died.
- William Eaton, W. C. 1810, Congregational clergyman, Fitchburg, Mass.
- John Look Parkhurst, B. U. 1812, Congregational clergyman, Standish, Me.
- Dana Claves, Mid. C. 1815, Congregational clergyman, Plainfield, Mass.
- Joseph Bennett, H. C. 1818, Congregational clergyman, Woburn, Mass.
- Jeremy Parkhurst, Y. C. 1819, physician, Philadelphia.
- Edward Frost, H. C. 1822, physician, Wayland, Mass.
- Increase Sumner Wheeler, H. C. 1826, merchant, Framingham.
- John T. Kittredge, A. C. 1829, physician, Framingham.
- Joshua T. Eaton, Y. C. 1830, Congregational clergyman.
- Peter Parker, Y. C. 1831, missionary to China, minister plenipotentiary, etc.
- Abner B. Wheeler, H. C. 1831, physician, Boston, Mass.
- Arthur S. Train, B. U. 1833, Baptist clergyman, Haverhill, Mass.
- Josiah Abbott, Y. C. 1835, physician, Hollis, N. H.
- William J. Buckminster, H. C. 1835, editor, Boston, Mass.
- Edward Stone, B. U. 1835, Unitarian clergyman, Norridgewock, Me.
- Edward Brewer, H. C. 1836, farmer.
- Oliver J. Fiske, B. U. 1837, Baptist clergyman, Tennessee.
- Charles R. Train, B. U. 1837, lawyer, M. C., Boston, Mass.
- Charles P. Johnson, A. C. 1839, lecturer, New York.
- James W. Brown, W. C. 1840, teacher, Framingham.
- Benjamin A. Edwards, B. U. 1841, Baptist clergyman, Bolton, Mass.
- Addison Ballard, W. C. 1842, Presbyterian clergyman, Lafayette College.
- Samuel W. Eaton, Y. C. 1842, Congregational clergyman, Lancaster, Wis.
- Robert Gordon, H. C. 1843, lawyer, Framingham.
- Rufus Franklin Brewer, H. C. 1845, teacher, Framingham.
- C. C. Esty, Y. C. 1845, lawyer, M. C., Framingham.
- David P. Temple, Y. C. 1851, teacher, York, Neb.
- Abner H. Wenzell, A. C. 1853, lawyer, Marlborough, Mass.
- Frederick Wheeler, H. C. 1854, lawyer, Framingham.
- Dixie C. Hoyt, A. C. 1855, physician, Milford, Mass.
- George T. Higley, A. C. 1857, lawyer, Ashland, Mass.
- Frederick A. Billings, A. C. 1859, farmer, Grafton, Mass.
- James H. Schneider, Y. C. 1860, teacher, Bridgewater, Mass.
- George Rice, Y. C. 1860, physician, Framingham.
- Solomon H. Brackett, H. C. 1862, teacher, Keene, N. H.
- Edwin T. Horne, H. C. 1864, teacher, Boston, Mass.
- Edmund S. Clark, T. C. 1865, merchant, Boston, Mass.
- Henry G. Blair, H. C. 1866, druggist, Omaha, Neb.
- John K. Brown, H. C. 1869, missionary, Harpoot, Turkey.
- Sidney A. Phillips, D. C. 1869, lawyer, Framingham.
- Walter Adams, H. C. 1870, lawyer, Boston, Mass.
- George D. Bigelow, D. C. 1873, lawyer, Boston, Mass.
- Ralph Stone, H. C. 1873, lawyer, Buffalo, N. Y.
- Arthur M. Clark, T. C. 1877.

The name of no professional lawyer occurs among the earlier settlers of this town. Rev. Mr. Swift was often employed to write wills, as was his successor, Mr. Bridge. Thomas Drury, Joshua Hemenway, Edward Goddard, Colonel Buckminster, senior and junior, held the office of justice of the peace, and wrote deeds, petitions, and official papers generally. Edward Goddard was well educated, though not a college graduate, and understood the principles of law, as well as the forms of legal proceedings, and was often employed by the town in the prosecution and defence of suits. The same was true of Joseph Buckminster, Jr. The former always depended on the merits of his case; the latter often resorted to technicalities and nice distinctions, which evinced shrewdness rather than integrity. Joseph Haven, Esq., born 1698, died 1776; Josiah Stone, Esq., born 1724, died 1785; Jonathan Maynard, Esq., born 1752,

died 1834,—severally held commissions as justice of the peace, and did a large business in drawing up official papers. In 1782 Mr. Stone was appointed special judge of the Court of Common Pleas.

Eli Bullard, Esq. (son of Henry, of Medway), Y. C. 1787, opened an office in Framingham in 1791, and was in practice till his death, May 20, 1824.

Josiah Adams, Esq. (son of Rev. Moses, of Acton, born November 3, 1781), H. C. 1801, was admitted to the bar, June, 1807, and immediately settled in this town. He died February 8, 1854.

William Buckminster, Esq. (son of Lawson, of Framingham, born January 22, 1784), graduated at Harvard, studied law with Esquire Bullard, and opened an office at Machias, Me., where he was in practice till 1820, when he returned to Framingham. He engaged largely in farming; was editor and publisher of the *Massachusetts Ploughman*; died June 9, 1865.

Lawson Kingsbury, Esq. (son of Asa, of Walpole, Mass.), D. C. 1808; cadet at West Point; received a commission as lieutenant in the United States army, July 7, 1812, and was assigned to the recruiting service; discharged, April 1, 1813; studied law, and opened an office in Framingham, where he resided till his death, October 28, 1857, aged sixty-seven.

Owen S. Keith, Esq., H. C. 1826, was teacher in the academy at Framingham, and at Northfield; studied law with Rufus Hosmer, Esq., of Stow; became associated with Esquire Adams in this town, where he remained till 1838, when he removed to Boston.

Charles R. Train, Esq. (son of Rev. Charles, of Framingham), B. U. 1837, studied law with Esquire Adams; opened an office in Framingham, 1840; M. C. 1859–1863; removed to Boston, 1863.

C. C. Esty, Esq. (son of Dexter, of Framingham), Y. C. 1845; commenced practice, 1848; M. C. 1872–1873; appointed judge of the District Court, 1874.

Robert Gordon, Esq. (son of Robert, of Charlestown), H. C. 1843, practised law in South Boston, 1856–1862, when he opened an office in Framingham.

F. F. Heard, Esq., H. C. 1848, was in practice in this town, 1851–1856.

Coleman S. Adams, Esq. (son of Joseph S., of Hebron, N. H.), studied law at Baltimore, Md.;

practised at Portland, Me., and at Boston; opened an office in Framingham, 1858.

Theodore C. Hurd, Esq., graduated at Union College, New York; commenced practice in Framingham, 1860; clerk of the courts of Middlesex County.

E. W. Washburn had a law office in Framingham, 1870–1877.

Those who have recently entered the profession here are Sidney A. Phillips, Esq., D. C. 1869; Walter Adams, Esq., H. C. 1870; George C. Travis, Esq., H. C. 1869; Ira B. Forbes, Esq.; Charles S. Barker, Esq.

Physicians in Framingham.—Dr. John Page was in practice here from 1712 to 1723.

Dr. Bezaleel Rice commenced practice here as early as 1720, and continued till 1743.

Dr. Joseph Nichols lived in town from 1730 to 1752.

Dr. John Mellen is named in the town records in 1747.

Dr. Ebenezer Hemenway was in practice in this town from 1750 to 1784. He lived on what is known as the Loring-Manson farm, and had a grist-mill on the premises.

Jeremiah Pike, a noted bone-setter, was contemporary with Dr. Hemenway.

Dr. John Sporhawk was in Framingham, 1757.

Dr. Richard Perkins, H. C. 1748, son of Rev. Daniel, of West Bridgewater, was in practice here in 1758.

Dr. Elijah Stone was a leading physician here from 1765 to 1804. He built and lived for many years in the house now owned by Joseph Brown, when he bought the Pepper place, on Pratt's plain, now occupied as the State Arsenal.

Dr. Daniel Perkins was here in 1785, then living in a small house standing where Esty's Block now stands. He afterwards lived in the Colonel Timothy Eames house. In February, 1792, he "moved to the Mohawk."

Dr. John B. Kittridge, son of Benjamin, of Tewksbury, established himself in Framingham in 1791, and had a large and successful practice till his death, February 29, 1848.

Dr. Timothy Merriam, born in Concord, Mass., came to Framingham in 1791, and located near Park's Corner, where he died, September 17, 1835, aged seventy-six.

Dr. Simon Whitney, born at Watertown, H. C. 1818, set up practice in the centre of the town in 1822, and enjoyed in a high degree the confidence

of the community till his death, September 2, 1861.

Dr. John T. Kittridge, son of John B., A. C., 1828, was in practice with his father till his early death, October 25, 1837, aged twenty-six.

Dr. E. A. Holyoke, from Salem, associated himself with Dr. Whitney in 1838, and remained in town about five years.

Dr. Otis Hoyt, from Mason, N. H., was in practice here from 1838 to 1848.

Dr. Enos Hoyt, from Sauborniton Bridge, N. H., came to town in 1849, and remained in practice till his death, March 25, 1875.

Dr. John W. Osgood, born at Gorham, Me., studied with Dr. Whitney and Dr. Holyoke; established himself first at Saxonville; removed to the Centre, where he died July 1, 1867.

Dr. George A. Hoyt, son of Dr. Enos, was associated with his father from 1852 till his death, October 15, 1857.

Dr. George M. Howe, from Harvard, Mass., came to Framingham in 1862, and still continues in practice.

Dr. Allston W. Whitney, son of Dr. Simon, graduated at the Harvard Medical School, 1852; was associated for a time with his father; surgeon in the army, 1861 - 1865; now living, and in practice at West Newton.

Dr. Otis O. Johnson, son of John, studied medicine with Dr. J. B. Kittridge, and has been in practice in Sudbury and Framingham since 1850.

Dr. Henry Cowles, from Amherst, Mass., has been in practice at Saxonville, as dentist and physician, since 1852.

Dr. Edgar Parker, son of Charles, of Framingham, began practice at Saxonville in 1866, and after a few years left the medical profession, for the more congenial one of portrait-painting.

Dr. E. L. Warren was in practice at South Framingham for a number of years, and left in 1878.

Dr. George Rice (son of Martin, Y. C.), 1860, is established as pharmacist at South Framingham.

Dr. George Beard resides in West Natick, and has an office at South Framingham.

Dr. Z. B. Adams, H. C. 1853, completed a course in the Harvard Medical School; studied in Paris; was a surgeon in the army during the war, 1861 - 1864; located in Framingham, 1868.

Dr. E. A. Hobbs has recently established himself at South Framingham, and Dr. George H. Holman at Saxonville.

	Population.	Polls.	Valuation.
1699	over 350		
1710	about 445	111	
1765	1,250	331	£ 2897 17s. 8d.
1776	1,599	380	
1790	1,598	383	3519 6 8
1800	1,625	380	\$14,843
1810	1,670	395	18,509
1820	2,037	472	22,572
1830	2,313		604,355
1840	3,030	696	851,350
1850	4,252	968	1,910,613
1865	4,676		
1860	4,227	1,078	2,208,537
1865	4,605	1,095	2,799,308
1870	4,968	1,167	3,897,847
1875	5,167	1,319	4,363,280

War of the Rebellion, 1861 - 1865. — May 6, 1861, the town passed the following vote: "That the town appropriate the sum of \$8,000, to constitute a fund to provide suitable outfit for such military companies as may be organized in this town and accepted by the state, and to furnish all necessary aid to the families of members of the companies residents of the town, during such time as they shall be absent in the service of their country." The total amount expended by the town in bounties and recruiting expenses was \$33,828.86. The amount paid by the town as aid to families of volunteers, \$20,456.87. The amount of individual subscriptions to the various recruiting and bounty funds was \$29,142.50. The number of soldiers credited to this town under the several calls is 402.

Statistical Tables. — 1760. Number of ratable polls, 301; non-ratable, 50; total, 331. Number of dwelling-houses, 198; workshops, 28; saw and grist mills, 8; iron foundry, 1. Number of slaves, 7. Money at interest, £938. 17s. 4d. Number of horses, 162; oxen, 265; cows, 724; sheep, 886; swine over three months old, 35; bushels of grain raised, 20,665; barrels of cider made, 1,716; tons of English hay, 447½; tons of meadow hay, 1,021.

1801. — Number of polls, 350; number of dwelling-houses, 203; workshops, 4; tan-houses, 2; grist-mills, 3; saw-mills, 3; fulling-mills, 2; bake-houses, 2; barns, 187; ounces of plate, 61; barrels of cider made, 3,011; horses, 180; oxen, 248; cows, 844; swine, 373; money at interest, \$848.82; bushels of wheat raised, 6; rye, 4,158; oats, 569; corn, 12,836; barley, 1,251; tons of English hay, 762; tons of meadow hay, 1,097.

1845. — Number of grist-mills 2, income, \$1,730; saw-mills 3, income, \$1,250; number

of horses 317, value \$17,203; neat cattle 1,383, value \$27,700; sheep 13, value \$50; swine 450, value \$3,200; bushels of Indian corn raised 15,448, value \$11,586; bushels of wheat raised 25, value \$25; bushels of rye raised 1,241, value \$993; bushels of barley raised 408, value \$306; bushels of oats raised 3,710, value \$2,741; bushels of potatoes raised 34,584, value \$8,648; other esculent roots 968 bushels, value \$502; tons of hay 3,212, value \$40,378; bushels of fruit 22,381, value \$5,013; pounds of butter made 66,690, value \$11,337; pounds of cheese 2,950, value \$177; value of milk sold, \$1,090; axe manufactory 1, hands employed 1, income \$700; cutlery 1, hands employed 1, income \$200; paper-mills 2, hands employed 33, stock used 225 tons, paper manufactured 360,000 pounds, value \$52,500; saddler's shops 2, hands employed 4, income \$1,200; hat manufactory 1, hands employed 4, income \$2,500; cabinet shops 3, hands employed 3, income \$1,200; tin shop 1, hands employed 4, income \$4,000; tannery 1, hands employed 1, income \$736; boots manufactured 35,000 pairs, shoes 44,000 pairs, value \$49,450, hands employed, males 60, females 25; bakery 1, hands employed 4, value of bread baked \$8,000; book-binding 1, hands employed, males 3, females 2, income \$2,500; millinery shops 3, females employed 10, income \$2,000; wheelwright shops 6, hands employed 6, income \$3,000; fire-wood prepared, 2,020 cords, value \$7,070.

For 1875. — Number of ratable polls, 1,319; number of dwelling-houses, 1,010; number of families, 1,117; barns, 205; value of houses and barns, \$689,000; number of farms, 195; total acreage of farms, 11,028; acreage of cultivated land, 8,823; value of farms with buildings, \$1,409,380; number of acres of unimproved land, 4,840; acres of woodland, 2,854. Number of horses 684, value \$70,645; cows, 831, value \$38,365; oxen 50, value \$4,545; sheep 92, value \$500; swine 557, value \$8,607; bushels of Indian corn raised 7,511, value \$7,511; wheat 3 bushels, value \$3; rye 318 bushels, value \$321; barley 2,789 bushels, value \$2,269; oats 1810 bushels, value \$1,304; potatoes 14,254 bushels, value \$10,210; tons of English hay 2,653, value \$55,047; tons of meadow hay 440, value \$5,675; bushels of apples 35,075, value \$12,297; gallons of cider made 79,776, value \$15,925; pounds of butter made 22,203, value \$11,706; gallons of milk sold 121,295, value \$22,817; total value

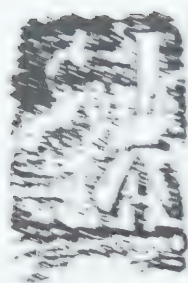
of agricultural products, \$191,285; value of carriage-wheels manufactured \$28,000; newspaper and job printing, \$8,368; shoes manufactured, \$50,000; straw goods manufactured, \$850,000; lumber, value of, \$14,000; total number of persons employed in different manufacturing establishments, 1,199; amount of wages received, \$703,833; total value of goods and labor, \$1,778,360. Occupations: males, — teachers, 2; civil engineers, 5; clergymen, 13; lawyers, 10; physicians, 8; barbers, 8; saloon-keepers, 7; butchers, 5; clerks, 30; merchants and traders, 75; railroad employees, 59; salesmen, 19; teamsters, 18; farmers, 257; farm-laborers, 49; florists, 7; gardeners, 20; stable-keepers, 6; factory operatives, 174; laborers, 194; watchmen, 6; females, — factory operatives, 186; teachers, 54; domestic servants, 159; housekeepers, 61; housewives, 969; housework, 8; cooks, 6; dressmakers, 24; milliners, 8; straw-workers, 28.

Town Statistics for 1878. — Town officers: selectmen, Samuel B. Bird, Joseph C. Cloyes, Eleazer Goulding, James R. Entwistle, Elbert Hemenway; town-clerk, Frank E. Hemenway; town treasurer, Cyrus Bean; collector, Charles J. Frost; assessors, S. B. Bird, F. C. Stearns, Charles W. Coolidge; school committee, J. H. Temple, George D. Puffer, Charles W. Coolidge, Charles F. Cutler, Sidney A. Phillips, James R. Entwistle, Joseph B. Johnson, Edwin R. Warren, S. B. Bird, George E. Leeson, Frank Deming, Elbert Hemenway; trustees of Edgell Grove Cemetery, James W. Clark, David Fisk, F. A. Billings, John Clark, Alexander B. Esty; trustees of Town Library, Charles Upham, H. O. Stone, C. C. Esty, L. F. Fuller, R. W. Whiting, E. L. Sturtevant, B. T. Manson, W. F. Hurd, L. R. Eastman, Jr., J. H. Temple, Charles E. Humphreys. Town grants: schools, \$16,150; highways and bridges, \$7,500; new iron bridges, \$8,000; support of poor, \$2,000; town library, \$1,200; fire department, \$2,600; street lamps, \$1,200; police, \$3,000; care of cemeteries, \$110; decoration day, \$150; enforcement of liquor law, \$600; interest, \$2,000; contingencies, etc., \$4,100; salaries, \$1,375. Total, \$48,385.

The town has no debt except the amount due its several permanent funds, as follows: Phipps Poor Fund, \$15,000; Stone Fund, \$9,500; Academy Fund, \$1,258; Phipps Cemetery Fund, \$500; Eaton Library Fund, \$500; Edgell Grove Cemetery Fund, \$460; Centre Common Fund, \$450. Total, \$27,675.

GROTON.

BY MARTIN A. GILLEN, B. D.



IN the month of May, 1655, the General Court, then in session at Boston, returned an answer to "a pet. offered by Mr Deane Windthrop Mr Tho: Hinkley & divers others for a plantation upon the river that Runs from Nashua way into Merrimacke called *receptawage* & an other: from some of the Indians of Concord for a plantation in the same place," granting a township eight miles square in the place desired, to make a plantation to be called "Groton." This name was given by Mr. Deane Windthrop, a son of Governor John Windthrop, in honor of his birth-place, Groton, Suffolk County, England. The new plantation was situated on the frontiers, fourteen miles from the nearest settlement; and at that time there were but nine other towns in Middlesex County. The General Court appointed as selectmen "for the said Towne of Groton for one two yeares from the time it is lay'd out," Mr. Deane Windthrop, Mr. John Tucker, Mr. Thomas Hinkley, Dolew Davis, William Martin, Matthew Farrington, John Warr, and Timothy Cooper.

A religious temper pervades the whole petition, which in its language has the favor of the Old Testament. It speaks of their having been brought over "by a providence of God," and of their living long in the wilderness. In answer to it the court grants a tract of land to make "a comfortable plantation," and provides for its survey and prompt location, ordering "that none shall enjoy any part or portion of that land by gift from the selectmen of that place but such who shall build houses on these Lots so given them once within eighteene months from the time of the said Townes laying out or Townes grant to such persons": and naming as the chief end the "speedy peopling of a godly minister amongst them."

Very soon after the settlement of the town there

1 Of the first of the two petitions referred to, no copy or record has been preserved: of the second, a copy was retained in the Historical MSS. delivered at Groton, July 4, 1874.

was a complaint of improper management on the part of the proprietors, and the General Court appointed a committee to look into the subject. This committee visited the place, and reported on "the Intanglements that have obstructed the planting thereof," giving at the same time their opinion that there was land enough here to furnish subsistence by husbandry to sixty families.

A singular illustration of how erroneous even deliberate and disinterested opinion may be in matters pertaining to the future is here seen when it is considered that there are now nearly 16,000 persons in the territory of the original Groton Plantation, living mainly by the products of the land. Owing to the death of Ensign Noyes, the survey of the town ordered in 1656 was not completed until 1668, when Jonathan Danforth finished the work and made a plat of the plantation. The committee referred to made a report to the court, May 22, 1661, clearing up the entanglements, and were themselves ordered and empowered to see its provisions carried into effect "until meet men" could be found "amongst such as shall inhabit there, and be approved of by a county court." The records of the town show that "meet men" were found amongst the inhabitants in December 1662, when Deacon James Parker, John Lawrence, William Maron, Richard Blood, and James Fiske were chosen selectmen. The record is in the handwriting of Richard Savrell, who was town-clerk for several years.

The original grant, as laid out by Danforth, included the whole of what are now Groton and Ayer, nearly the whole of Pepperell and Shirley, large portions of Littleton and Dunstable, and smaller portions of Harvard and Westford, and of Nashua, N. H.

After the adjustment of the "Intanglements" referred to above the settlement grew and prospered. The earliest town records bear the date of June 26, 1662, and votes are recorded on this date and on December 24, of the same year, in reference to building a meeting-house, and a house for the

minister. From these votes it may be inferred that the number of inhabitants was considerable.

"The first settlers, or proprietors of the land," says Mr. Butler, in his History of Groton, "were tenants in common of the whole township, though not in equal shares or proportions. They expressed their several proportions by a certain number of 'acre rights.'" One owned a "sixty acre right," another a "twenty acre right," another a "five acre right," etc. Until 1713 no distinction was made between the inhabitants and proprietors of the town, and all their transactions and records were kept in one book. Under the provisions of a statute passed by the General Court in 1713, the proprietors held their first separate meeting March 4, 1716-17. A committee was appointed to report the names of the original proprietors, and of all others who claimed "acre rights." This committee reported the names of fifty-one original proprietors entitled to 755 "acre rights," and about sixty additional names showing good titles to 445½ "acre rights," to which the proprietors added by vote twenty-five who produced satisfactory titles to 236 "acre rights"; making a total of 135 proprietors and 1,436½ "acre rights." All the claimants are said to have derived their titles by descent or by purchase, with the exception of Jonas Prescott, to whom the town is said to have granted a thirty acre right. Each proprietor was allowed one vote for each acre right held by him. Five divisions of common and undivided lands were made at different dates by the proprietors, the last having been voted February 4, 1760. Meetings of the proprietors continued to be held at irregular intervals till 1829. "The last tract of common land known to exist was laid out to Bulkley Ames, Esq."

At their earliest town-meetings the inhabitants took measures to provide for the preservation of trees "for shade for the cattell in all common highwayes," and affixing a penalty of "tenne shillings" a tree upon any one who should fell any such tree or trees. Early efforts were also made to secure the erection of a grist-mill, but without success, until the year 1667, when five hundred acres of upland and twenty acres of meadow were granted by the town to John Prescott, "for to build the towne a mill," which lands, together with the mill, were to be "freed from all townes charges whatsoever for the space of twenty years." Accordingly John Prescott, of Lancaster, or his son Jonas, who later became a distinguished inhabitant of the town, built a mill in the southerly part of

Groton, now the northerly part of Harvard, and November 19, 1673, it was agreed that he should "grind the town's corn for the town every second and every sixth day in every week."

At a town-meeting, held March 5, 1665-66, the town agreed with John Page, Joseph Gilson, and Daniel Pearce, to make a common pound for the town's use, they to have fifty shillings for their pains, to be paid out of the next town rate. The place where it was to be set up was near the meeting-house, which was not yet built, but the site for it had been determined.

For some years before the destruction of the town the Indians began to threaten the inhabitants. They were troublesome neighbors at the best, and their movements required careful watching. Some of them were friendly, but others were hostile and treacherous. They had already acquired a taste for strong drink, and, on more than one occasion, drunken brawls and fights ending in murder had taken place between them and the settlers. Many of the Indians, too, had now been supplied with fire-arms, which made them bold and insolent, and it is not strange that the natural tendency of events should have been toward open hostilities.

At an early day there was a military organization in the town, and we find the following order in the Massachusetts Records, passed October 15, 1673, in relation to it: "The military company of Groaten being destitute of military officers, the Court judgeth it meet to choose and appoint James Parker to be their captaine, W^m Lakin to be lieutenant, and Nathaniel Lawrence to be their ensigne."

The thunder of the distant storm now began to be heard, and the colonists were asking for protection. Captain Parker writes to Governor Leverett, under date of August 25, 1675, that the inhabitants "are in a very great strait," and "are very much discouraged in their spirits;" that they want ammunition and twenty good muskets for their pike men. A few days before the date of this letter Captain Samuel Moseley writes from "Nashoway Allias Lancaster: 16th Aug^s 1675," that, in accordance with instructions from Major-General Dennison, he had sent "12 men to Groatou." In those days there was no physician in town to offer his professional skill to the government in time of need, and it was necessary to impress into the public service a surgeon as well as a horse and accoutrements; and accordingly the constable of Boston was ordered by the council,

August 17, 1675, "in his Maj^{ty} name forthwith to Impresse M^r W^m Haukins Chirurgeon; Immediately to prepare himself wth materials as Chirurgeon & to dispatch to Marlboro. to Cap^t Mosely & attend his motion & souldiers at Groaten. or elsewhere: for wch End you are also to Impresse an able horse & furniture for him to Goe: wth the Post"; and the constable made the indorsement on the order that Dr. Hawkins was duly warned.

At this time King Philip's War had begun, and open hostilities had alarmed the inhabitants of this place. The council passed an order, September 8, 1675, that Cornet Thomas Brattle and Lieutenant Thomas Henshman should take fifty men, of which thirty were to come from Norfolk and twenty from Middlesex, and place them in the garrisons of Dunstable, Groton, and Lancaster in such proportions as they should deem expedient. October 27 of this year the town was assessed £11 10s., as her rate to carry on the war; and if paid in money, one quarter was to be abated.

"March 2, 1675-8 the Indians began their attack upon Groton, following it up with another on the 9th, and a third and final one on the 13th, when all the town was burned except four garrison-houses. 'Major Willard, with seventy horse and forty foot, from Watertown,' came to the relief of the town, but arrived too late, the Indians having all fled. It was in this attack upon Groton that John Monoco, or One-eyed John, the Indian chief in command, whose tribe had their seat at Nashaway, uttered his boast that the next time he would burn Chelmsford, Concord, Watertown, Cambridge, Charlestown, Roxbury, Boston, adding at the last in their dialect, 'What me will, me do.' This boaster and others of the leaders were hanged in Boston, September 26, 1676."

The people would have been more than human if they had not felt despondent at the hard fate that had now befallen them. They had seen their houses and barns burned, and all the results of their labor and thrift destroyed in a day. The little meeting-house, rudely constructed, but no less dear to them, was now a heap of ashes. To-day its exact site is unknown. Some words of consolation and exhortation to trust in the providence of God fell from the lips of their good pastor, Mr. Samuel Willard, as they looked tearfully on their ruined homes. He had been their guide and teacher during thirteen years. He was born January 31, 1639-40, at Concord, Mass. He was the son of Major Simon Willard, at one time an

inhabitant of this town, and graduated at Harvard College in the year 1659, being the only member of the class who took his second degree. He came here to succeed Mr. John Miller, the first minister of the town, who died June 12, 1663. Mr. Willard began to preach probably late in the year 1662, or early in 1663. In the latter year, on the 21st of some month,—conjectured to be June, the words of the record being so worn as to be illegible,—it was voted "that M^r Willard if he accept of it shall be their minister as long as he lives." Against this action there were five dissentient votes, which number constituted probably one quarter of all the voters; and they certainly were among the principal and most influential inhabitants of the town. But he was settled in spite of the opposition, and his relations with his people were always harmonious. His salary began at £40, but it was gradually increased until it was double that amount, part of it being in country pay. But little is known of his early history, and no church record during his ministry in Groton is extant. He was but twenty-three years of age when he was settled over the church, and a few weeks later he married Abigail Sherman; and after her death he married, as his second wife, Eunice, daughter of Edward Tyng. Five of his children were born in the town. One of his great-grandsons, Robert Treat Paine, was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. His residence was in the present Main Street, and was used at one time as a meeting-house, and again as a school-house. Its exact locality is not now known, but there was "a great meadow neere the house," which could be seen from one of the windows in a lower room.

The assault by the Indians on the town was followed by the breaking up of the place and the scattering of the inhabitants in different directions among their friends and kindred. The war was soon ended; though it was nearly two years before the early pioneers ventured back to their old homes, around which still clustered many tender associations as well as sad recollections. It is recorded that other families came back with them. Mr. Willard never returned to his old pastorate. He was soon after installed over the Old South Church in Boston, as the colleague of Rev. Thomas Thacher. In 1701 he was chosen vice-president of Harvard College, his connection being really that of president, except in name. He presided for the last time at the College Commencement in

July, 1707. As minister of the Old South, he baptized Benjamin Franklin, who was born in Milk Street, directly opposite the church, and was taken thither for baptism when only a few hours old.

At a very early period the road to the Bay, as it was called, — that is, to Boston, — was by a circuitous route through Chelmsford and Billerica, where there was a bridge built by several towns, — of which Groton was one, — and supported jointly by them for many years. In the year 1699 the towns of Groton, Chelmsford, and Billerica were engaged in a controversy about the proportion of expense which each one should bear in building the bridge. The General Court settled the dispute by ordering this town to pay £24 10s. as her share in full, with no future liabilities.

The Indians' passion for liquor has already been referred to, and has curious illustration in the following extract from the town records, —

“March 28 1682

“two Indian squaws being apprehended In drinke & with drinke brought to y^e select men one squaw Nehatchekin swaw being drunke was sentenced to receiue & did receiue ten stripes the other John Nasquans sway was sentenced to pay 3^d 4^d cash and loose her two quart bottle and the Liquour in it awarded to Sarg^t Laken who seized them.”

After King Philip's War the colonists were at peace with the Indians, but it was a suspicious kind of peace. It required watching and a show of strength to keep it; there was no good-will between the native race and the white intruders. The military company of the town was still kept up, and known as the Foot Company, and during a part of the year 1689 was supported by some cavalry, under the command of Captain Jacob Moore. James Parker, Sr., was appointed the captain of it, Jonas Prescott, the lieutenant, and John Lakin, the ensign; and these appointments were all confirmed by the governor and council at a convention held in Boston, July 13, 1689. A month later (August 10), Captain Parker was ordered to supply Hezekiah Usher's garrison at Nononiciacus with “three men of the men sent up thither or of the Town's people, for y^e defence of y^e Garrison being of publique concernment.” Groton was one of the four towns that were designated, August 29, as the headquarters of the forces detached for the public service against the common enemy; Casco, Newichewanick (Berwick), and Haverhill being the others. And we

find, soon after, an order to send “to the head Quarter at Groton for supply of the Garrison there one Thousand weight of Bread, one barrell of Salt, one barrell of powder, three hundred weight of Shott, and three hundred Flints, Six quire of Paper.” Eleven troopers were sent hither, September 17, under Cornet John Chubbuck, to relieve Corporal White, who was succeeded by John Pratt. The commissary of the post at this time was Jonathan Remington, who seems to have had but little duty to perform. Shortly afterward the order came from the governor and council to discharge him, as well as Captain Moore and his company of cavalry, from the public service. “Jno. Paige of Groten” went in the expedition to Canada, in the year 1690, under Major Wade; was wounded in the left arm, and did not entirely recover for two years. His surgeon's bill, amounting to £4, was paid out of the public treasury.

The second attack on the town came in the summer of 1694. Cotton Mather in his *Magnalia* thus refers to it: “Nor did the Storm go over so: Some Drops of it fell upon the Town of Groton, a Town that lay, one would think, far enough off the Place where was the last Scene of the Tragedy. On July 27, [1694] about break of Day Groton felt some surprizing Blows from the *Indian Hatchets*. They began their Attacks at the House of one Lieutenant *Lakin*, in the Outskirts of the Town; but met with a Repulse there, and lost one of their Crew. Nevertheless, in other Parts of that Plantation, (where the good People had been so tired out as to lay down their *Military Watch*) there were more than Twenty Persons killed, and more than a dozen carried away. Mr. *Gershom Hobart*, the Minister of the Place, with part of his Family, was Remarkably preserved from falling into their Hands, when they made themselves the Masters of his House; though they took Two of his Children, whereof the one was killed, and the other some time after happily Rescued out of his Captivity.”

The French report, sent October 26, by M. Champigny to the Minister, Pontchartrain, now in the archives of the marine and colonies at Paris, mentions this assault as follows: “These Indians did not stop there; four parties of them have since been detached, who have been within half a day's journey of Boston [i. e. at Groton], where they have killed or captured more than sixty persons, ravaged and pillaged everything they found, which has thrown all the people into such consternation

that they are leaving the open country to seek refuge in the towns." Another account says: "At the solicitation of Villieu and Taxous, their chief, some fifty of them detached themselves to follow this last person, who was piqued at the little that had been done. They were joined by some of the bravest warriors of the Kennebec, to go on a war-party above Boston to break heads by surprise (*casser des têtes à la surprise*), after dividing themselves into several squads of four or five each, which cannot fail of producing a good effect." According to Charlevoix, "The English made a better defence than they did at Pescadué [Piscataqu]. Taxous had two of his nephews killed by his side, and himself received more than a dozen musket-balls in his clothes."

The loss of life from this attack was considerably greater than when the town was destroyed and deserted in the year 1676. There were twenty-two persons killed and thirteen captured. The settlement was now more scattered than it was then, and its defence more difficult. For this reason more persons were killed and taken prisoners than when the place was assaulted eighteen years previously. It is said that the scalps of the unfortunate victims were given to Count de Frontenac, governor of Canada. Among those killed were William Longley, his wife, and five of their children; his eldest one, Lydia, a daughter of twenty, John, and Betty, were taken prisoners. Lydia's name is found in a list of prisoners who were held in Canada, March 5, 1710-11. She was captured by the Abénaquis, a tribe of Indians who inhabited the territory now included in the state of Maine. She was baptized into the Roman Catholic Church, April 24, 1696, and lived at the congregation of Notre Dame in Montreal. She was buried July 20, 1758. John, her brother, was twelve years old when captured. He remained with the Indians for more than four years, — a part of the time being spent in Canada, and the remainder in Maine. At length he was ransomed, but he had become so accustomed to savage life that he left it with great reluctance; and those who brought him away were obliged to use force to accomplish their purpose. He was afterwards a useful inhabitant of the town, holding many offices of trust and responsibility. The third child, Betty, died in captivity.

In memory of the Longleys the town has recently caused to be erected on the site of their home a monument with this inscription: —

HERE DWELT
WILLIAM AND DELIVERANCE LONGLEY
WITH THEIR EIGHT CHILDREN.

ON THE 27TH OF JULY 1694

THE INDIANS KILLED THE FATHER AND MOTHER
AND FIVE OF THE CHILDREN
AND CARRIED INTO CAPTIVITY
THE OTHER THREE.

Governor William Stoughton issued a proclamation January 21, 1695, and refers to the "tragical outrages and barbarous murders" at Oyster River (now Durham, N. H.) and Groton. He says that several of the prisoners taken at these places "are now detained by the said Indians at Androscoggin and other adjoining places." Cotton Mather says that one man was killed here in 1697, and another, with two children, carried into captivity.

After these attacks there was a short respite, which continued till 1704, when the frontier towns were again exposed to savage warfare; and this town suffered with the others. At various times during the succeeding twenty years the Indians killed and captured residents of the town, and there are numerous thrilling stories told of incidents that transpired during these eventful years.

Three children of Thomas Tarbell,¹ who lived on what is now known as Farmers' Row, a short distance south of the Lawrence Farm, and who was town-clerk in 1704 and 1705, were carried off by the Indians June 20, 1707, and never came back to remain. Their names were Sarah, John, and Zachariah. They were picking cherries early one evening — so tradition relates — and were taken before they had time to get down from the tree. They were carried to Canada, where it would seem they were treated kindly, as no inducement was strong enough afterward to make them return. The girl was sold to the French and placed in a convent near Montreal; the boys remained with their captors at Caughnawaga, an Indian village near Montreal, and subsequently married squaws and became chiefs of their tribe. One of them visited his relatives in Groton in his Indian dress, but showed no inclination to remain. They afterwards, accompanied by several others, all with their families, moved up the St. Lawrence River, and established the little village of St. Regis. The descendants of these two boys are among the prominent families of the settlement, where there are perhaps forty persons who bear the name. Sarah,

¹ See Groton Epitaphs, p. 255.



ROBERTSON PHOTOGRAPHY
SOCIETY

having abjured her religion as a Protestant, was baptized July 23, 1708, as Sister Marguerite of the Sisters of the congregation of Nôtre Dame, established at Lachine.

On the 9th of July, 1724, John Ames was shot by an Indian, one of a small party that attacked Ames's garrison in the westerly part of the town, on the west side of the Nashua River. He is said to have been the last man killed by an Indian within the township. The Indian himself was immediately afterward shot by Jacob Ames, one of John's sons.

Seven men from Groton belonged to the Spartan band of thirty-four who, under Captain Lovewell, fought the famous Lovewell's Fight, near the shores of a pond in Pequawket, with the Indian chief, Paugus, at the head of about eighty savages; and John Chamberlain, one of the seven, distinguished himself by killing the Indian leader.¹

Near the end of Queen Anne's War, in "A list of Frontier Garrisons Reviewed by order of His Excellency the Governor, In November 1711," we find a list of eighteen garrisons in this town, containing, in all, fifty-eight families, or three hundred and seventy-eight souls. Of these, seventeen were soldiers in the public service. The military company at this post, in the summer of 1724, under Lieutenant Jabez Fairbanks, was made up of soldiers from different towns in this part of the state. Some were detailed as guards to protect the more exposed garrisons, and others were scouting in the neighborhood. Thirteen of the number belonged here, and represented some of the most influential families in the place.

The town, now no longer on the frontiers, was again threatened with danger near the end of King George's War. A company of thirty-two men, under Captain Thomas Tarbell, scouted in this vicinity for six days in July, 1748, but they did not appear to have discovered the enemy. A few days afterward another company of thirty-six men marched on a similar expedition, but with no better success. The captain in his return says, "We found our Selves both prevision and amanision both Times." In the rolls of these two companies are found many names that have been prominent in the annals of the town from its very beginning. Among them are the Prescotts, the Ames, the Bancrofts, the Shepleys, the Parkers, a son of Parson Bradstreet, and a grandson of Parson Hobart.

Almost immediately after the French and Indian

War, the odious Stamp Act was passed, which did much to hasten public opinion toward the Revolution. The Boston Massacre, the Boston Tea Party, and the Boston Port Bill excited a deep feeling throughout the colonies for the capital of New England, and she received the hearty sympathy of the whole country. The sentiments of the people of Groton found practical expression in a gift of forty bushels of grain for distribution by the overseers of the poor of the town of Boston, and a letter full of counsel and encouragement.

The rights of the colonies were the uppermost subject in the minds of most people; Groton sympathized warmly with this feeling, and prepared to do her part in the struggle. A considerable number of her inhabitants had received their military schooling in the French War, as their fathers before them had received theirs in the Indian War. Such persons did not now enter upon camp life as inexperienced or undisciplined soldiers. The town had men willing to serve and able to command; and, justly proud of her hero son who commanded the American forces on Bunker Hill, arrangements have been completed for the erection of a monument to mark the site of the house in which Colonel William Prescott was born.¹ Before the beginning of actual hostilities two companies of minute-men had been organized in this place, and a large majority of the town had engaged to hold themselves, agreeably to the plan of the Provincial Council, in prompt readiness to act in the service of their country. During several days before the battle of Lexington a hostile incursion by the English soldiers stationed in Boston was expected by the patriots. Its aim was the destruction of stores collected for the use of the provincial cause; and, on this account, every movement of the British troops was closely watched. At this time the Committees of Safety and of Supplies voted that some of the stores should be kept at Groton, but open hostilities began so soon afterward that no time was given to make the removal of the stores. It was ordered by these committees, April 17, that the four six-pounders be transported from Concord to Groton, and put under the care of Colonel Prescott. On the next day it was voted that all the ammunition should be deposited in nine different towns of the province, of which Groton was one, and that one half of the musket-cartridges be removed from Stow to Groton. It was also voted

¹ The question of command is a disputed one. See pp. 189 and 148. — Ed.

¹ This honor is also claimed for Seth Wyman of Woburn. — Ed.

that two medicine chests should be kept at different places in the town, and that 1,100 tents be deposited in equal quantities in Groton and six other towns.

On the morning of the 19th of April the alarm of the approach of the British towards Concord and Lexington was given at Groton at an early hour, and her two companies of minute-men, true to their name, were soon assembled, with officers complete, ready to march and to fight for the cause to which they had deliberately pledged their support. The two companies, numbering in all one hundred and one men, under the command of Captains Henry Farwell and Asa Lawrence, hurried forward to Lexington, but arrived too late to take part in the conflicts of that memorable day. They reported, however, at headquarters, at Cambridge, in readiness for future operations.

Mr. W. W. Wheildon, in a communication to a Boston paper, dated April 15, 1877, states that Nathan Corey and eight others of the Groton company of minute-men marched from Groton to Concord on the night of the 18th, after a meeting of the company called that afternoon had been held, and took part with the men of Concord and the men of Acton in the fight at the old North Bridge, and joined in the pursuit of the retreating British. Mr. Wheildon bases his statement upon the testimony of Colonel Artemas Wright of Ayer, a grandson of Mr. Nathan Corey, who says that his grandfather told him the story, and he had often spoken with him of the scenes and events of that day.

Even the women of Groton took up arms for the defence of their country. "After the departure of Colonel Prescott's company of minute-men, Mrs. Job Shattuck of Groton, Mrs. David Wright of Pepperell, and other women residing in the neighborhood assembled at the bridge over the Nashua River, between the two towns, clothed in their husbands' apparel, and armed with muskets, pitchforks, and such weapons as they could find. Having elected Mrs. Wright their commander, they determined that no foe to freedom should pass the bridge. Soon Colonel Whiting of Hollis, a noted Tory, bearing despatches from Canada to the British, appeared on horseback. He was arrested, and the treasonable correspondence found secreted in his boots. They detained him a prisoner and sent him to Oliver Prescott of Groton, while his despatches were forwarded to the Committee of Safety."

In the summer of 1777 the council of state recommended to the board of war that the magazine in this town should be enlarged sufficiently to hold five hundred barrels of powder. This recommendation was carried out within a few days; and a corporal and four privates were detailed to guard it. A caution was given "that no person be enlisted into said Guard that is not known to be attached to the American Cause." Later in the autumn the detail was increased to a sergeant and nine privates.

It is said in the note-book of the Rev. Dr. Jeremy Belknap of Boston, that a negro belonging to this town shot Major Pitcairn through the head, while he was rallying the dispersed British troops, at the battle of Bunker Hill.

The record of this town during the Revolution was a highly honorable one. Her soldiers achieved distinction in the field, and many of them in after life filled positions of trust and responsibility. The total number of men furnished was five hundred and thirty-seven, and the amount paid them as bounties was £2,804 15s. in hard money.

During a part of the first half of the present century Groton had one characteristic feature that it no longer possesses. It was a radiating centre for different lines of stage-coaches, until this mode of travel was superseded by the swifter one of the railway. The old coaches were drawn usually by four horses, and when the roads were bad by six. Here a change of coaches, horses, and drivers was made. In the year 1802 the Groton stage was advertised to set off from I. and S. Wheelock's, No. 37 Marlborough (now a part of Washington) Street, Boston, every Wednesday at 4 o'clock, A. M., arriving at Groton at 3 o'clock, P. M.; and to leave Groton every Monday at 4 o'clock, A. M., arriving in Boston at 6 o'clock, P. M. It seems from this that it took three hours longer to make the trip down to Boston than up to Groton. In 1807 there was a tri-weekly line, and in 1820 a daily line, which connected with others extending into New Hampshire and Vermont.

Patriotic and loyal as the people of Groton had been during the Revolution, an unfortunate reaction followed after its close and previous to the adoption of the Federal Constitution. Ignorant of even the first principles of political economy and of finance, while earnest patriots all over the country were striving to devise a form of general government for all the colonies, the majority of the legal voters and tax-payers of the town took part

in resisting the due administration of government, and upon their petition a town-meeting was called by the selectmen to consider a set of most revolutionary articles. Under the leadership of "Job Shattuck of Groton, who had been a soldier in the French War, and a commissioned officer in the Revolutionary War, and who was otherwise qualified to be conspicuous in such a cause," these deluded people became active insurgents and rebels against the government they had helped to organize, and took a prominent part in the famous "Shays' Rebellion." The prompt action of the authorities in calling out the militia of the county, and in ordering and securing the arrest of Shattuck, together with two other leaders of the insurgents, Oliver Parker and Benjamin Page, put an end to the insurrection in Middlesex. "No less than seventy names of persons belonging to Groton are found, who soon after went before a magistrate, delivered up their arms, took the oath of allegiance, and became peaceable subjects of government."

Groton was situated on one of the main thoroughfares leading from Boston to the northern country, comprising an important part of New Hampshire and Vermont, and extending into Canada. It was traversed by a great number of wagons, drawn by four or six horses, carrying to the city the various products of the country, such as grain, pork, butter, cheese, eggs, venison, and hides; and returning with goods found in the city, such as molasses, sugar, New England rum, coffee, tea, nails, iron, cloths, and the innumerable articles found in the country stores, to be distributed among the towns above here. In some seasons it was no uncommon sight to see in one day thirty wagons.

The original grant of land for the township or plantation of Groton, as stated, was eight miles square, comprising sixty-four square miles, or 40,960 acres. By the incorporation of other towns wholly or in part from this territory, Groton has been reduced to less than a moiety of its original extent.

The first encroachment was made by the incorporation, in 1714, of Nashobah, named the next year Littleton; as an equivalent for the land thus taken, — about 4,100 acres, — a grant of 10,800 acres of land in the gore between Townsend and Dunstable was secured to the proprietors of Groton by the efforts of their representative, Benjamin Prescott, Esq., who received one thirteenth part of this accession "in consideration of the charge and

expense" he had "been at in petitioning for and recovering the grant."

In February, 1741, by the final determination of the line between Massachusetts and New Hampshire, a large portion of Groton Gore and a triangular piece of what was originally Groton were included in the latter state. Thirty years later, in June, 1771, the General Court granted to the proprietors 7,800 acres of unappropriated lands lying in the westerly part of the province, about one half of which was laid out by a committee, and the plan accepted by the court; but the plan of the other half "was not accepted, but ordered to lie till the line between this province and New York was settled, the land lying near the said line."

"Upon the incorporation of Harvard, taken principally from Lancaster and Stow," says Butler, "Groton gave up a considerable territory to that new town, comprising the 'Old Mill' portion. A portion on the east line of Groton was about the same time annexed to Westford, originally a part of Chelmsford."

The petition of Benjamin Swallow, William Spaulding, Isaac Williams, and others, asking that lands lying on the westerly side of Nashua River, in the northwest corner of the township of Groton, be constituted a distinct and separate precinct, was granted June 26, 1742.

About five years later the southwest corner west of the Lancaster (Nashua) River, and south of the Squannacook, was made into a distinct precinct. This precinct was incorporated as the district of Shirley, January 5, 1753, and the former northwest precinct was incorporated as the district of Pepperell, April 12, of the same year. By a general act of the legislature passed in 1786, all districts incorporated previous to 1777 were made towns, and thus Pepperell and Shirley became towns. By acts of February 25, 1793, and February 15, 1820, slices were cut from the northern portion and annexed to Dunstable. February 6, 1798, a portion of the southwest corner east of the Nashua River was annexed to Shirley, and February 3, 1803, about four acres west of the Nashua River, near Fitch's Bridge, were taken from Pepperell and annexed to Groton. May 18, 1857, an additional slice from the northern part of the town was set off and annexed to the town of Pepperell. Finally, the corner of Shirley lying east of the Nashua River, and all of Groton lying south of a straight line running easterly from the mouth of James Brook, on the Nashua River, to a point in

the Littleton line near Spectacle Pond, was incorporated as the town of Ayer, February 15, 1871.

The earliest mention of a meeting-house is found in a vote passed June 23, 1662, "That the meeting house shall be sett upon the right hand of the path by a small whit Oak, marked at the southwest side with two notches & a blaze"; a familiar landmark doubtless to the settlers and their children, but long since lost to the recollection of their descendants. The house was not built, however, till four years later. Meanwhile, as appears from a vote passed in 1663, "the house & lands that was devoted by the Towne for the minestry" were given to Mr. Willard upon the condition that "they may meete in the house on the lords day & upon other occasions of the Towne on meetings."

Several votes respecting work upon the meeting-house, its completion, and "settling seates for the women as well as for men," were passed in 1666. The footing of "a true account of all the ptieler soms of all the work done to the meeting house frame and other charges as nailes hookes & hinges glasse and pulpit et," is given in the records of the same year as £50 16s 10d.

Ten years later this humble temple consecrated to the worship of God in the wilderness, sanctified to its builders by many an act of self-denial, and hallowed and sacred as their house, of prayer, was consumed by the torch of their savage enemies.

The "whit Oak" of the fathers with its "two notches & a blaze" long ago disappeared, but their children of to-day, desirous of transmitting to posterity the knowledge of, and a reverence for, the faith and virtues of their ancestors, have caused to be erected near the site of this earliest church a monument bearing this inscription, —

NEAR THIS SPOT
STOOD THE FIRST MEETING HOUSE OF GROTON
BUILT IN 1666
AND BURNT BY THE INDIANS
13 MARCH 1676

The second meeting-house was built in 1680-81, on the northeast corner of the Old Common, a few rods northerly from the Chaplin School-house. After thirty-five years' use as a place of worship, it was converted into a school-house. It was voted in March, 1714, to build a third house, which was enlarged in 1730, and a bell obtained in 1731. This house stood until 1755, when it was taken down and the fourth (subsequently modified into the present church of the First Parish) was built.

In July, 1795, the steeple and belfry were damaged by lightning. The present front originally faced the north, and the color of the building at the beginning of this century was straw, trimmed with white. The pulpit was upon the east side; behind it an oval window and a damask curtain. The square box pews were of a wood color, and the seats were hung upon hinges.

In 1839-40 it was turned half round and the interior remodelled. A pipe organ, the gift of Mr. William Lawrence of Boston, was put in position in the summer of 1845.

Previous to November, 1826, there had been but one church society in Groton. July 10, 1825, Rev. Dr. Daniel Chaplin, then eighty-two years of age, who had been for forty-seven years the sixth pastor in the town, fainted in his pulpit near the close of his afternoon sermon, and never filled it afterwards. In November, 1825, the church voted to call Rev. John Todd as colleague pastor with Dr. Chaplin, but the majority of the town refused to endorse this action. In January, 1826, Dr. Chaplin, with a majority of the church and a minority of the town, seceded, and, in November of the same year, organized the "Union Church" of thirty members, who built a house of worship which was dedicated January 3, 1827, and Rev. John Todd was ordained their pastor on the same day.

November 7, 1831, a Baptist society was organized, and December 5, 1832, a church of eleven male and eighteen female members was duly recognized, with Rev. Amasa Sanderson as pastor. This society built in 1841 a small meeting-house where Rev. Mr. Hobart's dwelling-house stood, which was a garrisoned house in 1694.

The first provision for a school in the town was made in the year 1681, when the selectmen were instructed "to take care that there be a school, or college, of learning of children the English tongue to read," but there is no further mention of school matters in the records for twenty-two years until April 21, 1703, when the people in town-meeting "did choose Eleazer Parker to discourse John Applin of Watertown, to see if he will come up to Groton to keep school, to teach children and youth to read and write; and to know his terms, and bring his terms to the selectmen, who are empowered by the town to agree with said man for one year, 1703."¹ Whether an engagement was effected is not recorded, and fourteen years elapsed

¹ As quoted by Mr. Butler.



LAWRENCE ACADEMY.
GROTON, MASS.

before school matters are again mentioned. January 25, 1716-17, a vote was passed to convert the old meeting-house into a school-house. Fourteen or fifteen months later the town was indicted for not having had a school kept according to law. In their petition to the court of general sessions to be discharged from presentment the selectmen represent that there are not one hundred families in the town, and state that the town had been provided with a school-master to teach children to read and write according to law. In July, 1734, the town, pleading their poverty and inability to support the grammar school required by law, petitioned the General Court for a gift of lands for the support of such a school. In 1741, five places in the town, and the next year seven places, were designated where the school should be kept, six weeks in each place. From this date schools received a good share of attention, though in 1748 and 1779 the town was again indicted for not providing a lawful school. The earliest divisions of territory into school districts were called *angles* or *squadrons*, and the term *district* did not come into use until about 1790.

In April, 1792, a number of the people of Groton, feeling the need of a higher education for their children than was afforded by the grammar school, organized an association for the establishment of an academy and the erection of a building. They chose trustees and other officers, and sixty-five shares of five pounds (currency) each were at once subscribed for; the town voted to take forty additional shares, and instructed the town treasurer to give his note for £200, on which the interest was to be paid annually, while the principal was never to be called for.

The "Trustees of Groton Academy" were incorporated September 25, 1793, the "raising" of the academy building took place, and it was completed the following year. Previous to their incorporation and legal organization the association engaged Samuel Holyoke, a graduate of Harvard College, class of 1789, afterwards a teacher of music, to commence a school in one of the district school-houses. He taught from May 17 to October 5, 1793, for the sum of £26 2s. 8d.

The board of fifteen trustees of the academy organized under the act of incorporation October 17, 1793, and Mr. Henry Moor of Londonderry, N. H., a graduate of Dartmouth College, 1793, was engaged as the first preceptor after the academy was incorporated; he taught from December 30, 1793, to

February 13, 1796, for \$745.83, giving such satisfaction that the Board of Trustees passed a vote of thanks to him "for his faithful and assiduous discharge of the duties of his station." Mr. Timothy Williams, from Yale College, was his successor; but under his management the school struggled for existence, and at their meeting in April, 1797, the trustees voted "to discontinue the school during the next quarter." The story is told of him that on one occasion "he tied a handkerchief around two of his pupils and hanging them over an open door went out of the house, leaving them to call aid as they best could." It is hardly to be wondered at that, with such an original disciplinarian at its head, the academy lacked support.

Among those who have been principals of the academy, who afterwards became men of note, may be named Mr. Asahel Stearns, a graduate of Harvard in 1797, representative to congress from 1815 to 1817, and Professor of Law in Harvard University from 1817 to 1829, receiving the honorary degree of LL.D. in 1825; Mr. William Merchant Richardson, representative in congress from 1811 to 1814, in 1816 made chief justice of the Superior Court of New Hampshire, and honored by Dartmouth College with the degree of LL.D.; Mr. Caleb Butler, the historian of Groton, whose two terms of service covered nearly twelve years, and under whose care "the school flourished and sent forth many whose names give a proud distinction to the academy and its teacher;" Mr. Elizur Wright, the distinguished anti-slavery writer and editor, and Insurance Commissioner of the State; and the late Rev. Charles Hammond, principal of Monson Academy, and a prominent educator. The present principal is Eliel S. Ball, A. M., a graduate of Dartmouth College.

In the outset the only resources of the school were the tuition of pupils at one shilling a week, and the interest on the forty shares held by the town. It was no uncommon thing for the preceptor to receive in payment for his services the note of the treasurer of the trustees, which often remained unpaid during one or more years. The first assistance came to the institution in the gift from the General Court in 1797 of 11,520 acres of land, or one-half of a township in Maine, which was sold at fifty cents per acre. The tuition was raised in 1795 to twenty cents a week, and in 1710 to twenty-five cents.

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By prudent management of their small funds the

trustees were enabled to report, that there were in 1825 \$7,422 in the treasury. The same year the widow of Mr. James Brazer, made a will giving the trustees \$500 upon the death of her brother, Mr. Samson Woods, and the same sum on the death of each of her four sisters, and also making them residuary legatees of one-half of her estate. Mr. Brazer was one of the largest subscribers for the original stock, and one of the trustees for many years, whose residence and grounds adjoined the property of the institution, and were purchased and presented to the trustees in 1846 by Mr. Amos Lawrence.

In August, 1838, the trustees passed a vote of thanks "to Amos Lawrence, Esq., of Boston, for his liberal donation of books and philosophical apparatus to Groton Academy," and a year later they renewed "the expression of their thanks" to him "for the repeated instances of his munificence" to the academy.

Forty-four years before, in the first year of its incorporated existence, two lads had enrolled themselves as pupils in the academy, who little dreamed that a half century later the institution would be firmly established by their own munificence, and would bear their own name,—a name widely honored as the representative of integrity, probity, and liberality. Deacon Samuel Lawrence, their father, was one of the original subscribers to the stock, and labored zealously for the success of the institution, as a trustee for thirty-three years till the year of his death. The zeal of the "honored father, who labored with his hands, and gave from his scanty means, in the beginning," descended to his sons, and yet with all their munificent liberality they felt that they were giving less in proportion than their self-sacrificing sire,

The donations of Amos Lawrence were too numerous for specification in detail. "Besides the repairs of buildings, the gift of apparatus and books, the deed of the Brazer estate, the establishment of four scholarships at Bowdoin College, and the same number at Williams College for students from this Academy, it was my custom," says Rev. Mr. Meaus, in his jubilee address, "at his request, to report to him the case of indigent students, whose wants he promptly supplied; and whenever I wished urgently for money to pay some teacher, he uniformly supplied it. A rough estimate which I made of his benefactions to this Academy shows that he expended from \$22,000

to \$25,000." The donations of his brother William Lawrence amounted to more than \$45,000, his first gift April 6, 1844, being \$10,000. In grateful acknowledgment for this gift and for the numerous donations from Amos Lawrence, the trustees at their annual meeting holden August 20, 1845, chose a committee to petition the General Court to change the name of the corporation to "The Lawrence Academy at Groton," which petition was granted at the next session. In view of the interest manifested in the institution by the father during the early and struggling-for-existence period of its history, and the subsequent donations of the sons, it is evident that no more fitting name than "Lawrence" could have been chosen.

The original academy building was a plain, square structure, with the entrance at the left-hand corner in front. The school-room was below, and the upper story was the academy hall for exhibitions, etc. This was afterward converted into a school-room and was occupied at one time by the celebrated school of the Misses Prescott. In 1842 a projection was added in the rear, and in 1847 other changes and additions were made nearly doubling its original capacity. On the 4th of July, 1868, this historic building and much of its valuable contents were destroyed by fire. "A beautiful brick edifice was erected on the old site, at an expense of \$23,000. It was dedicated June 29, 1871. The whole number of pupils connected with the school from the beginning, in 1793 (to 1877), is 7,612, of which about sixty per cent have been males and forty per cent females."

Among the alumni of this Academy who have become distinguished in later life may be named Rev. James Walker, D. D., Hon. Joel Parker, LL. D., Hon. Abbott Lawrence, Hon. Ether Shepley, Hon. Amos Kendall, Hon. John P. Bigelow, Rev. Andrew Bigelow, D. D., Mr. Samuel Lawrence, Mr. Isaac Parker, Mr. Henry Stearns, Mr. Thomas Sherwin, Hon. James G. Kendall, Rev. George Putnam, D. D., Rev. Alonzo Hill, D. D., Hon. Daniel Needham, Judge William A. Richardson, and Hon. Benjamin K. Phelps.

From the long list of eminent men and women who have been born in the town or who have been residents, the following are selected, while many more might be added did space permit:—

Colonel William Prescott, the hero of Bunker Hill, was a provincial lieutenant at the capture of Cape Breton in 1754; a captain under General

Winslow in Nova Scotia in 1756; commander of a regiment of minute-men in 1774; a prominent officer through the Revolutionary War until the end of 1776; and a volunteer in the campaign that resulted in the surrender of Burgoyne at Yorktown in 1777; and subsequently a member of the Massachusetts Legislature for three years. He filled the offices of clerk and selectman, and was an acting magistrate till his death, October 13, 1795, aged sixty-nine. To perpetuate his memory, or rather to show their appreciation of the honor his name has given to his native town, a monument has just been erected bearing this inscription:—

COLONEL WILLIAM PRESCOTT
COMMANDER OF THE AMERICAN FORCES
AT THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL
WAS BORN ON THE 20TH OF FEBRUARY 1726
IN A HOUSE WHICH STOOD
NEAR THIS SPOT.

Oliver Prescott, M. D., brother of Colonel William, was equally eminent as a physician and a patriotic citizen. Previous to the Revolution he held the offices of major, lieutenant-colonel, colonel, and brigadier-general in the militia; was a member of the board of war, a justice throughout the Commonwealth, and a member of the executive council of the state for three years, declining to serve longer; in 1778 was third major-general of militia, and in 1781 second major-general, but soon resigned on account of ill health. He was Judge of Probate for Middlesex from 1779 until his death, November 17, 1804. He and his brother William were active in suppressing Shays' Rebellion. He was a member of several medical societies and a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences at its incorporation. Harvard College conferred upon him the degree of M. D. in 1791, *pro honoris causa*. He was a trustee, patron, and benefactor of the Groton Academy.

Oliver Prescott, M. D., first son of the preceding, graduated at Harvard in 1783; studied medicine with his father and Dr. James Lloyd of Boston; was surgeon in General Lincoln's army raised to suppress Shays' Rebellion, "and accompanied the expedition in the severe winter of 1787"; was often a representative to the state legislature; was a founder, trustee, and treasurer of Groton Academy; removed in 1811 to Newburyport; was a prominent mason of his time; in 1813 delivered an address before the Massachusetts Medical Society, which was republished in England, Germany, and France; and in 1814 he received

the honorary degree of M. D. from his *alma mater*, Harvard. He died September 26, 1827, universally esteemed.

James Sullivan, LL.D., born in Berwick, Maine, in 1744, was at one time a resident of Groton. He was a brother of General John Sullivan, of Revolutionary fame. He was a member of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, in 1775, and in 1779–80 of the State Constitutional Convention; representative to Congress in 1784–85, and frequently a representative in the legislature; he became attorney-general of Massachusetts in 1790, and was twice elected governor of the state. He wrote *A History of the District of Maine* and several other works. He died in Boston, December 10, 1808.

Samuel Dana, born June 26, 1767, eminent as a lawyer and jurist (son of Samuel Dana, minister of Groton, 1761–75), represented the town in the General Court in 1802–03, 1825–27, and was senator from Middlesex 1805–13 and 1817, and president of the senate, 1807, 1811, and 1812; member of the State Constitutional Convention, 1820–21; in Congress, 1814–15, and chief justice of the Circuit Court of Common Pleas from 1811 to 1820; he died at Charlestown November, 1835.

Samuel Luther Dana, M.D., LL.D., the eminent chemist and writer on agriculture, was born in Groton, July 11, 1795. He was a lieutenant of artillery in the war of 1812. Studied medicine, receiving his degree in 1818; practised in Waltham from 1819–26; founded the Newton Chemical Company, and was afterward chemist to the Merrimac Print Works at Lowell. He made important discoveries and improvements in bleaching and printing cotton goods. He was the author of *The Farmer's Muck Manual* and other works. He died at Lowell, March 11, 1868.

Timothy Bigelow, born April 30, 1767, though not a native of Groton, was for many years a distinguished resident. He opened a law office in Groton, and was frequently the opponent of Samuel Dana in important cases. He married into the Prescott family. He was representative of the town in 1793 and for the next succeeding thirteen years, except 1803. In 1802–1804 he was a member of the executive council. He was senator from Middlesex from 1797 to 1801, and again councillor in 1821. He died May 18, 1821.

Ether Shepley, LL.D., was born in Groton November 2, 1789. He was a lineal descendant

of John Shepley, who was captured by the Indians July 27, 1694, and held a prisoner for several years. He studied law and settled in Portland, Me. He was in the Massachusetts legislature in 1819, and a member of the Maine constitutional convention in 1820; United States attorney for Maine 1821-1833, and United States senator in 1833-36. Was chosen a justice of the supreme court of Maine in 1836, and was chief justice from 1848-1855. He furnished material for twenty-six volumes of reports, and was sole commissioner to revise the statutes of Maine, published in 1857. He died in Portland, Me., January 15, 1877.

Abbott Lawrence, LL.D. born December 16, 1792, was a brother of William and Amos Lawrence, and, like them, was educated in the Groton Academy. In 1808 he became a clerk, and in 1814 a partner, in the dry-goods house of his brother Amos. He was sent to Congress in 1835-37 and 1839-41, and in 1842 was appointed one of the commissioners to settle the northeastern boundary question with Great Britain. He was minister to England from 1849 to 1852. He founded the Lawrence Scientific School by a donation of \$100,000 to Harvard University; left \$50,000 towards erecting model lodging-houses, and was noted for his liberality to worthy objects. He died in Boston, August 18, 1855.

Rev. Dudley Phelps, born at Hebron, Conn., January 25, 1793, graduated at Yale College, 1823, and at Auburn Theological Seminary in 1827; was ordained in January, 1828, at Haverhill, Mass., over the Congregational church in that place, where he remained until August 28, 1833. He was among the early warm friends of the temperance movement, and after leaving Haverhill was for some time the editor of the *Salem Landmark*, in which paper while under his charge Dr. George B. Cheever's celebrated vision of "Deacon Giles's Distillery" appeared. Mr. Phelps was installed over the Union (Congregational) Church at Groton on the 19th of October, 1836, and remained its pastor till his death on the 24th of September, 1849. He married in 1831 Ann Kinsman, daughter of Dr. Aaron and Mary (Willis) Kinsman of Portland, Me., by whom he had one son, Benjamin Kinsman. He again married Lucretia Gardner, daughter of Benjamin M. Farley, Esq., of Hollis, N. H., by whom he had, first, Lucretia G., who died in infancy; secondly, Lucy Elizabeth, living in Boston; thirdly, Dudley Farley, deputy collector of customs at the port of

New York; and fourthly, Francis L., residing in Boston.

Benjamin Kinsman Phelps, born at Haverhill, Mass., September 16, 1832, son of Rev. Dudley and Ann (Kinsman) Phelps, removed to Groton in 1837, after his father was settled there; fitted for college at the Lawrence Academy, under principals Barstow, Wells, and Means. Entered Yale College in October, 1849, and graduated in 1853. Occupied most of 1854 in a voyage around the world, and upon his return studied law with Hon. Benjamin M. Farley of Hollis, N. H.; was admitted to the bar at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., in July, 1856, and in the same year began the practice of law in the city of New York, where he has since resided. He was assistant district attorney of the United States for the southern district of New York from 1866 to 1870. In November, 1872, he was elected district attorney of the city and county of New York, receiving the support of the republicans and of the "Committee of Seventy," which represented the citizens' movement organized to oppose the so-called "Tweed ring," there being no democratic candidate against him. At the expiration of his term of office, Mr. Phelps was again elected in November, 1875, to the same position upon a fusion ticket, composed of republicans and independent democrats, receiving a majority of about 27,000 votes, and was a third time elected upon a similar ticket in November, 1878.

Timothy Fuller, the eminent lawyer and Democratic politician and orator, though not born in Groton, was a resident of the town at the time of his death, October 2, 1835. He published speeches on the Seminole War, Missouri Compromise, etc. His daughter, the celebrated Margaret Fuller d'Ossoli, passed two years of her girlhood at the school of the Misses Prescott. In the summer of 1850, while coming from Europe, she, with her husband and child, was wrecked on the coast of New Jersey, and all three were drowned.

George Sewall Boutwell, LL.D., born in Brookline, Mass., Jan. 28, 1818, was in mercantile business twenty years, then studied law, and was admitted to the bar; was seven years in the state legislature, between 1842 and 1850; was governor of Massachusetts 1851-53; member of the constitutional convention in 1853; bank commissioner 1849-50; five years secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education; six years on the Board of Overseers of Harvard College; first commis-



Abbott Lawrence

THE
BOSTON-LIBRA
SOCIETY



Anna Leonard

sioner of internal revenue, under President Lincoln, from July, 1862, to March, 1863; in Congress, 1863-69; and secretary of the United States Treasury from March, 1869, to March, 1873, when he entered the United States Senate for the term ending in 1877. In February, 1868, he advocated, in an able speech, the impeachment of President Johnson, and in April was one of the seven managers of the impeachment trial. He has long been an honored resident of the town, where he owns one of the largest and best managed farms in Middlesex County, widely known as the Chestnut Hill Farm.

Daniel Needham was born at Salem, Essex County, Massachusetts, May 24, 1822. Educated at the Friends' Boarding School, Providence, Rhode Island. Studied law with Daniel Roberts of Salem, and continued in active practice until 1855. Was on the staff of Governor George S. Boutwell, 1851 and 1852; Treasurer of the town of Groton, 1853 and 1854. Removed to Hartford, Vermont, in 1855; was a member of the house of representatives in Vermont, in 1857 and 1858, and a member of the senate from the County of Windsor, Vermont, 1859-60, and of the extra session which made provision against the Rebellion in 1861. Was appointed commissioner to represent Vermont at the International Exhibition at Hamburg in Germany, in 1863, and was successful in securing for Vermont first and second premiums upon merino sheep exhibited at that exposition, the result of which was greatly to stimulate sheep-breeding in Vermont, and secure for her leading sheep-breeders an important foreign trade. Returned to Groton, Massachusetts, to reside in the autumn of 1863, on his return from Europe. Was elected to the house of representatives in Massa-

chusetts at the November election in 1866, and to the Massachusetts senate at the elections in 1867-1868. Was appointed United States National Bank examiner by commission dated March 31, 1871, and continues to hold that office. Has been secretary of the New England Agricultural Society since its organization in 1864, and was for eight years during his residence in Vermont secretary of the Vermont State Agricultural Society. Has been on the school committee of Groton twenty years, a considerable portion of the time chairman of the board, and was, while in Vermont, superintendent of the public schools in the town of Hartford. Has delivered many public addresses, which have been printed in pamphlet form and otherwise; among those commanding the largest attention being one before the Vermont State Agricultural Society in 1875 upon the "Condition of the Nation's Agriculture"; before the New Hampshire State Agricultural Society in 1877 upon the "Hard Times, their Cause and Remedy," and before the Fitchburg board of trade in 1879 upon the "National Outlook"; also two addresses at Philadelphia in 1876 during the three days' session of "New England at the Centennial," one upon the "Position of New England at the Centennial," and the other upon the "Growth and Development of Art in America."

Charles H. Waters, agent for the Clinton Wire Cloth Company, to whose ingenuity that establishment is indebted for several important inventions and improvements in its machinery, has for many years been a resident of the town. Among his inventions may be noted the machine for rapidly painting wire window-guards and window-screens in different colors, and in plain or figured patterns, and for almost as rapidly drying them.

HOLLISTON.

BY REV. GEORGE F. WALKER.



HOLLISTON is situated in the extreme southern part of Middlesex County. The Milford branch of the Boston and Albany Railroad runs through it from north to south, on which there are three stations: East Holliston, Holliston, and Metcalf's. Its distance from Boston by

rail is twenty-six miles. The town is bounded on the north by Ashland and Sherborn, on the east and southeast by Medway, on the southwest by Milford, and on the west by Hopkinton. It has, according to the census of 1875, 3399 inhabitants, and a valuation of \$1,904,170. Its surface is uneven, and well divided into upland and meadow. Lake Winthrop, of one hundred and twenty-five acres, is situated south of the central village. It has no large streams of water. Beaver-dam, Chicken Jar, and Hopping Brooks flow southerly into Charles River, and with Winthrop Brook, the outlet of Lake Winthrop, furnish all the water-power of the town. The business of the town is both agricultural and manufacturing.

Holliston was originally a part of Sherborn, and its territory was explored as early as 1659. During that year Major Eleazer Lushur of Dedham received a grant of land from the General Court, which grant comprised what is now the central part of the town. He sold his grant the next year to Lieutenant Henry Adams of Medfield, who occupied it for the pasturage of his cattle. One of his sons, Jasper Adams, established his camp near the foot of a hill, from the summit of which he could communicate by signal-fires with his father in Medfield. This hill, situated in the centre of the town, was named Jasper Hill; but it has since been called Mt. Hollis, which name it still bears. The second proprietor of land, like the first, lived in Medfield. There is no record of any actual settlement within the bounds of Holliston, till after the incorporation of Sherborn in 1674. July 12,

1682, a deed of three thousand acres of land, comprised in the township of Sherborn, was signed by seven Indians, for themselves and "in behalf of the other Indian claimers of said land." There is little doubt that the remaining lands of the entire township, then including Holliston, were afterwards honorably purchased of the aboriginal proprietors. In proof of this purchase, there is a record of an assessment of the inhabitants to pay the price given to the Indians.

In 1682 there was a second division of the common lands of Sherborn, including all in Holliston; and John Hill, Benjamin Bullard, Obadiah Morse, Jonathan Morse, and Edmund West purchased two thousand acres for £10. These men and their families formed the nucleus of the subsequent town. About fifty years after the first actual settlement of the territory of Holliston, there were only thirteen subscribers to the petition to be incorporated as a town; this probably included all the landholders but five. The population was then about 100.

The bill to incorporate the western part of Sherborn as a separate township was passed to be enacted by both houses of the colonial legislature, December 3, 1724, and the name of Holliston was given "in honor of the illustrious Thomas Hollis Esq. of London"; and the same bill directed that "Mr. John Goulding, a principle inhabitant of Holliston, be empowered and directed to summon the inhabitants, qualified for voters, to meet for the choosing of town officers to stand till the next annual election according to law." The first town-meeting was held at the house of Timothy Leland, Monday, December 25, 1724, at which five selectmen and all other required officers were chosen, and the organization was completed.

At the second meeting of the voters of the town, held January 4, 1724-25, the following vote was passed: "Voted to erect a meeting-house Accommodable for the inhabitants of Said Town to worship God in, on Lord's day, and place it, or set it on the South Easterly side of Jasper Hill, so called,

by the road side, on the Westerly side of the Road, on the most Rising ground the way goes over their, which is on the Honorable Colonel Brown's Farm." At the next town-meeting £100 were raised by tax on polls and estates, one half in money, each tax-payer being allowed to work out half his rate, at a price for the labor to be agreed upon with the committee. It was also "Voted, that the Demensions of the meeting-house shall be about Forty foot in Length, about Thirty too foot in breadth, and about Twenty foot post." This meeting-house was built on the Common, on which the meeting-house of the Congregational Church now stands, and was completed in 1728, at a cost of about twice the appropriation, or £200. This sum is represented by \$88.89 in Federal currency. In 1772 it was repaired and enlarged, and it remained the only house of worship in town till the building of the "new church" in 1822. Early in the first year of its corporate existence the town took measures to procure preaching, and public worship was first held at the house of Mr. Timothy Ieland, where it was continued till the meeting-house was completed.

On the 26th of June, 1727, the town held a meeting to make arrangements to secure a minister. The second article in the warrant read thus: "to choose an orthodox, learned and pious person to dispense the word of God as a minister of the gospel in said town." It was voted to call Mr. James Stone, and to offer him a yearly salary of £75, with a settlement of £100. He was not ordained till November 20, 1728; at which time a church of eight members was organized. Mr. Stone died July 19, 1742, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and in the fourteenth of his ministry. He was followed by Mr. Joshua Prentiss, who was called September 3, 1742, and ordained May 18, 1743. He was dismissed in 1785, after a ministry of forty-two years. Owing to some neglect or difference, the town fell behind in the payment of his salary, and he entered upon a civil prosecution to obtain it; the difficulty was, however, settled without a legal process, by mutual agreement entered into April 4, 1785. Mr. Prentiss died April 24, 1788, in his seventy-first year.

At a town-meeting held October 30, 1749, it was voted to seat the meeting-house, and a committee was chosen to dignify the seats; the committee reported as follows: "We the Subscribers, being appointed a committee to Dignify the seats in the Meeting house of Holliston, we are of

opinion, That The Fore Seats Below, be the first Seat, and the Second Seats Below, Be S'cond Seat, and Third Seats Below, and The front Seats in the Gallery be equal. The forth Seats Below to be y^e forth In Dignitee and The Side Gallery to be forth in Dignitee, and fifth below To Be The Sixth in Dignitee, and the Second Seats in the front Gallery, Which is the Eight Seat To be The Seventh Seats In Dignitee, as We Have Sot Them. That the Invoice Taken In The Year forty eight Be The Rule With Having a Proper Regard to age." Five men protested against this action of the town "as not according to Law and Reason."

Between December 18, 1753, and January 30, 1754, the town was visited by a fatal disease which was appropriately named "The Great Sickness." In his century sermon preached December 4, 1826, Rev. Charles Fitch thus speaks of it: "At the time of its appearance the town contained a population of about four hundred. The symptoms, which peculiarly marked the disease, were violent and piercing pains in the breast or side, a high fever, and extreme difficulty of expectoration, which in some cases, if not in most, resulted in strangulation. Some, it is said, apparently in the last stages of the disease, who eventually recovered, were evidently relieved by administering oil. No derangement of mind usually accompanied the disease; the sick generally survived their attack only from three to six days. From notes taken, during the prevalence of the sickness, by the Rev. Joshua Prentiss, and which were found among his papers after his decease, we learn that on the 31st of December seven, and on the 4th of January ten, lay unburied; that during the week, on which the last date occurred, seventeen died; and that from two to five were buried in a day for many days successively. The whole number who died of this fatal malady is fifty-three, more than one eighth of the population. Of this number twenty-seven were heads of families, fifteen males and twelve females; twelve were unmarried persons of adult age, eight males and four females; seven were children, and seven were inhabitants of other towns, all of whom were males with one exception. In the fearful desolations produced by this disease, the church of Christ was bereft of fifteen of its members. Few families escaped, and four were entirely broken up by the removal of both the husband and the wife. For more than a month, there were not enough in health to attend the sick and bury the dead, though their whole time was

employed in such services. The sick suffered and the dead lay unburied, notwithstanding charitable assistance and personal attendance were furnished by people in the vicinity. A most remarkable circumstance attending this sickness is its being almost wholly confined to a small town, without the smallest apparent natural cause for its existence at all, especially for its restriction within so narrow compass."

Some considered this sickness as a special visitation of God, to manifest his displeasure at the contentions in which the people were violently engaged respecting the proceedings of the town in regard to certain roads. Two of the principal men in town were also engaged in a lawsuit, said to be respecting the value of a wig; both of whom were attacked by the disease on their return from court, one of them dying before he reached his home, the other soon after. These contentions were ended by this visitation, and the inhabitants of the town lived in peace with each other.

The patriotism of the town manifested itself by the part its inhabitants took in the struggle for national independence. As early as 1771 they began to collect military stores in anticipation of a possible war with England, and they set themselves in opposition to the oppressive acts of the mother country. The first public step taken by them looking towards independence was a resolution adopted in 1788, which was: "That this town will take all prudent and legal measures to encourage the produce and manufactures of this province, and to lessen the use of superfluities from abroad." On the 5th of March 1770, it was voted at a legal meeting of the town, "that we will not by ourselves, or any for or under us Directly or Indirectly, purchase any European Goods of those persons Termed Importers hereafter named (viz) John Bernard, James McMasters, Patrick McMasters, John Mein, Nathl Roger, W^m Jackson, Theophilus Little, John Taylor and Anne and Elizabeth Cummings, all of Boston, Israel Williams Esq and Son of Hatfield, and Henry Barns of Marlborough. neither will we have the Least Dealings whatever with any Country Shop keeper, who shall purchase any Goods of Said Importers, and that we will use the utmost of our Endeavor to Encourage and assist those applauded Merchants of the Town of Boston in their non-importation agreement, to whom this Town Vote their sincere and hearty Thanks for these Late measures pursued by them for the

Good of their Country, and that the moderator of this Meeting Transmit a Copy hereof to the Committee of Merchants in Boston."

"Voted that y^e Town Clerk post up y^e names of the above S^d Importers at y^e most public place in the Town."

This meeting was held on the same day of the Boston Massacre. One of the young men of Holliston, the son of the minister, Rev. Mr. Prentiss, was a spectator of the scene on State Street, and thus describes it and the events which followed, in a letter to his father. This letter was found among the sermons of Mr. Prentiss.

"Boston March 7th 1770.

Honored Sir. — I take this Opportunity to acquaint you, of that most shocking & maloucolly Scene that was exhibited in this town last monday Evening. A scene the most Tragical, of any that ever the Eyes of Americans beheld, (and I pray God, they may never see the like again) to see the blood of our fellow Citizens flowing down the gutters like water I think, must make every American, look with Detestation & Abhorrence, on these blood-thirsty wretches, that were the exhibitors (The Soldiers I mean). Military power has always been extremely disagreeable to a Free and loyal people, but never so much as at this Day, when these military forces first came among us, they said, they came to restore peace and harmony, is this the way, to let us see three or four of our dear fellow Countrymen, shot down dead in the streets, five or six more wounded and wallowing in their blood — no, this I think is the way, to bring on an open Eruption. but I will proceed to the particulars of this Affair, in the first place, about half past nine in the Evening the soldiers insulted several people that were walking in the Streets, upon this, the town was alarmed by the Ringing of Bells, and crying of fire, the people in a few minutes muster'd at & about the town House (I believe I may say) several Thousands, the Captain of the Day whose name is Preston and who belongs to the 29th Reg. seeing the people gather round the Centinal at the Custom House, draw'd out Eight or Ten men & ordered them to load after which he march'd down to the Centinal, and took him of from his station, but instead of his returning to the Main Guard after he had relieved the Centinal, he halted his men, whereupon the people closed in upon them but offered no violence as I could see & I was but about two yards distance from them, in this posture they stood, tho' but a few minutes, before one of the Soldiers rec'd a blow from a Cake of ice, that some of the people sent, upon this he fir'd & immediately upon his firing, seven or Eight Gunns more were discharg'd I stood my ground, looking and laughing to see the people run; thinking, they only fir'd cleer powder to scare them, but in less than a minute I was convinc'd to the Contrary, by seeing, two Men lay dead upon the Ground, one at my right Hand & the other at my left not above a Yard distant from me, as soon as they seas'd firing, the Cap. march'd his men back to the Main Guard, then I went round to see how many were killed & soon found three dead, two more mortally wounded, who have since died, four or five more wounded but not so badly but that the

Doctors are in hopes they will survive it, the Governor and Council were immediately called together, to consider what was necessary to be done, at this Crisis, the first step was to send for Col Dalrymple, who came in a few minutes after he was sent for, he told the people, that he had serv'd his Majesty twenty years & never had seen such a horrid crime before & was extremely sorry to see it now. he further said; that the Inhabitants should have all possible satisfaction & that he himself would see that, both Officers and Soldiers were deliver'd into the hands of Justice, upon which the, Summons was made out against the Capt^a & deliver'd to the Sheriff, together with Col Dalrymple's letter to Col Carr, in which Letter he ordered the Col to see that the said Cap^a Preston was deliver'd into the hands of the Sheriff immediately, which order was obey'd and the Capt bro't before the Gov^r & Council, and examined, but several witnesses appearing against him & made Oath that they heard him Command his men to fire, they committed him to Goal. this was about four o'clock in the Morning, at ten o'clock a Tuesday in the forenoon, the Eight Soldiers were also committed to Goal, at Eleven o'clock there was a town Meeting call'd which I believe was the fullest, that ever was known in America. in the first place they chose a committee of fifteen Gentlemen to wait upon the Gov^r & Council with a petition, the purport of which was, that they would use all their Authority & Influence to get the Soldiers remov'd to the Castle. His Honor return'd an answer, which was that he had no command over the troops, but that he talked with the Commanding Officer concerning a Removal, all, the Officer said he would order the 29th Reg. to the Castle, and order his own Reg. to keep in Their Barracks, remove the main Guard, and have all parading stop'd, this answer was no ways Satisfactory to the enraged inhabitants, they therefore chose another Committee of Seaven Gent^l to wait upon the Governor & acquaint him that nothing short of a total removal of the troops from the town would satisfy the injur'd Inhabitants. the Gov^r said he could not give an immediate Answer, the Committee reply'd that they would retire into the other room till his Honor was ready. after waiting sometime he call'd them in & gave them his answer in writing, the purport of which was, that he had persuaded the Commanding Officer to send both Regiments to the Castle with all possible speed, this was voted Satisfactory to the Inhabitants who were then assembled, I suppose at least three Thousand in the Old South Meeting House, after three Huzzas, the meeting was dissolved, the transactions of the 6th of March 1770 will shine bright in the Annals of America to the last ages of time.

As my time of Apprenticeship is expired I shou'd be glad you'd send me Mr. Wendell's Letter wherein he has mentioned what he was to give me when my time was up. my Duty to you and Mother & love to my Brothers and Sisters Concludes me your Duty full son.

HENRY PRENTISS.

P. S. The Names of those persons that were killed and their occupation. Jackson a Molatto fellow. Sailor. Gray a Rope maker. Covil mate of a vessell. Munk a Boat Builder. Maverick a Lad about fifteen years of age. Wounded viz., Edu^d Payne Merch^t in this town shot

thro his arm. Green a Taylor shot through his thigh. Patterson shot thro his arm. The Names of the Rest have slip'd my memory.

March 9th Friday Morning Yestaday Afternoon four of those unhappy persons that were shot last Monday Evening were inter'd, the procession was much the grandest of any ever seen in America. Gray's Corps went first then his Relations, then Covil and his Relations, then Maverick and his Relations & then Jackson & after Jackson the Inhabitants walk'd four a brest. I imagine to the number of three or four Thousand, & then a vast number of Carriages, they all four were buried in one grave & young Snider dug up & put with them.

severall company's of Soldiers are gone to the Castle and the Remainder embarking as fast as possible, to-morrow Night the town will be Clear of them.

y^r Dutifull Son

H. PRENTISS.

Money and supplies were freely voted by the town for the Continental army, also money to pay the men who enlisted. The Declaration of Independence is written out in full in the town records. As early as March, 1778, the following report of a committee, chosen to consider the state of things as then existing was "Greatfully accepted and approved." The report says:—

"Having Duly Considered the Letter of Corrispondance to the Towns of this Province with a State of the Rights of the Colonies and this Province more especially, and a List of the Infringments of their Rights communicated to this Town from the town of Boston, whose Inhabitants have been unwearied in their Care and Endeavors to Preserve our Civil Constitution free from Innovations Notwithstanding the Policy of the British Ministry; for we are Sure that Even the Law of Nature Teaches that if we make ourselves Slaves or Suffer others to do it when we can prevent it, We thereby act contrary to Reason and thereby violate that Law.

"Having taken these things into our Most Serious Consideration, Influenced as we Trust, by a Sense of the obligation we are under to God, our own Consciences, and with regard to Posterity, do think ourselves under the Greatest obligations to do all we can in a Lawful, Constitutional way to prevent that Bondage and Slavery we are threatened with; therefore we resolve,—

1st That the People of this Province have a Natural and Charter Right to all the Priviledges of the People of Great Brittain.

2^d That they have a Right to Enjoy and Dispose of their own Property, that it Cannot Lawfully be Taken from them without Their Consent in Person or by their Representative

3^d That the British Parliament have unjustly Claimed the Power and Taken upon them to Raise a Revenue in the Colonies Contrary to the minds of the People, and Greatly Hurtful to the Peace, and Good order of y^r Colonies.

4th That the Revenue So unconstitutionally Raised being used in paying Some of the Chief officers of the Province, is very hurtful, as it Renders them Independent of the Province for their Salaries, which Tends Greatly to ob-

struct the Connection that ought to be Between them and the People of the Province, and thereby the Trust and Confidence of the people in them, as their Rulers, is greatly diminished, by these, and many other Infringements on our Rights and Privileges, as freemen. We are Greatly alarmed, Therefore we hope and Trust that the Great and General Assembly of this Province in their Great Wisdom will use Their utmost Efforts to obtain a speedy Redress of These Sore and Distressing Grievances.

5^v That the Sincere and Hearty Thanks of this Town be given to the Town of Boston for the care and attention of so many of its worthy Inhabitants, in so Clearly Stating the Rights and Privileges of the Colonies and for their Care and attention, at this, as well as at other times to Preserve the Rights of the Colonies; and we do assure them, That what has been Transmitted to this, and the other Towns in this Province has Received the full approbation of this town."

In March, 1775, it was voted that no man shall serve in any town office who shall refuse or neglect to subscribe consent to and compliance with the advice of the late Continental Congress. At a town-meeting held one year later, it was voted "Not to chuse into office or Employ in any Business of the town, the Ensuing year, any person that Has appeared Enemical to this Country in their Present struggle with Great Brittain, But to treet all such with Neglect."

May 20th, 1776, Major Abner Perry was elected representative to the General Court, and the following instructions were given him:—

"S'r; as we have Now Chosen you to Represent us in the Great and General Court, to be held at Watertown on the 29th of this instant May, we Do agreeable to a resolve of the Late general court at their last Sessions; which is as follows, (viz) that the Inhabitants of Each town in this Colony Ought in full meeting to advise the person or persons, who shall be chosen to Represent them in the next General Court, whether that, if the Honourable Congress should Declare them Independent of the Kingdom of Great Brittain, They, the said Inhabitants, will Solomly Engage with their Lives and fortunes to support them in the measure.

To which, the Inhabitants of the town of Holliston, Being Legally assembled, would humbly Beply (viz) that the Said Honbl. Congress are (under God) the most Competent Judges of matters of such Vast Importance to these Colonies; We would therefore Refer it to their wisdom, and do Solemnly Promise & Engage with our Lives and Fortunes to support them in the measure, if they, (whom we look upon as the Guardians of our Liberty) shall judge it to be best."

From year to year each representative was instructed by vote of the town to stand by the Continental Congress and the liberties and rights of the colony. On July 5, 1776, the day following the declaration of Independence at Philadelphia, the town voted to raise £11 to be paid to "Each man that shall Inlist to go as aforesaid, and do a turn for this Town as a hired man." The town voted January 5, 1778, their full approbation of the articles of confederation of the United States of America as "sent to said Town by the Gen^l Court of this State."

The patriotism of Holliston at the time of the nation's struggle for independence did not expend itself in words, but resulted in heroic deeds. Its inhabitants sacrificed of their property to help in bearing the pecuniary burdens of the war; and many of them risked, and some of them lost, their lives in the service of their country. How many enlisted in the army cannot be ascertained with certainty. The names of Colonel Abner Perry, Major Jacob Miller, and Captain Daniel Eames are on the roll of officers, and they with others, their comrades, rendered efficient service. How little could they anticipate the glorious results which have followed their achievements, as they have been developed in the history of the nation!

After Mr. Prentiss was dismissed, four years passed before his successor was chosen. A call was given November 13, 1788, to Mr. Timothy Dickinson, and he was ordained and installed pastor of the church February 18, 1789. Not far from this time a change began in the raising of the rates for the support of the minister and for church expenses. As early as 1748 a number of families were set off from the congregation at Holliston, by an act of the General Court, and joined to the West Parish in Medway. The legal voters in these families still attended the meetings of the town, and voted in all business excepting that which pertained to the support of preaching. May 1, 1782, a vote was passed that "Persons worshipping and paying elsewhere, by showing a certificate to that effect, could have so much deducted from their ministerial rate," that is, as much as they paid elsewhere. In 1785 protests were made against supporting the minister by a general tax, and the records show that ministerial rates were abated almost every town-meeting. January 15, 1787, it was "voted to accept the Petition of Moses Cutler and others, and Grant the Prayer thereof," which petition is as follows:

gentlemen and Friends :

'Whereas there is a Number of Ministerial Rates against us in the Collector's Hands, We Humbly request that the Town would Consider that We have been of another Persuasion for a Number of Years, and would be glad to live in peace among you.

"Our Friends; the Harmonious Consequencies & train of Blessings that naturally attend a Peaceable Settlement is so great, it naturally calls for our attention, Therefore We Humbly request that the Town would abate the Ministerial Rates that are now against us; also that the Town, by their vote, would recommend to the General Court, our being set off, according to our Petition, bearing date December 4th 1786, and that the same might be Confirmed by their Act."

This petition was dated Holliston, January 3, 1787, and had ten signers.

By and by there began to be a distinction in the calls for town-meetings; all legal voters were summoned to the meetings in which the general business of the town was transacted, while only those who paid a ministerial tax were called to the parochial town-meeting. All the records were kept by the town-clerk, and in the same record-book. This method of managing the affairs connected with the support of public worship continued till 1836, when a separate parish was organized.

In 1790 the town first cast its votes for a representative to congress. In 1791 nineteen persons and their families were warned to leave town because they had moved into town without having obtained the town's consent. In 1795 the minister's salary was first voted in the Federal currency, and it was \$266.67.

Respecting the industries of the people of Holliston in its earlier history, Rev. Mr. Dowse, in his centennial address delivered July 4, 1876, says: "They," the inhabitants, "were plain and simple in their manners and habits, but they were enterprising and efficient workers. They naturally, in the first instance, endeavored to provide homes and sustenance for their families. Their houses were usually small—often rude in their structure—and roughly furnished, and their furniture, dress, equipage, and general style of living were correspondingly simple and inexpensive. They were all farmers and looked of course to their lands for their support. The men cleared away the forests, broke up the fallow ground, tilled the

fields, gathered the harvests, tended the flocks and herds, and performed the outdoor work of the settlement. In the wild and unsubdued state of the soil at that time, and with the tools and implements then in use, this must have been a difficult and tedious process. The women of that day not only performed the work that is now regarded as the part of the neat and tidy housewife, but they carded and spun the wool, and wove most of the cloth worn by the family. Not only so, but they often assisted in the work of the farm, and more especially in the sale of its products. The means of intercommunication and transportation were very scanty and imperfect. There were few leading highways, but the roads were mostly narrow foot-paths, made at first by the Indian's trail on the track of wild beasts, and sufficient only for one or at the most for two persons to travel. The men, women, and children rode along these paths on horseback, often two, and sometimes three on a single animal. They travelled in this way from house to house, to church on the Sabbath, and often performed long journeys to other towns and settlements. They transported the products of the farms to the mill and to the market-town on horseback. This was often the work of the women. Two or more, sometimes a company of half a dozen, good dames from Holliston and Sherborn would start with their horses loaded down with eggs and butter, and ride all night to Boston, and having disposed of their loads return the succeeding day, not as much fatigued as many now are who go to town in the morning in the cars, spend the day in shopping and return at evening. This condition of things in the homes and business continued essentially the same for a long period. The people were engaged as a whole in reclaiming and tilling the lands. The shoemaker, blacksmith, carpenter, and storekeeper were regarded only as adjuncts to society. It was convenient to have just enough mechanics and tradesmen to meet the wants of the people, and they desired no more. Even these did not pretend to live by their trades, but in addition cultivated their lands. Under these conditions the population continued to increase slowly from year to year, and the outward circumstances of the people to improve. At the end of the first century the population had grown from one hundred to thirteen hundred."

As early as 1731 the town appropriated money for the support of a public school; and in 1738 it was divided into three districts, and it was voted

to build a school-house in each district. May 27, 1754, the following vote was passed, as recorded in the town records: *Voted*, Ten pounds For a Reading and Righting School This Present Year." In 1765, £25 were appropriated for public schools, and were divided among the three districts. The first school-houses were not magnificent in their dimensions or appointments. Those in the north and west were fourteen by eighteen feet, with "seven-foot posts," and the one in the centre sixteen by twenty feet. They were doubtless large enough to accommodate the scholars of those days, and being warmed in winter by fires in large open fire-places, the ventilation must have been good, with little danger of a too high temperature.

In 1801 the town was again divided for school purposes, and eight school districts were formed. Three hundred and thirty-four dollars were appropriated the same year for the support of schools, and divided among the eight school districts.

About this time there began to be opposition to Mr. Dickinson. "At one period of it there was much uneasiness, animosity, and disturbance, which continued in a greater or less degree through several years; so that the parish twice refused to grant his salary. But in each of these instances the people were wise enough to discover their mistake and rescind their votes. The origin and occasion of the difficulties do not appear from any record, either of the town or the church, but are commonly understood to be found in the offensiveness of the doctrines upon which he insisted. They, however, resulted in the calling of a council by the church June 4, 1804, which advised the dissolution of the pastoral connection subsisting between him and the people of his charge, in the August following, should not an amicable adjustment of difficulties previously take place. Happily, those difficulties were so far settled that on the 25th of the same month in which the council sat, the parish passed a resolution in favor of the continuance of the connection."¹ These difficulties being overcome, Mr. Dickinson remained pastor of the church till his death, which occurred July 6, 1813.

At a town-meeting held March 2, 1807, a committee was chosen to have the general care of the schools. The appropriation for school purposes continued to increase with the increasing number of scholars. In 1830 it was \$700, and in 1875 it had increased to \$6,000. In 1846 the town

took possession of the property of the school districts.

Nothing appears in the town records respecting the part Holliston took in the war of 1812-15. That it was represented, is evident from the fact that the graves of some who fell in battle are found in the burying-ground, and one soldier of that war still lives, in extreme old age.

Mr. Dickinson's successor in the pulpit was Mr. Josephus Wheaton, who received a unanimous call to the pastorate October 16, 1815, and was ordained December 6 of the same year. During Mr. Wheaton's ministry it was decided to build a new meeting-house. The vote was passed November 2, 1819, and the house was dedicated November 5, 1823, a little more than one year before the close of the first century of the town's history. Mr. Wheaton preached on the occasion from Psalms 84: 1,—"*How amiable are thy Tabernacles, O Lord of Hosts!*" This sermon was printed in 1824. It cost less than one hundred dollars to build the first meeting-house; the second, when completed, cost \$7,353.37. "Mr. Wheaton has left in print a work on school education; together with several sermons, one of which, '*On the Equality of Mankind and the Evils of Slavery*,' is particularly celebrated." Mr. Wheaton died February 4, 1825, having nearly completed the thirty-seventh year of his age, and a little more than commenced the eleventh of his ministry.

At the beginning of the second century of the town's existence, at the close of 1824, the number of its inhabitants had so increased that it contained two hundred and twenty-one families; of these, in their church connection, twenty-three belonged to the West Parish in Medway, one to the East Parish, one to the Congregational Parish in Milford, ten to the Baptists, nine to the Methodists, and twenty-one to the Universalists. One of the inhabitants of the town during its first century, a Mrs. Winchester, attained the good old age of one hundred and four years.

Looking towards the securing of a successor to Mr. Wheaton, the parish voted June 20, 1825, "to chuse a committee to hire some young candidate to preach or supply pulpit."

Till 1825 the town-meetings were held in the meeting-house; but that year a town-house was built, the upper story of which was the town-hall, while the lower story was occupied by the church as a vestry. This house was located on the Common, forming a part of the boundary of the bury-

¹ Rev. Mr. Fitch's *Century Sermon*.

ing-ground. It was used for town and parish meetings, etc., till 1855, when it was sold, moved off, and made into two dwelling-houses. It was replaced the same year by the present town-house. A lower room in this house was used for parish and church purposes, till the Congregational Meeting-house was extensively remodelled and a vestry built under it in 1859. The meeting-house was re-dedicated December 2d, and A. L. Stone, D. D., then of Boston, preached the sermon.

It was the custom for the ministers to receipt for their salaries in the book of the town records. These receipts over the signatures of the several ministers are scattered through the records, till the last one occurs dated April 1, 1829. At first the town-treasurer paid these salaries out of the money raised by the town for this use, then out of the parochial funds. During the last half century up to this time, the Congregational Church has had eight pastors; namely, Revs. Charles Fitch, Elijah Demond, John Storrs, T. D. P. Stone, Joshua T. Tucker, William H. Savage, Henry S. Kelsey, and George M. Adams.

The earlier inhabitants were accustomed to attend public worship, even in the coldest weather, with no provision to keep them warm but their thick clothing and their robust health. The women, however, took to "the meeting" with them their foot-stoves, charged with burning coals, which they were accustomed to renew during the "noon-time" at the fires of the neighboring families. It was not till 1833 that it was voted "to warm the meeting-house," and a hundred and twenty-five dollars were appropriated to buy a stove.

The Methodist society built their meeting-house in 1833, and it was dedicated September 18th. Rev. Jonathan Cady was appointed the first minister. There had, however, been Methodist preaching in town for several years. The first sermon preached by a Methodist minister was delivered in the barn of Mr. Ebenezer Cutler in 1794, and the commencement of regular preaching was in the town-hall in 1831. Previous to this there had been for some years a Methodist society in Hopkinton, near the borders of the town, in a place called Hayden Row, where a number of persons from Holliston were accustomed to attend meeting. The meeting-house, having been extensively repaired, was re-dedicated February 3, 1875. December 27, 1850, the Methodist Society was organized as a corporate body, according to law.

This church has been supplied by thirty-one different ministers, whose pastorates varied from a few months to three years each.

In 1833 the town "Voted not to use Ardent Spirits at the Poor Farm, also not to grant license for the sale of the same," and its authority has always been on the side of temperance in its public acts.

May 31, 1836, sixteen persons were legally organized as the Universalist Society of Holliston. This society at first held its services in the town-hall. Two years after its organization a meeting-house was built, which was dedicated January 9, 1839. In 1854 it was raised up and stores were built under it. This society had seven ministers as follows: Revs. Josiah W. Talbot, Joseph O. Skinner, William Jackson, Lyman W. Dagget, Calvin Damon, John Nichols, and Albert C. Chase. These supplied the pulpit in the order in which their names are given. After the Universalist Society had discontinued its public services, the Baptist Society occupied their meeting-house, until the vestry of their own house was completed. In 1867 the society voted to sell their meeting-house, and it came into the possession of the Catholic Society. They held it for a short time, and about 1870 it was again sold, moved off from the ground, and converted into two dwelling-houses.

In 1835 Rev. Gardner Rice opened an English and classical school, which was largely patronized by the people of Holliston and the adjoining towns. Mr. Rice used the town-hall as a school-room, and the following-vote passed September 23, 1844, shows that the town was willing to help in this enterprise. It is as follows: "Voted that the Rev. Gardner Rice be exonerated from paying any claims which the town hold against him, incurred by his use of the Town-Hall for a High School." Several teachers succeeded Mr. Rice, and the school was kept in the town-hall till Mount Hollis Seminary was built on Jasper Hill, now more commonly called Mount Hollis. This building was commenced in December, 1850, and was dedicated in June of the following year. The address on that occasion was delivered by J. P. Cleveland, D. D., then of Providence, B. I. George F. Walker was the teacher at this time and proprietor of the building. The land on which it was located, nine acres, was donated by a number of individuals, who paid for it by subscription. This building was purchased by the town in 1863, and used for a public high school until it was destroyed by fire,

October 25, 1871. Another high-school house was built on the same spot in 1874, which is now occupied by the school.

In 1856 a committee was appointed by the town to make arrangements with Dr. Nutting, who was then teaching a private school in the seminary building, to receive into his school the pupils of the town qualified to enter a high school. This arrangement was continued till the establishment of a town high school.

The cars made their first trip over the Milford Branch of the Boston and Worcester railroad, as far as Holliston Centre, July 4, 1847. Owing to the nature of the soil, the road-bed was dug with difficulty through Phipps's Hill, but in November of the following year the cars went through to Milford. This railroad has been of great advantage to the industrial interests of Holliston, and has had a profitable business in the transportation of passengers and freight.

The Holliston Bank was incorporated in 1854, with a capital of \$100,000. William S. Batchelder was its first president, and Rufus F. Brewer its first cashier. It was reorganized as a national bank January 23, 1865, and in April of the same year its capital was increased to \$150,000. Mr. Batchelder died in 1876, and Hon. Alden Leland was elected president. Thomas E. Andrews succeeded Mr. Brewer as cashier. The bank has (1879) a surplus of \$30,000.

"The city of the dead," Lake Grove Cemetery, is on the banks of Lake Winthrop. It was incorporated in 1859. The location of this cemetery, in a grove on the banks of a lake, which with its islands furnishes a beautiful water view, is very pleasing and appropriate. It contains thirty acres of land, and has more than two hundred burial lots, many of which are tastefully adorned. Beautiful monuments stand over the graves of the dead, and the entire inclosure is an honor to the town.

The Baptist society was formed in 1860, and held its first public religious meeting on the 12th of February, in the lower hall of the town-house. Rev. J. D. E. Jones of Worcester was the first preacher, and Rev. B. A. Edwards the first "regular supply." The church at its organization consisted of nineteen members, and was publicly recognized as a Baptist church by a council convened at Holliston on Tuesday, August 28. Mr. Edwards continued to preach for the church till May, 1865, and his successors are Rev. J. L. A. Fish from December, 1865, to June, 1868; Rev.

George W. Holman from December, 1868, to September, 1870; Rev. Robert G. Johnson from September, 1871, to May, 1875; and Rev. Albert G. Bennett, who was ordained December 2, 1875.

The church held public worship in the lower hall of the town-house till 1864, when it hired and occupied the Universalist meeting-house. In 1866 this society commenced to take measures for the erection of a house for public worship, and December 29, 1867, the first service was held in the vestry. The work was completed so that the dedication of the meeting-house took place January 26, 1870. The church has increased in numbers, and has before it the prospect of much usefulness.

When on the morning of April 12, 1861, the first gun of the Civil War was fired against Fort Sumter, and its echoes stirred the patriotism of the entire North, the people of Holliston were ready, as worthy sons of Revolutionary sires, to take their full share of the burdens of war. On the 15th of April, President Lincoln by proclamation called for seventy-five thousand volunteers, and on the 29th the town took measures for the raising of a military company, and it was soon ready to march when ordered to join the Federal forces. To help those who were willing to enlist, and to relieve them of anxiety respecting the support of their families who were to be left at home, the town voted September 30 to pay one dollar a month to the wife of any soldier enlisted from this town, and fifty cents per month for each child, in addition to the aid received from the state. It was also provided by vote the next year, that the families of nine months' men be paid the same as others.

In the spring of 1862, when the national capital was threatened by the approach of the Confederate troops, and the governors of the loyal states were issuing their proclamations for men to go to its aid, the anxiety of the inhabitants of Holliston was so great that a messenger was dispatched on horseback to Boston to ascertain whether the capital was taken or not. The messenger returned, riding into town just as the public services in the churches were concluded, and when he announced that the capital was yet safe, cheer upon cheer rang out upon the still air of that quiet, beautiful Sunday afternoon, attesting the happiness with which the good news had filled the hearts of the people.

It was voted July 22, 1863, unanimously, "That the families of citizens of Holliston, whether alien or otherwise, who serve in the United States army, either as drafted men or substitutes for

drafted men, shall receive the same aid from the town-treasury as has been paid to the families of volunteers;" also "To continue the same aid to the families of those who have fallen in the service of their country, as they have heretofore received from the selectmen, until March 1st next, unless their pensions are sooner received." June 20, 1864, it was voted "that the Town Treasurer be hereby authorized to pay each volunteer or drafted man a sum not exceeding \$125, whenever such volunteer or drafted man shall be called for to fill the quota of Holliston;" also "voted that the town appropriate the sum of \$3,000 to pay soldiers enlisted under the last call for troops dated March 14, 1864." Another vote was passed the same day, viz., "To choose a committee of five to make provision for a suitable reception of the returned soldiers belonging to Holliston." June 18, 1866, the selectmen were instructed by vote of the town, "to pay all volunteers who reenlisted in the field for the credit of Holliston, who have never received a bounty, one hundred and twenty-five dollars, and to those who have received only a partial bounty the balance sufficient to make that sum."

The whole number of soldiers from Holliston, counting both enlistments and reenlistments, who served in the Federal army during the Civil War was three hundred and fifty-four. Of these sixty-six were natives of the town; the names of fifty-three of these are upon the soldiers' monument as having lost their lives. Nine were captured and confined in Confederate prisons, of which number five died. While the war was in progress, the people at home did not forget those who were in the field, and after some of the great battles committees were sent to the front to care for the well-being and comfort of the wounded.

Just before the war commenced, one who went as a soldier from Holliston, Sewell H. Fiske, was driven out of Savannah, Georgia, with indignity, because he was from the North. He went back with the army, and died in a United States hospital. Another soldier, Simon C. Marston, being left alone on guard at Brandy Station, saved the books of Company B, the Holliston company, from the rebels who came up suddenly, by strapping them in haste upon his back, and leaving with them.

In 1866 the town appropriated \$3,000 to erect a soldiers' monument. This monument is square and of granite. It is made up of base, ornamented pedestal, and shaft. On the front side of the pedes-

tal a flag is sculptured in relief, and on its back is a shield with the following inscription:—

ERECTED BY THE TOWN OF HOLLISTON
IN MEMORY OF HER SOLDIERS
WHO DIED IN THE WAR FOR THE UNION.
1874.

On each of the remaining sides is a sword encircled by a wreath, also in relief. On the base of the pedestal are the following words:—

HONOR TO THE BRAVE.

On the sides of its shaft are chiselled the names of the soldiers of Holliston who lost their lives in defence of their country. These names are as follows: M. Vose, F. Abbot, P. Harvey, C. C. Waite, S. H. Fisk, E. M. Perry, W. H. Clough, H. A. Harris, J. Speakman, E. B. Currier, A. G. Hunting, C. H. Wheeler, M. McCormic, A. Adams, C. H. Cole, E. Leland, J. E. Dean, A. Goodwin, M. Slatery, F. B. Joelyn, J. H. Cooper, J. Hamlington, J. W. Slocum, W. G. Gaylord, G. E. Jenkins, H. F. Chamberlain, T. Lacy, C. Drury, L. Dickey, J. Reeves, F. W. Clapp, B. F. Hawks, H. S. Bailey, N. Galvin, Jr., W. E. Louger, J. S. Bullard, J. Gallacher, E. S. Hutchinson, C. S. Watkins, F. Riley, P. Cary, E. Eames, B. L. Durfee, J. M. Mann, C. H. Allen, William Crowell, N. Brown, Jr., B. Feeheley, G. Holbrook, G. J. Walker, W. H. Goodwin, E. G. Whiting, and W. B. Jenneson. There is also the record of the battles in which the soldiers from Holliston were engaged, viz., Gettysburg, Locust Grove, Wilderness, Spottsylvania, North Anna, Cold Harbor, Cedar Grove, Petersburg, Andersonville, Richmond, Bull Run, Fair Oaks, Glendale, Malvern Hill, Chantilly, Newbern, Manassas, Fredericksburg, Antietam, and Chancellorsville. The monument is located in the south-east corner of the central burying ground.

An Episcopal society was formed in Holliston on Easter Tuesday, 1864. When public services were commenced, there was but one member of the Episcopal Church in town; but the numbers increased, till at the time the services were discontinued there were about forty members. This society occupied the lower hall of the town-house for public worship. They purchased a lot of ground of the town on Mt. Hollis, on which to erect a church building, but have as yet (1879) only laid the foundations of their structure. In "the great fire" the records of this society, together with a silver communion service, the gift of Rev. Bishop Huntington to the church, were burned. Rev. Benjamin T. Cooley, of St. Paul's

Church, Hopkinton, was rector of this church two years; the Rev. William H. Higby from New York, for about eight months; the Rev. Henry M'Clory of East Boston, about six months, and the Rev. Benjamin F. Hartly, about two years. This account is not as definite as it would have been, had not the records of the society been destroyed.

The Mt. Hollis Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons was chartered February 14, A.M. 5865, and continues to prosper, holding its regular meetings the first Monday of each month, at Masonic Hall.

The following account of the G. A. R. Post in Holliston is by C. S. Wilder of Company B., 16th Massachusetts Regiment, and a member of the Post: "Among the institutions of Holliston, which are widely useful, Post No. 6, G. A. R. of Massachusetts, deserves a prominent place. Its charities have been extensive, and its composition being such as to remove it both from the field of politics and sectarianism, it has been able to reach in an unobtrusive way many a sufferer, and has brought comparative comfort to many a poor but deserving family. Its disbursements since its organization have amounted to some seven thousand dollars. It was instituted March 10, 1867, and has had a varying history. It has been burned out three times, but each time has arisen with its membership more firmly united, and with a stronger desire to fulfil the high purpose to which it is most sincerely consecrated.

"It occupies a building on Green Street, owned by itself, and well deserves the respect which it enjoys in the community.

"The relief committee of the Post has worked in entire sympathy with the town authorities, and has been an important auxiliary in the work of finding out the needy, and honestly paying the amounts voted year by year by the town.

"The Post takes its name from the lamented Powell T. Wyman, the first colonel of the 16th Massachusetts or Middlesex County Regiment, who was killed at the battle of Glendale, Va., in July, 1862. The original members of the Post were from Company B of this regiment, which company was organized in Holliston, and its first officers were James M. Mason, captain; William A. Amory, first lieutenant; and Cassander F. Flagg, second lieutenant."

In 1867 a Young Men's Christian Association was instituted. It has a building on Central Street, in which its meetings are held. It has taken its

place as an instrumentality for good in the community.

A separate parish connected with the Catholic Church was formed in 1870, and Rev. B. J. Quinlan was appointed pastor. This parish is connected with the archdiocese of Boston. Previous to this time Catholic services had been held in the town-hall, conducted by priests from neighboring parishes. In 1873 a house of worship was built for this society, and the first public service was held in its vestry on Christmas of that year. The house is yet (1879) unfinished.

The Holliston Savings Bank was organized in April, 1872. It has had two presidents, — Hon. Alden Leland and Seth Thayer, Esq. Orrin Thompson is its secretary and treasurer. Its deposits amount to \$277,874.12. The bank has been, and continues to be, a success.

"The great fire" was on May 26, 1875. Within three hours from the time the alarm was first given twenty-two buildings were burned, all but one of which were completely destroyed. Among these were the hotel, a large livery-stable, a block of stores, two other stores, and several dwelling-houses. A large space in the centre of the village was left bare of buildings; but the enterprise of the people has rebuilt where the ruins were, and the general appearance is greatly improved.

The town celebrated the Centennial of the nation by appropriate services on the 4th of July, 1876. An address was delivered before a full audience, in the Congregational Church, by Rev. Edmund Dowse of Sherborn. Addresses were also given after a collation at Mt. Hollis Grove, in response to appropriate toasts, by R. B. Bishop, Esq., of Newton, Hon. Alden Leland, who was president of the day, Rev. Edmund Dowse of Sherborn, Abel Pond, Esq., Rev. F. A. Warfield of Boston, Rev. G. M. Adams, Rev. J. Gill, E. M. Battles, Professor G. Y. Washburn, P. R. Johnson, Esq., A. E. Chamberlain, Humphrey Sullivan, G. M. French, D. C. Mowry, and A. J. Stevens, M. D. C. S. Wilder was toast-master. The day was pleasant, and all the services interesting and appropriate.

During this year the street through the centre of the village was widened and straightened, and several old trees which were set out by Rev. Mr. Dickinson, and which stood in front of the Congregational meeting-house, were cut down.

June 5, 1877, a lodge of the Knights of Honor was organized in Holliston. It is numbered 647.

It is a secret, independent society, designed to work as a life insurance. Two thousand dollars are paid to the heirs of each member, on his decease. It has fifty members.

The boundaries of the town have been several times changed since its incorporation. In 1824 a small portion of Medway was set off to Holliston. The town line between Holliston and Milford has been changed at different times, giving Milford a tract southwest of Rocky Woods. In 1846 Ashland was incorporated as a town, taking quite a large tract of land from Holliston.

The first physician who located in town was Timothy Fisk, M. D. He was born in Holliston November 3, 1778, and graduated from Harvard University in 1801. He began the practice of medicine in his native town, and pursued it for sixty-two years, until December 17, 1863, when he died suddenly from congestion of the lungs, at the age of eighty-five. For forty years he was a member of the Congregational Church, and one of its most faithful supporters. He died in his chair, dressed as for his usual duties. His funeral was largely attended by the community, and "his name will live in grateful and endeared remembrance."

Sewall G. Burnap, M. D., was born in Temple, N. H., March 12, 1802. He studied medicine at Dartmouth College, and graduating in 1826 settled in Holliston. He was several times elected a member of the board of councillors of the Massachusetts Medical Society, which position he held at the time of his death, and he was once elected president of the Middlesex South District Medical Society. He was a practising physician forty-eight years, and died in October, 1874. He was a respected citizen, and for many years a member of the Congregational Church.

Dr. Hiram A. Lake has also practised in town for more than thirty years. A number of other physicians have been in practice in Holliston for a longer or shorter period, so that from the time Dr. Fisk located in the town up to the present, the sick have had professional care.

The first and only lawyer who has had a permanent residence in Holliston, was Elias Bullard. He was born in West Medway, December 30, 1799. "He received a common-school education, and was aided in preparing for college by the venerable Dr. Ide of West Medway, and graduated from Brown University, in the class of 1823. He studied law with Elijah Morse, Esq., of Boston, three years; was admitted to the Bar, and came to Hol-

liston, October 7, 1826, commencing the practice of his profession. In 1834-35 and 1870 he was elected to represent the town in the legislature, the last time having the honor of calling the house to order, as the senior member. In the practice of his profession he has an unusual record of justice, and his counsels have ever been those of pacification. He was willing to assist those in trouble at a loss of his own pecuniary advantage. Had his life been spared through the remainder of another year, to October 7, 1876, he would have completed half a century of the practice of his profession in Holliston."¹ He died November 2, 1875. His funeral was largely attended by the citizens of the town, and from the surrounding towns. He was for several years before his death a consistent member of the Congregational Church.

The first business, excepting the tilling of the soil, of the citizens of Holliston, was the manufacture of boots and shoes. "The first manufacturer was Colonel Ariel Bragg. He commenced business in 1793, with forty pounds of sole-leather, and four calf skins, from which he made twenty-two pairs of shoes, which he carried to Providence in saddle-bags, on horseback, with a bundle of hay behind him; and, having disposed of his goods for \$21.50, returned and invested his gains in new stock. In 1800 and 1810 Hezekiah and Jonathan Bullard began business on a similar scale. In 1816 Deacon Timothy Rockwood began to manufacture goods, and transport them to Boston in a horse-cart. In 1821 the names of Batchelder, Currier, Littlefield, and others were added to the list of manufacturers, all doing business upon small capital, and transporting their goods and stock themselves in their one-horse wagons."²

As the business increased, the shoe manufacturers in the adjoining town of Milford joined together and sent their goods to Boston in a large team-wagon. The first time this new conveyance passed through Holliston on its way to the market as it went by the shop of Mr. William S. Batchelder, he and his workmen went out to see it, and Mr. Batchelder remarked: "Milford is getting pretty smart; when I can't take my shoes to Boston in my own team, I'll give up the business." He afterwards changed his mind; for he lived to carry on a business so extensive, that it required a one-horse team nearly all the time to take his manufactured goods to the dépôt, which was but

¹ *Boston Journal*, Nov. 3, 1875.

² *Dowd's Centennial Address*.

a short distance from his shop. "Dating back as far as 1820 the business has had a rapid and healthy growth, until in 1874 it furnished employment for six hundred persons, and produced goods to the amount of \$1,000,000." At this time (1879) this business in common with every other is affected by the hard times, and the shops are producing comparatively few boots and shoes. There are in the town ten quite large shoe-shops besides other smaller ones; but several of these shops are at present unused. With the revival of business the prospects for this branch of manufacture are good, and Holliston shoe-makers will be once more busy.

About the year 1814 Hon. Elihu Cutler with others erected a thread-mill on Winthrop Brook. This enterprise was embarrassed by the general depression in business, but it gave an impulse to the industries of the town which was the beginning of its later prosperity. This water-power, supplemented by a steam-engine, is now used by Mr. Warren L. Payson, for the manufacture of church, office, and store wood-work, and boxes.

The manufacture of straw goods in Holliston dates back to 1815, when it was commenced by Charles and George Leland. The business has also been carried on by Messrs. Thayer, Slocumb, and others. The building, now used as a straw-shop, was erected in 1862, since which time it has received several additions. Messrs. Mowry, Rodgers, & Co. are the proprietors. There is room in the building sufficient to accommodate two hundred and fifty hands. Seventy straw-sewing machines and binders do the work formerly done by hand, and thirteen hydraulic presses are used in finishing the bonnets. The average amount of business per year is not far from \$150,000, and the pay-roll from \$2,000 to \$3,000 per month, three-quarters of which is paid to those who live in town. The motive power is steam. The braid which is used in the manufacture of hats and bonnets is principally imported from China, where it is produced at about half a cent per yard.

It is not known when the first store was opened in Holliston. It is safe, however, to conclude that, as the inhabitants increased, and their needs began to multiply, stores were opened. Counting dry-goods stores, grocers' stores, hardware stores, apothecary shops, markets, &c., there are twenty-six stores in town, each one securing more or less trade.

In 1834 a comb factory was built on Jar Brook. The hard times of 1837 caused it to stop

work for a season, after which it was again in operation till it was burned in 1859. When its production was the greatest its annual sales amounted to about \$100,000. In 1866, Messrs. Stetson & Talbot commenced in the same place the manufacture of shoe-nails, and shoe and upholstery tacks. These are made of iron, zinc, and copper. About twenty persons are employed in this factory, and in good times it turns out not far from three hundred tons of manufactured material per annum. Its power is furnished by the water of Jar Brook, supplemented by a steam engine.

In 1837 Messrs. Houghton & Joslyn began to manufacture copper pumps. At first they made only from two to three hundred per year. In 1851 the firm took the name of S. Wilder & Co. This business increased till from four to five hundred pumps were made in a single year. The pumps made by this firm have secured a reputation which has created the demand for them. They are beginning to be known in England and some of the countries of South America. This business, in common with all others, is feeling the pressure of the times.

Laurin Leland, Esq., commenced the cultivation of cranberries in 1854. He has eight acres of meadow, two acres of which are cultivated, the ground having been prepared, and the vines set out, and the rest being a natural cranberry bog, improved by spreading sand upon it. The average yield is from three to four hundred bushels of berries per year.

In 1860 Deacon George Batchelder planted one hundred square rods of meadow land with cranberry vines, and since that time he has increased the ground devoted to the cultivation of this berry to eight acres. This land cost in 1860 \$180, and it has so increased in value that it has for several years been taxed on a valuation of \$2,000. The average yield per year for the last six years has been not far from a hundred and fifty barrels, selling at an average price of \$10 per barrel. The land is near the Factory Bridge, adjoining the Milford Branch Railroad.

In 1874 Mr. George B. Fiske bought and commenced to use a single Lamb Knitting machine. From this small beginning he has continued to increase his machinery, till he has thirty-five machines, and in the busy season he employs twenty-five girls. He manufactures all kinds of ladies' and gentlemen's cotton and woollen hosiery, infants' Saxony shirts, suspenders, ladies' and children's gaiters,

mittens, etc. The business which had so humble an origin has established itself among the manufacturing enterprises of the town.

There has been a rapid increase of the population of Holliston since 1850. The boot and shoe business has furnished employment for a large number of men; the railroad facilities have greatly helped the industries of the town, and when prosperous times again return it will doubtless hold its place among the enterprising and thrifty towns of Middlesex county.

Holliston has ever had a good record in respect to temperance, and the people, as a whole, have not given countenance or encouragement to the selling or using of intoxicating liquors as a beverage. As early as July 7, 1827, a society was organized under the name of "Holliston Society for the Promotion of Temperance." At the present time there are three organizations, numbering in all seven hundred and eight members. This is a good record for future generations.

Holliston presents to the eye of the beholder a

pleasing picture. Its principal village lies at the foot of Mt. Hollis and Powder-House hills, and Lake Winthrop adds a water view to the scenery. Its houses, while they are not expensive, are, for the most part, kept in good repair, giving an air of thrift to the general appearance. An abundance of shade-trees, especially when they are clothed in their summer verdure, adds much to the attractions of the place. Its inhabitants have generally dwelt together in harmony. There are none very rich, and few poor. Within the last thirty years many persons of foreign birth have come to reside in the town, adding largely to the number of its inhabitants.

With a past which will compare favorably with that of its sister towns in old Middlesex County, the prospects of Holliston for the future are cheering; and when, at some future time, its continued history shall be written, is it not safe to predict that it will be a history of which its inhabitants will have no cause to be ashamed?

HOPKINTON.

BY REV. ELIAS NASON.



THE town of Hopkinton, containing 4,503 inhabitants, and situated in the extreme southwestern angle of Middlesex County, was incorporated December 13, 1715, O. S., and named in honor of Governor Edward Hopkins. Its present boundaries, beginning at the north and proceeding easterly, are

Westborough, Southborough, Ashland, Holliston, Milford, and Upton. It lies about twenty-nine miles southwest of Boston by the Boston and Albany, and the Hopkinton, Milford, and Woonsocket railroads. The Congregational church is in 42° 13' north latitude, and in 71° 31' west longitude. The land is broken, elevated, and rocky; but well watered and productive.

Branches of the Blackstone, the Charles, and the Sudbury rivers rise near the centre of the town.

The principal sheets of water are the White Hall Pond and the North Pond; and the chief eminences are Saddle Hill and Bear Hill, from both of which, as well as from the highlands in the centre of the town, extensive and varied prospects may be enjoyed.

Originally the easterly part of the town was inhabited by the Indians, whose burial-place is still visible. Here the Rev. John Eliot had a company of "Praying Indians," and here on the northern slope of Magunco¹ Hill an Indian fortification was erected.

As early as 1669 these aborigines had learned to make "cedar shingles and clapboards unto which work in mowing in the swamps ye are fitter yu many English and many English choose rather to

¹ Various spelled, as: — Mogenrooke, Mogenrook, Maguncook, Magunkook, Magunkaquoq, Mayagunrook, Magunroock, Magwookkonnuk, Magunchoq, etc. It means "a place of great track."

buy ym of the Indians yn make ym themselves." So says Mr. Eliot in a petition to the General Court "in the behalf of the poor Indians of Natick and Magwonkkommok, this 14th of the 8,69." "Whereas," he adds, "a company of new praying Indians are set downe in the westernmost corner of Natick bounds called Magwonkkommok who have called one to rule and another to teach ym, of whom the latter is of the church, the former ready to be joyued and there is not fit land for planting toward Natick but westward there is enough very rocky, these are humbly to request yt fit accomodations may be allowed ym westward, and thus committing this honorable Court unto the holy guidance of the Lord I rest, your humble petitioner."

Ensign Grout and Thomas Eames were appointed a committee to report on the subject; but the decision of the court does not appear. The petition was attested by Edward Rawson and William Torrey, October 21, 1669.

Of these Indians Major General Daniel Gookin in 1674 gives this account: "Magunkaquog is the seventh town where the praying Indians inhabit. The signification of the place's name is the place of great trees. It is situate partly within the bounds of Natick and partly upon the land granted by the country. It lieth west southerly from Boston, about twenty-four miles near the midway between Natick and Hassanameset. The number of its inhabitants are about eleven families and about fifty-five souls. There are men and women eight members of the church at Natick and about fifteen baptized persons. The quantity of land belonging to it, is about 3,000 acres. The Indians plant upon a great hill which is very fertile and these people worship God and keep the Sabbath and observe civil order, as do other towns. They have a constable and other officers. Their rulers name is Poinhanan, a sober and active man and pious. Their teacher's name is Job, a person well accepted for piety and ability among them. This town was the last settling of the old towns. They have plenty of corn and keep some cattle and swine, for which the place is well accomodated."

Job Kattenanit was friendly to the English, for whom he acted as a spy during Philip's War; but he unfortunately fell into the hands of some white soldiers who took from him his clothes and gun, and then sent him as a prisoner to Boston, where "more to satisfy the clamors of the people than for any offence he had done," he was immured in jail. On being liberated, he again served as a

spy, for which the sum of £5 sterling was paid to him.

Among other Indians then living at Magunco were Netus, Annecocken, Joshua Assatt, John Dublet, William Jackstraw, Joseph Jackstraw, and John Jackstraw.

On the 1st of February, 1676, Netus with ten or more followers made an assault upon the house of Mr. Thomas Eames, near Farn Pond in Framingham. His family consisted of himself, his wife, and nine children. He had gone to Boston for ammunition, and the enemy therefore chose this opportunity for the attack. The mother and her children made a stout resistance; but she and three or four of them were killed and the remainder taken captive. The house and barn were burned, and the cattle and grain destroyed. One of the agents sent to redeem the children was himself, it is said, taken captive by Miss Margaret Eames, and subsequently made her his wife.

Netus, the leader of this marauding party, was killed at Marlborough on the 27th of March following the assault. Annecocken died soon afterwards, and three others were tried, condemned, and executed on the 21st of September, 1676. Old Jacob and Joshua Assatt were pardoned. They assigned as the reason of the assault, "their missing of corn, which they expected to have found at Magoncocke." Mr. Eames died January 25, 1680, aged about sixty-two years. The lands of Magunco, embracing 4,000 acres more or less, were in 1679 exchanged by the town of Sherborn for the same quantity of land belonging to the town of Natick.

By a plan of Sherborn, drawn by Mr. Joseph Sherman, August, 1701, it appears that that town then embraced, not only the Magunco lands, but also the larger part of what is now Hopkinton.

At the close of Philip's War, in 1676, the Indians had mostly disappeared from Magunco and even from the town of Natick. "Generally such as remaine," say the Shattuck MSS., "are of those indians yt formerly (before y war) lived under our government at Hassanamesit, Magunkog, Marlborough, and Wamesitt. The men belonging to these are not above fifteen, and they are abroad in the army at the eastward under Capt. Hunting." Still the Indians of Natick held for a long period possession of the whole, or a part of the Magunco lands. It was voted by them, September 24, 1715, "1. That the lands of Magunkook be sold to the trustees of Mr. Hopkins legacy. 2. That Capt. Thomas Waban, Samuel Abraham, Solomon Thomas,

Abraham Speen, Thomas Pegan, Isaac Nehemiah, and Benjamin Tray be a committee of agents for the proprietors of Natick, to agree with Captain Sewall, Mr. John Leverett, Major Fitch, and Mr. Daniel Oliver for y^e sale of the lands of Magunkook, and to do all things requisite in the law for y^e effectual investing the said lands in y^e trustees of Mr. Hopkins legacy."

As late as March 30, 1752, the town of Natick voted "to dismiss Francis Fullam, Esq., and chose Jonathan Richardson in his room to procure their rent money of their Maguncog lands and pay it to each proprietor according to his proportion."

Samuel, John, and Solomon Wamscom were the last of the Magunco Indians living in Hopkinton. One of them was frozen to death, and Solomon, "a very good linner," died in Sherborn in 1790.

A tract of 500 acres of land between the Sudbury River and the Cold Spring Brook, now the site of the village of Ashland, was granted by the General Court to Colonel William Crowne, October 8, 1682, in consideration of service done by him in England for the Colony.¹ This tract of land, with some additions, amounting in all to 631 acres, was conveyed by Henry Crowne to Savill Simpson, cordwainer of Boston, July 4, 1687, for the sum of thirty pounds, and a survey and plat of it, now in my possession, was made by John Smith, March 6 and 7, 1688-89. The Indian title was relinquished, June 20, 1693, and the estate subsequently came into the hands of Colonel John Jones, who married Hannah, a daughter of Savill Simpson, and was one of the early settlers of Hopkinton.

A large part of the territory of the town was purchased with money left as a bequest in the will of Edward Hopkins (1600-1657), "for the purpose of upholding and propagating the kingdom of the Lord Jesus in New England." The money came to Harvard College, and amounted, February 5, 1711, to £800 sterling. At a meeting of the trustees for its management, held in Boston, 1711, it was voted, 1. "That the committee for signing leases to the tenants of the lands in Hopkinton, be directed and empowered and they are hereby directed and empowered, to allot and set out 12,500 acres of the best and most improvable of the lands within the said township. 2. That they are directed to lay out 100 acres of land for the ministry in such convenient place and manner as they shall find most suitable for that use. That

100 acres of land shall be laid out for the first minister that shall be ordained and settled in the town, to be for him and his heirs for the term of ninety-nine years from the 25th of March last past, free from paying any rent; and that 100 acres shall be laid out for the school, a training field and burying-yard by the said committee, as they shall judge most accommodable; and 200 acres more shall be reserved to be allotted for other publick uses as the trustees from time to time shall see meet to direct. 3. That the residue and remainder of the lands over and above the above mentioned 12,500 acres within the said township belonging to the trustees, either by purchase or the General Court's grant (the cedar swamps in that part of the town granted by the General Court excepted), shall be and remain a common to and among the tenants that shall hold their lands by leases under the said trustees for their use and benefit, each tenant to have a right and privilege to said common according to the quantity of land contained and specified in their leases for and during their term." The lands were rented to the tenants for the term of ninety-nine years at three-pence per acre annually and this was to be increased to sixpence per acre at the expiration of the leases.

The settlement of the place was commenced by the English about the year 1710, and, as the terms were favorable, people in indigent circumstances came in from the neighboring towns to take possession of the land and to establish homesteads.

On the 13th of December, 1715, the act of incorporation was passed, although the tenants did not establish a municipal government until March 25, 1724 (O. S.) when the following town officers were chosen: John How, John Wood, Henry Mollen, Joseph Haven, and James Collar, selectmen; John How, town clerk; Elnathan Allen, treasurer; and Samuel Watkins and Benjamin Burnap, constables.

Among the early settlers were several families of the Scotch-Irish who had emigrated from Londonderry, Ireland, in the year 1718, in company with those who founded the town of Nutfield, now Londonderry, N. H., and whose descendants have been greatly distinguished for their piety and ability.

The people voted, May 21, 1723, "to have preaching constantly on the Sabbath;" and the services were then held in the house of Mr. John How. On the 20th of May, 1724, it was voted to give Mr. Samuel Barrett, who had been preach-

¹ See a description of this tract on p. 227. — Ed.

ing for some time in the place, "£60 in day-labor, oxen work, boards, shingles, clapboards, slitwork and other materials to build him a house and if not paid in those articles, to be paid in money;" also, "£35 in addition to cutting and carting his fire-wood for three years, and seventy afterwards, with the cutting and the carting of his fire-wood, which was to be his annual salary." On the 30th of June following, the trustees of the Hopkins legacy gave £30 towards building Mr. Barrett's house. It stood on the site of the present town-hall, a little to the westward of the meeting-house. In his diary under date of December 20, 1722, the Rev. Samuel Dexter says: "I diverted myself (I hope) with a lawful recreation in hunting with Mr. Barrett." He also wrote three days afterward: "Preached at Hopkinton. Preaching seemed to strain my lungs and make me pent up at the breast but thro' God's goodness I was carried through ye duties of ye day." A church, consisting of fifteen members, was organized September 2, 1724, and on the same day the Rev. Samuel Barrett was ordained as pastor. The original members were Samuel Barrett, Samuel Watkins, William Montgomery,* Robert Hamilton,* Samuel Wark,* Benjamin Burnap, Robert Cook,* Elnathan Allen, John Wood, Joseph Haven, Robert Huston,* William Dunaghoi*, Patrick Hamilton,* Obadiah Allen and Jacob Gibbs. Those marked with a star were from the north of Ireland.

Measures were soon taken for the erection of a meeting-house. A committee was appointed January 5, 1724-25, "to provide ye timber for ye meeting-house and to frame it, improving ye people of ye town to work out their rates." The house was to be forty-eight feet long, thirty-eight feet wide, and twenty feet between the joists. In June following, three places were selected on which to set the building, and casting lots thereon, "it fell upon that south of ye burying-ground." In November of the same year £10 were granted for raising "ye meeting-house with spike poles"; and so the first church edifice in Hopkinton went up, and continued in use more than one hundred years. The interior was finished and furnished from time to time, as the people had leisure and means to do it.

It was voted in 1727 that Mr. Jones' pew may be seven and a half feet long and five feet wide, and also that there should be a "ministerial pew on the north side of the west door." The town at this time had about one hundred and twenty tenants, and they had leased about 1,200 acres of land.

Attention was early given to the instruction of the children, and on the 20th of May, 1728, a committee was chosen "to agree with a school-master for nine months." The town voted, March 23, 1729-30, "to provide some school dames and a master." Mr. Peter How was the master, and the school was taught in his house. The sum of £12 was appropriated for the support of the schools, and the "school dames" were to have 5s. or 6s. per week. It was voted, February 3, 1730-31, "That the town shall be divided by a committee in order to a moveing school"; Mr. Paul Langdon was the teacher this year, and his wages were £3 per month.

On the 9th of April, 1732, the church voted "to comply with ye platform of church discipline agreed to by ye synod of churches assembled at Cambridge, 1649, as ye rule of discipline so far as they apprehend it to be agreeable to the word of God." In the year following, Captain Edward Goddard and sixteen others, dissatisfied with the Rev. Mr. Swift of Framingham, left his church in order to unite with that of Mr. Barrett.

The acceptance of the Cambridge platform gave great offence to the Scotch Presbyterians, and James Montgomery, Robert Cook, William Henry, Walter Stewart, Robert Huston, John Hamilton, Robert Barrett and others absented themselves from communion, and signified their intention of leaving the town. Robert Cook said, "that he desired no dismissal; but that the church ought to ask a dismission from him."

These disaffected brethren subsequently built a small meeting-house near the residence of Walter McFarland, Esq.; but they eventually removed to New Glasgow, now Blandford, west of the Connecticut river.

It appears from the papers of Colonel John Jones, that the sentences against offenders at this period were unusually severe. One John Galloway of Hopkinton, "did own himself guilty of stealing a sheep that appeared to be Ensign John Woods and is therefore sentenced to pay said Wood 20s. and three fold and to be whipt 15 lashes on his naked back and to pay cost and to stand committed until sentence be performed, Oct. 7, 1734."

At this period, and long afterwards, persons settling in the town without permission of the authorities were warned to leave or to run the risk of paying heavy penalties. Such warnings were duly entered on the records.

It was voted, August 13, 1734, that the town should have "three school houses, one at White all, one at the meeting house and the other between Mr. Brewster and the road coming from Woodwells into the country road"; and on the 3d of December following, "it was voted to allow Elias Haven £4 per month for keeping school." Mr. Charles Morris was employed in 1734 to teach a grammar school. Captain John Jones was chosen, May 27, 1735, to represent the town in the General Court; and he was the only person elected by the town to that office until 1767, when Captain Joseph Mellen took his place. The sum of fifteen shillings was granted in 1735 to "Mr. How for making the town stocks"; but where this terror to offenders stood no person now can tell.

In January, 1736, an extensive tract of land in New Hampshire, then called Number Five, and subsequently New Hopkinton, was granted to Captain John Jones and others; when several of his neighbors, among whom was David Woodwell, removed to that place. They lived in a garrison-house which was assaulted by the Indians on the 22d day of April, 1746. Mr. Woodwell, his wife, two sons, and his daughter Mary, Samuel Burbank and his sons Caleb and Jonathan, were taken captive. The rescue of Mary Woodwell from the Indians at St. Francis, Canada, and her subsequent career, afford rich material for a historical romance.

The town voted, September 29, 1740, "that the school should be kept in 5 distinct places"; one of which was at the house of Mr. Charles Morris in the Centre. It also voted to enclose "the burial place with a sufficient stone wall."

Inasmuch as the tenants now found it burdensome to pay the quit rents, it was, in 1740, agreed between them and the trustees of the Hopkins' legacy, that, instead of paying three pence per acre annually, they should for the remainder of the term of ninety-nine years' pay only one penny per acre annually, and after March 25, 1823, the annual sum of three pence per acre. This agreement, sanctioned by an act of the legislature in 1741, gave for a while satisfaction to both parties.

What was called "the Spanish War" occurred in 1741, and the unfortunate expedition against Carthagea cost England as many as 20,000 men, most of whom died of the plague and fever. Of the five hundred sent from Massachusetts, only about fifty ever returned. The dreadful sufferings of the soldiers are most graphically described by Thomson in his *Summer*, and by Dr. Snollett, who

himself was present, in his *Roderick Random*. For this fatal expedition Hopkinton furnished eleven men and a boy. They enlisted under Captain Prescott of Concord. Their names are Henry Walker, Henry Walker, Jr., Edward Caryl, Gideon Gould, Francis Pierce, Thomas Bellows, Eleazer Rider, Cornelius Claffin, Samuel Frale, Samuel Clemons, Ebenezer Collar, and Samuel Rousseau. They are said to have been among the most robust men of the town; but they all perished in the expedition, except Gideon Gould and the boy, Henry Walker, both of whom returned to Hopkinton.

In 1743 the town appropriated £30 for a stock of ammunition. This was probably in anticipation of war between England and France, which was declared June 2, 1744, in Boston. Mr. John Taylor was the innholder at this period, and at his tavern the Mellens, Denches, Joneses, Gooches, Wilsons, Walkers, Woods, Bixbys, and Claffins met to discuss over the foaming cup the stirring questions of the day. Dr. Simpson Jones was the practising physician, and the town-clerk was something of a scholar, as appears from an occasional quotation, like the following, on the records: *Qui agricolis beneficit ingratis remuneretur.*

The town was largely represented in the war that followed. Isaac Whitney and one other "were impressed (drafted), July 2, 1745, and hired Samuel Speen to go to y^e western frontier in their name; Edmund Bowker, sen^r. and Josiah Bowker were impressed and went into his Majesty's service on the western frontier. John Kelley was impressed at the same time and went with the said Bowker; Sergeant John Devine, Gideon Gould, and James Cloyce were in the 2d company, 1st Mass. regiment under Sir Gen. William Pepperell at Louisburg this year." Samuel Walker, Sr., and Timothy Tounling's servant Jeffers, "were both impressed into his Majesty's service at the eastward and went—they having £20 each, old tenor, and so went four and a half terms; the money was paid by Dea. Mellen £10, Richard Kimball £10, Peter Barnes, £5, Samuel Woodhull, £5, Joseph Haven, Jr. £5 and Ebenezer Rider, £5. Nathan Jeffers had Samuel Woodhull's gun and Walker had Richard Kimball's gun. David Foster was impressed, May 28th, into his Majesty's service to the western frontier, he having £10 and it goes for half his turn. John Nutt paid the £10 and J. Pratt his gun and so it goes for half his turn."¹

Captain Charles Morris had a company which

¹ Papers of Colonel John Jones.

served in General Waldo's regiment at Annapolis, from August 25, 1747, until the 24th of October following. In it were the men named below, perhaps others, from Hopkinton: Ebenezer Hall, Jr., and Robert Wark, sergeants; Micah Bowker, Jonathan Fairbanks, John Galloway, Ebenezer Hall, Isaac Jones, Elisha Kenney, Isaac Morse, Benjamin Stewart, Edmund Shays, Patrick Shays (father of Daniel Shays, the rebel), Sampson Twamuch (an Indian), John Watkins, Joshua Whitney, John Wilson, Sr., and John Wilson, Jr., privates; and Jacob Hayden, corporal.

The Rev. Roger Price, rector of King's Chapel, Boston, came to Hopkinton in, or about, 1745, and took up a tract of land embracing seven hundred and nine acres, to which were added one hundred and forty-two acres of the common land. He built a small church edifice, and endowed it with a glebe of one hundred and eighty acres, the deed of which is dated July 9, 1748. After preaching here three or four years, he returned to England, and the incumbent was then for several years the Rev. John Troutbeck. On his return to England Mr. Price became incumbent of the parish of Leigh, where he died poor, December 8, 1762. Two of his children, Major William Price and Elizabeth, known as "Madam Price," remained in Hopkinton,—the former dying here, December 7, 1802, and the latter in Boston, July 3, 1826. The Episcopal Church, erected about 1752, was destroyed by the great gale of September, 1815.

In 1752 the following persons were allowed a discount on their taxes, by reason of their being churchmen: Sir Henry Frankland, £1 8s. 1d.; Thomas Higgins, the same; Julius Chase, the same; William Wesson, 7s. 9d.; Captain David Ellis, 10s. 3d.; James Devine, 4s. 8d.; Thomas Valentine, 5s. 1d.; Patrick White, 5s. 10d. 2qrs.; John Mastick, 3s. 3d. 3qrs.; Robert Barrett, 6s. 9d. 1qr.; James Fanning, 2s. 8d.; Thomas Chadock, 5s. 11d. 2qrs.; William Brown, 6s. 2qrs.; Patrick Shays, 4s. 1d.; Hugh Dempsey, 2s.; Richard Kelley, 5s. 7d. 3qrs.; Rebecca Wilson, 2s. 9d. 3qrs.; Peter Vialas, 5s. 6d. 3qrs.; John Kelley, 3s. 10d. 1qr.; Mrs. Dench, 2s. 8d. 3qrs.

Mr. Troutbeck says, January 23, 1755, in a letter to Mr. Price, "I am far from thinking Hopkinton the paradise it was described to be; but, however, I shall not complain of it, if I can have my health in it." He was appointed chaplain of the *Rose Frigate*, 1769, and in 1775 went to

Halifax, and thence to England. His property was confiscated, and his widow, returning to this country, died at Hingham in August, 1813, at the age of seventy-seven years.

Sir Charles Henry Frankland, a lineal descendant of Oliver Cromwell, and collector of the port of Boston, came to Hopkinton in 1751, and purchased four hundred and eighty-two acres of land in what is now Ashland. He erected a commodious mansion on the southern slope of Magunco Hill, and resided there for several years, having with him the celebrated Agnes Surriage, whom he had found in humble circumstances at Marblehead, and whom he had caused to be educated in the schools of Boston. He had many slaves, and lived in sumptuous style, diverting himself in fox-hunting, in decorating his grounds, and in entertaining his friends from Boston. He subsequently returned with Agnes Surriage to Europe, and was buried in the ruins occasioned by the earthquake at Lisbon on the 1st day of November, 1755. A writer in the *Boston Gazette*, January 12, 1756, says, "Sir Henry Frankland, I am told, escaped miraculously; he was in his chaise, and the moment he stepped out, a house fell on it and buried the chaise, beasts, and servants; he and lady are now at Belem." He, himself, says in his journal, "I was buried in ruins." With his own statement most of the other accounts agree. He was extricated from his peril by the exertions of Agnes Surriage, and, in token of his gratitude, soon led her to the hymeneal altar. After serving as consul-general of Portugal, he died at Weston, near Bath, England, January 11, 1768, aged fifty-one years. His widow returned to Hopkinton in June of the same year, and with her sister, Mrs. Mary Swain, Henry Cromwell, and a few servants, remained here until the Revolution. On the 18th of May, 1775, it was resolved in the Provincial Congress, "That Lady Frankland be permitted to go into Boston with the following articles, viz., seven trunks, all the beds and furniture to them, all the boxes and crates; a basket of chickens and a bag of corn; two barrels and a hamper; two horses and two chaises and all the articles in the chaises; excepting arms and ammunition; one phaeton, some tongues and ham and veal, sundry small bundles, which articles having been examined by a committee from Congress, she is permitted to have soldiers attend her out of Boston." Here she soon afterwards witnessed the battle of Bunker Hill. With Henry Cromwell she then returned to England, and in 1781 was married to

John Drew, Esq., a wealthy merchant of Chichester, where she died April 23, 1783, aged fifty-seven years.¹

On the 3d of March, 1755, the town appropriated £20 "to purchase guns, powder, and bullets," and this ammunition was stored in the meeting-house. At this time the town had fifteen slaves over sixteen years of age. They were held in easy bondage, and some of them were members of the church. Sarah, wife of Tobias, negro, was admitted to Mr. Barrett's church June 6, 1731; Jackee, a negro, November 22, 1741, and Cato, a negro, on the Sabbath following.

Many of the Hopkintonians were now absent from the town as soldiers in the army. In September, 1755, Joseph Cody, Jr., George Ware, Daniel Gassett, and George Stimpson were hired to go to Crown Point. Daniel Gould, Jason Rice, and Solomon Walker were wounded in the service. In Captain John Jones's company were Pelatiah Bixby (at Fort George), John Evans, Cornelius Clafin, twenty-three years old; Joseph Cody, twenty-nine; James Pierce, twenty; Samuel Bowker, twenty-nine; Benjamin Watkins (deceased), and Daniel Evans. Thomas Webster, John Evans, and John Walker were at Fort William Henry in August, 1758. Joseph Cook was in Captain David White's company. Micah Bowker, March 9, 1759, petitioned the General Court for indemnification for his loss in the war. He reached home with great difficulty, and was laid up by a long sickness occasioned by exposure in the army. Captain Elisha Jones presented, about the same time, a bill for mustering one hundred and sixty men for the expedition against Crown Point, for his journey to Boston, etc., amounting in all to £4. Ebenezer Rider, February 15, 1760, petitioned Governor Pownall for indemnification for loss by sickness, in the expedition against Canada in 1758. He was taken sick at Lake George; in about ten days he came to Fort Edward, and so by the aid of others, eventually made his way to Hopkinton. George Ware and James Hiscock were with him, and made *affidavit* to the facts in the case, before Simpson Jones, Esq., justice of the peace. The sum of 40s. was granted to him. Sergeant James Nutt was killed at Ticonderoga. Solomon Walker, son of Henry Walker, who was in the expedition at Cuba, had a thigh and three ribs broken in battle. After many adventures in

the war he returned to Hopkinton, where he died at the age of nearly one hundred years.

The town voted, November 9, 1759, to "sundry young women liberty to build a pew behind the hind seat the whole length of the women's gallery." Abijah Stone had for a long time kept the tavern. His widow, Anne Stone, petitioned the General Court, March 5, 1759, for license to keep her late husband's tavern, which "is on the main road through said town and is very accommodable for travellers."

The passage of the Stamp Act and of other odious measures by the British Parliament aroused the indignation of the people of Hopkinton, and it was voted, November 27, 1767, "that this town will take all prudent and legal measures to encourage the produce and manufactures of this province and to lessen the use of superfluities; particularly the following enumerated articles, imported from abroad, namely: loaf sugar, cordage, anchors, coaches, chaises and carriages of all sorts, horse furniture, mens' and women's hats, mens' and women's apparel, ready made household furniture, gloves, mens' and women's shoes, sole leather, sheeting and duck, nails, gold, silver, and thread lace of all sorts, gold and silver, buttons, wrought plate of all sorts, diamonds, stone and plate ware, snuff and mustard, clocks and watches, silver-smith and jewellers ware, broad cloaths that cost above 10s. per yard, muffs, furs, tippets and all sorts of millinery ware, starch, women' and childrens' stays, fire engines, china ware, silk and cotton, velvets, gatze, pewters, linseed oil, silks of all kinds for garments, malt liquors and cheese." This resolve awakened the spirit of industry, and converted almost every household into a busy workshop. Captain Joseph Mellen, an ardent patriot, was chosen, September 21, 1768, to represent the town in the convention to be held in Boston.

The health of the Rev. Mr. Barrett in 1771 had become so much impaired that he was unable to supply the pulpit, and the town then voted him £33 6s 8d. per annum, for the remainder of his life. On the 9th of December of this year, it "voted to concur with the church in the choice of Mr. Elijah Fitch for a pastor"; with £133 6s 8d. for his "settlement," and £60 per annum with the use of the ministerial land for his salary. He was ordained as colleague with Mr. Barrett, January 15, 1772. The death of Mr. Barrett occurred on the 11th of December following, and for the expenses of his funeral the town appropriated £5 5s 4d.

¹ A memoir of Sir C. H. Frankland by the Rev. Elias Nason was published in 1865. — Ed.

He was born in Boston in 1700 (H. C. 1721), and is said to have been a good preacher, "sensible, orthodox and exemplary." He left one son, Samuel, born in 1726; married Mary Caswell, February 9, 1758, and died March 10, 1800, leaving two children, John, the famous teacher, and Anna.

As the disaffection towards the mother country deepened, and a resort to arms appeared to be inevitable, the town made preparation for the impending crisis. It voted, September 5, 1774, £12 "to buy a town stock of powder, bullets, and tents." September 12, it "voted to send Captain Dench and James Mellen as delegates to attend a Provincial Congress at Concord." It also chose a committee to "draw up a bill of regulations in this time of confusion and non-operation of the civil law." It voted, January 9, 1775, "to choose a committee to take care of the collections for the sufferers at Boston." Also, February 20, "to have three companies in this town, and chose Roger Dench captain for the East Company, John Holmes captain for the West Company, and John Jones captain for the Alarm Company." It moreover voted "that every man train under that captain he liketh best, and that every man equip himself with arms and ammunition according to law." On the 17th of April, it was voted to have a company of minute-men, numbering forty, and "that these men have £1 each at their enlistment." It was also voted to raise £50 to pay the minute-men, and £6 13s 4d. for powder and other purposes.

The town was intensely excited at the news of the advance of the British soldiers on Lexington, and the minute-men were at once mustered and sent forward to aid in arresting their progress. The town subsequently voted £30 5s. "to pay the soldiers that went down on the alarm of the 19th of April last." Five days after that battle, — for so the skirmish is now called, — the town voted "that the selectmen provide the blankets to furnish the men as they shall enlist at the cost of the town of Hopkinton." It voted, May 4th, "that the town furnish the soldiers of this town, now enlisted under Captain J. Mellen, with guns." On the 22d of the same month, it "voted that every man that does not equip himself with arms and ammunition according to law, shall be deemed as an enemy to his country and shall be recorded as such without giving a sufficient reason for the being not equipped." The town was honorably represented by its soldiers at Lexington, Bunker

Hill, and in other battles of the Revolution. But details cannot be given here.¹

The town voted, March 4, 1776, "that any person may have liberty to make saltpetre from the dust under the meeting-house." It then chose these men as a committee of safety: Samuel Park, Colonel John Jones, Samuel Bowker, Peter Barnes, Phineas How, Samuel Haven, and Baruchias Morse. In May following, Captain John Holmes was sent to represent the town in "the great and General Court or assembly to be held the 29th of May at Watertown"; and on the 17th of June it was put to vote, "to see whether the town will declare themselves independent of the kingdom of Great Britain in case the continental congress should declare the same, and it passed in the affirmative by a very unanimous vote." It was also voted to support with their lives and fortunes the representatives "who made a resolve at the state house on the 10th of May last."

A committee, consisting of Walter McFarland, Captain Holmes, Captain Dench, Ensign Chamberlain, Samuel Parks, Deacon Haven, and Col. John Jones, was appointed, July 8th, "to enter into agreement with men that are disposed to enter the expedition to Canada"; and it was voted "to give £10 to each soldier that should enlist." On the 5th of August £10 were voted to each soldier of the second draft to Canada, also "£10 to each man that shall go into the Boston expedition."

The population of the town at this time was only 1,134, and the strain upon it for meeting the exigencies of the war was great; still most patriotically it not only furnished its full quotas of men and money, but also sustained its educational and religious institutions. Meeting after meeting was held for consultation and for the raising of supplies. Many of the men were absent in the army; but those at home of every age, as well as the wives and daughters, made noble sacrifices for the cause of liberty. The Rev. Mr. Fitch was a zealous patriot, and preached and published an eloquent sermon this year, on the evacuation of Boston by the British army. On the 3d of March, 1777, Deacon Haven, Henry Mellen, E. Adams, Pelatiah Bixby, Abraham Tilton, Seth Gassett, and Jacob Chamberlain were chosen a committee of corre-

¹ Samuel Snell, who married Mary, daughter of Dr. Sigismund Bondley, in May, 1777, Joseph Tombs, Ebenezer Tombs, Joseph Freeland, and Timothy Walker went down to Lexington under Captain James Mellen, who became a colonel during the war. Mr. Snell was in the battle of Bunker Hill, and also in that of Long Island. His gun after the war was struck by lightning.

spendence and safety. Afterwards the town voted £1 10s. "for those axes provided for the soldiers that were down towards New York by order of the General Court in last December"; also to give each "soldier £24 that shall enlist out of this town into the continental army for three years or during the war." April 7th, £1,800 were granted "to carry on this unnatural war"; May 5th, £25 "for a stock of powder"; also, May 14th, it was voted to "give every man that shall enlist in the continental service for 8 months £15."

A few men in this, as in almost every town, opposed the war, and bore the opprobrious name of "tory"; and so, on the 2d of June, Dr. John Mauney was chosen "to procure evidence and lay the same before two of the justices of the peace of such persons whose dispositions have been, and still are, inimical to these American United States." Complaint was made against Mr. David Cutler, but in November following his name "was struck out of the tory list."

The victory, in which several Hopkintonians participated, over General John Burgoyne's army in 1777, and which virtually broke down the British strength in the colonies, was hailed with joy by every advocate of freedom; still the war went on, and call after call was made for men and money. The town voted, February 23, 1778, "to furnish each soldier now in the continental army, being an inhabitant of this town, with one good tow shirt, one pair of shoes, and a pair of stockings," and on March 4th, "to provide for soldiers' wives and families agreeable to an act of court made for that purpose." On the 1st of March, 1779, Matthew Metcalf, John Rockwood, and Captain Townsend were chosen a committee of safety and correspondence; the sum of £600 was granted for the improvement of the highways; 4s. an hour were to be paid to a man, and the same for a cart and oxen. The sum of £500 was, on the 24th of May following, appropriated for the support of schools that year; but it will be remembered that continental money had now, by reason of the war, depreciated more than four-fold, and that the tendency was still downwards.

On the 13th of December, the town voted "to grant £6,000 for the war and other emergencies, and also £8 to Dr. Jeremy Stimpson for service done in the war." Captain Holmes, Captain Mellen, James Bowker, Samuel Haven, and L. Clark were chosen March 3, 1780, as a committee of safety and correspondence. On the 1st of May

following, the town voted "to comply with the constitution, or form of government for the commonwealth agreeable to a resolve in convention of March the 2d, 1780, with some amendments." Captain Gilbert Dench was chosen May 22d as representative, and £20,000 were voted June 19th for carrying on the war. A committee was chosen August 14th, "to estimate the service done by the men that went in the late alarm to Tiverton." And it was then voted "to grant £35,000, in addition to the £20,000 already granted, to the carrying on the war the present year." The town assembled, September 4th, to choose state officers under the new state constitution, and gave sixty-seven votes for John Hancock as governor, and forty-two votes for Samuel Adams as lieutenant governor. It voted, December 9th, "to grant £11,000 to furnish beef for the army." On the 25th of the same month, it voted "to grant £17,000 to purchase beef for the army, now called for." The town voted, February 26th, 1781, "to hire 1,400 silver dollars to pay those soldiers now called for." Deacon Haven, Jacob Gibbs, and John Nutt were chosen March 12th as a committee of safety, and the town voted, August 29th, "to grant 170 dollars in silver to purchase beef and clothing for the army."

Having made so many sacrifices to sustain the cause of liberty, the town received with great rejoicings the proclamation of peace in 1783, warmly welcomed the return of its soldiers from the war, and raised the salary of its minister from £60 to £70, lawful money.

Of those who served actively in the war, it may be mentioned that Nathaniel Pike was in the battle of Bunker Hill, and in the expedition to Rhode Island. Dr. John Wilson and Dr. John Mauney were surgeons in the army at the time of the surrender of General Burgoyne. Nathaniel Moulton served three years. Ebenezer Tombs, son of Daniel Tombs, was killed in the service. Lieutenant William Freeland was under Captain Holmes at Dorchester Heights, when the British were driven from Boston, and also at the capture of General Burgoyne's army. Dr. James Freeland was appointed a surgeon in Colonel Learned's regiment, August 9, 1775. Nathaniel Chamberlain was in the army and drew a pension. Robert North was wounded in the war. Thomas Mellen held a captain's, and his brother James Mellen a colonel's, commission. Daniel Shays was wounded in the battle of Bunker Hill, and became a captain

during the war. Isaac Burnap was in the army in 1776. Joseph Frale was at the battle of White Plains. Elisha Snell, a brother of the Samuel Snell already mentioned, served in the army. John Young, son of Joseph Young, and born in Hopkinton, March 7, 1763, enlisted at the age of thirteen years, and served throughout the war. He married, 1783, Nabby How, daughter of Phineas and Susannah (Goddard) How, and in January, 1801, removed to Whittingham, Vermont, where Brigham Young, the Mormon, was born on the 1st of June of the same year. John Young subsequently returned to Hopkinton, and lived on the southern slope of Saddle Hill.

The heavy burden of the seven years' war was seriously felt by the rural towns of the commonwealth, and in 1786 conventions were held in several places by the discontented, and efforts were made to arrest the proceedings of the courts. It was alleged by the disaffected that the fees of the lawyers were exorbitant; that a circulating medium was needed; that the General Court ought not to sit in Boston; that the servants of the administration were too numerous and their salaries too large; that the courts of common pleas should be abolished, and that the state had no right to grant monies to congress while its own debts remained unpaid. The spirit of discontent continued to increase until the number of insurgents, under Captain Daniel Shays, Luke Day, and Eli Parsons had arisen to as many as 1,800; and on the 25th of January, 1787, a demonstration was made by them against the arsenal at Springfield, then defended by about 1,000 troops under the command of General Shepard. Unsupported by Day and Parsons, Captain Shays approached to within about fifty yards of General Shepard's line, who then ordered his cannon to be discharged, and four or five of the insurgents fell. Shays then immediately retreated to Pelham, and thence to Petersham, where the insurgents were routed February 4th, and about 150 of them taken prisoners by the state forces under General Benjamin Lincoln. This broke up the insurrection. Hopkinton raised a company of men for its suppression; but voted July 19, 1787, "to petition his excellency, the governor and the honorable council, for a pardon for Job Shattuck (leader of the insurgents in Middlesex County) now in Concord Jail under sentence of death for high treason against this commonwealth."

As the tenants of the quit rent lands found it difficult to pay, and generally ceased to pay, their

rents after 1773, the legislature, on a petition of Gilbert Dench, Esq., in 1787 passed a resolve that they should be taxed "in the same manner as though the said lands were held by them in fee simple, and that the monies arising therefrom be paid to the treasurer of the commonwealth." This resolve, reaffirmed in 1796, relieved the town of a burden which had caused it considerable anxiety and contention.

The Rev. Elijah Fitch died December 16, 1788, and it was said of him, "that no man ever more feelingly participated in the happiness or misery of his fellowmen than he, or better filled the several offices of pastor, husband, friend, neighbor, and townsman." He was an eloquent preacher, a fine scholar, and a poet. He wrote and published a poem of several cantos, entitled *The Beauties of Religion*, which has considerable merit; also a shorter poem, called *The Choice*, in which he felicitously describes his manner of life in Hopkinton. He was fond of angling and the chase, in which amusements he frequently participated with Dr. John Wilson and Major William Price.

The selectmen for 1788 were Gilbert Dench, Isaac Burnap, Joseph Walker, and Nathan Perry. Samuel Freeland was the town clerk. The town this year first voted for a representative to congress under the new constitution, casting thirty-three ballots for Nathaniel Gorham and ten for Elbridge Gerry. A committee reported December 28, 1789, that there were not two hundred families in town, and therefore not enough to maintain a grammar school. The population in 1790 was 1,317, and twelve of these were colored persons living mostly on the "Frankland Place."

On the 5th of October, 1791, the Rev. Nathaniel Howe, born in Linebrook (Ipswich) October 6, 1761, and a graduate of Harvard College in 1786, was ordained as pastor of the church, the Rev. Ebenezer Bradford of Rowley preaching the sermon. The sum of £200 was given to Mr. Howe as a "settlement," and his annual salary was to be £70, together with the use of the ministerial land.

A brief history of the town by Dr. Jeremy Stimpson was published in 1794, in which he says: "The people have been very industrious since the late war, and have improved their lands to much greater advantage than formerly. A spirit of emulation prevails amongst the farmers, their enclosures, which used to be fenced with hedge and log fences, are now generally fenced with good stone walls. The roads, which used to be remarkable

for their roughness and were almost impassable, are now good and are constantly becoming better. The inhabitants manufacture the principal part of their clothing. There is scarcely a house but has looms, spinning-wheels, etc. suitable for this purpose."

The town voted, April 6, 1795, to erect guide-posts, and also to give a bounty of 1s on every crow that should be killed in it; and on May 6th of the same year, it cast sixty-six votes for and twenty-five against a revision of the state constitution. It voted April 3, 1797, "To choose a committee of three to petition the General Court that shad and alewives might come to White Hall Pond through the mill-dams in their way to said pond." The town at this time and afterwards was strongly democratic, the only men voting for Increase Sumner as governor this year being the Rev. Mr. Howe, Colonel John Jones, Major William Price, Dr. Jeremy Stimpson, Dr. John Wilson, Mr. Barachias Morse, and Mr. Isaac Surriage, a brother of the celebrated Lady Frankland.

The town cast, April 16, 1798, one hundred and nine votes against and one vote for arming vessels. This act of the town was severely criticised in an article which appeared in the "Massachusetts Centinel," on the 19th of May following; and a report was then drawn up in reply to it by a committee, consisting of Nathan Perry, Isaac Burnap, Nehemiah Howe, Joseph Walker, Phineas Howe, and Asa Eames, who say, in concluding it, that "It ought to be published in the court papers and 'The Centinel' to be a warning to others so that envy may not lead them to commit the blackest of crimes."

An excellent map of the town was drawn this year by Matthew Metcalf, Esq., by which it appears that the town then contained about 20,532 acres; and that the area of White Hall Pond was six hundred, and of North Pond seventy acres. The population in 1800 was 1,372. A committee for examining the public schools was chosen for the first time in 1804, and in November of this year it was voted "to build a wall around the burial-ground." In 1806 Mr. Howe petitioned the town to add fifty per cent to his salary, "because," said he, "my salary has continued depreciating and labour rising, till it is not worth more than half it was when I was settled." This petition the town by a large majority refused to grant, nor was it willing to grant him a dismission; so in order to make up the deficiency in his salary he labored on his farm, and maintained a most rigid system of economy. In

1808 the town appropriated the sum of \$30 for the support of the public schools.

Hopkinton generally favored the war of 1812; and in November of that year "Voted to have the selectmen appropriate \$3 to each man that turned out as a volunteer soldier on the 1st of June last and likewise to pay to each soldier that was detached at the same time, provided they be called upon to march into actual service." Matthew Metcalf, Esq., Nathan Perry, Esq., Nehemiah Howe, John Goulding, Walter McFarland, Nathan Rockwood, and Joseph Morse were chosen as a committee of safety.

On the 24th of December, 1815, the Rev. Mr. Howe preached a remarkable sermon, recounting the principal events of the town during its centennial existence and the grievances he himself had been called to bear for want of adequate support during his ministry. It abounds in flashes of wit and in sharp allusions to the treatment he had experienced from his people. "It has been our lot," says the North American Review, November, 1816, "to read more polished sermons than the present, but never one half so abounding in plainness and originality. It is a unique specimen, and beyond all price. That it should have been delivered is remarkable,—that it should have been printed still more so; particularly as it was printed by request and dedicated to the parish with affectionate wishes for their peace, prosperity, and eternal happiness."

In it Mr. Howe says: "My health has sometimes been poor and my mind greatly depressed: poverty has stared me in the face. My brethren, may I ask you one question? — Do you know by what means I have become so rich as to have a great house finished and furnished; a farm, a herd of cattle and a flock of sheep, horses and money at interest? I say nothing about my debts today. Shall I answer the question? The principal reason is this; because I have been doing your business and neglecting my own. What is your business? Your business is to support your minister, and that is what I have been doing for more than twenty years; and what is my business? My business is to study and preach; and in this I have never abounded. — I have sometimes administered reproof, both to the church and society in a manner that has been thought to discover some degree of severity; but in these cases you have always had good sense enough to know you richly deserved it."

This quaint sermon has been several times published: but it failed to move the hearts of the peo-

ple of Hopkinton to raise the preacher's salary. A subscription of \$65 was, however, obtained the day subsequent to its delivery for purchasing for Mr. Howe a suit of clothes.

The town voted, May 4, 1818, "To build a powder-house;" and on the 16th of October, 1820, Nathan Phipps and Colonel Joseph Valentine were chosen delegates to the convention for the revision of the state constitution. The articles of amendment were, with the exception of the tenth, all accepted and ratified by the town, April 9, 1821. The number of district schools in 1822 was seven, and the population about 1,660. The psalms and hymns of Dr. Watts were used in the church service, and the choir was assisted in singing by the bass viol.

By the expiration of the term for which the lands were leased to the tenants, March 25, 1823, the rent became three pence per acre; but this the occupants declined to pay, asserting that after so many changes and the loss of the records, it was now impossible to determine the quit rent from the common and the other land, and therefore what was and what was not liable for the rental. Actions were instituted in 1826 against several of the largest landholders for the recovery of the rents; but they were defended with so much ability that it was resolved in the General Court in 1832 that the sum of \$10,000 be drawn from the state treasury "in full settlement, satisfaction and discharge of the rents due," and paid to the trustees of the charity of Edward Hopkins; and thus the lands were exempted from farther taxation on this account. The present Congregational church was erected in 1839, and dedicated in January, 1830, the Rev. Mr. Howe preaching a memorable sermon on the occasion. On the 14th of September, 1830, the Rev. Amos A. Phelps, born in Simsbury, Conn., November 11, 1804 (Yale College, 1826), was ordained as the colleague of Mr. Howe. He was dismissed May 1, 1832, and was followed by the Rev. Jeffries Hall, June 5, 1833. Mr. Hall was dismissed May 22, 1838. The Rev. Mr. Howe died February 15, 1837, aged seventy-two years, and after a pastorate of nearly forty-six years. For his life and character, see his memoir by the Rev. Elias Nason, published in 1851. The Rev. John C. Webster, a man of signal ability, was installed as sole pastor of the church December 19, 1838. His successors have been the Rev. Joseph Boardman; the Rev. George H. Ide (Dartmouth College, 1865), installed October 28, 1869,

dismissed November 1, 1876; and the Rev. Horatio O. Ladd, the present pastor, installed March 25, 1877. The church was remodelled in 1846, and furnished with an organ, the first in Hopkinton. The building was again improved in 1859, a better organ introduced, and the rededication occurred on the 19th of January, 1860.

The Methodist church was dedicated in 1856, and has had a succession of able pastors. The church of St. Malachi (Catholic) was erected in 1852, and the elegant church of St. John, just completed, now takes the place of it. A church was organized in the easterly part of the town, or old Maguico, then called Unionville, January 21, 1835, over which the Rev. James McIntire was settled as pastor. The meeting-house was dedicated January 21, 1836. The second pastor was the Rev. Joseph Haven, ordained November 6, 1839, and retired December 16, 1846. On the 16th of March of that year Unionville was incorporated as the town of Ashland. There is a pleasant postal village, called Hayden Row, in the southerly part of Hopkinton, and another having a small Baptist church in the northerly part, called Woodville. The population of the town in 1840 was 2,245. In 1850 it had, notwithstanding the loss of Unionville, arisen to 2,801; in 1860, to 4,340; in 1870, to 4,419; in 1875, the last census, to 4,503.

The cause of this rapid increase in the population, of the improvements in the buildings, the streets, the schools, and general prosperity of the town, is the introduction and successful prosecution of the manufacture of boots and shoes. To this town belongs the credit of showing the world that the bottom of a boot or shoe might be securely held together by a wooden peg. About the year 1819, Mr. Joseph Walker (son of Solomon and Sarah Bullard Walker, and born December 26, 1760, married Melitable Gibbs, and died January 9, 1852) made the discovery that he could, instead of stitching the sole of a boot as had heretofore been practised, fasten its parts together, and the whole to the upper leather, by the insertion of rows of pegs, cut out of well-seasoned birch or maple wood. This little invention or discovery has produced a revolution in the leading branch of industry in this commonwealth. Mr. Walker originated, and with his five sons long carried on, the boot and shoe business in this town. In 1826 his two sons, Leonard and Lovett, set up a manufactory for themselves, and for ten years continued

to carry their boots and shoes in a one-horse wagon to Boston and Providence market. The work was then done mostly by the hand in small shops near the dwellings of the workmen. By degrees division of labor was introduced into the business, and subsequently machinery impelled by steam. Mr. Lee Claffin, father of ex-governor Claffin, established in 1840 a manufactory in Hayden Row, employing Mr. Lovett Bowker to do the work here, while he himself attended to the sale of the goods in Boston. The firm of Davenport & Gibbs commenced the business about that time; other firms followed, improvements were introduced, foreign help employed; and such has been the growth of this industrial art, such the enterprise of those engaged in it, that for the year ending May 1, 1875, goods to the value of \$1,797,000 were manufactured, the capital invested in the business being \$555,000. The total valuation of the town for that year was \$2,240,986; the amount appropriated for the public schools, \$9,000.

For the War of the Rebellion Hopkinton furnished its full share of men and money, and well sustained its reputation as a brave and patriotic town. The whole number of men it sent into the Union service was 345.

Of men born in Hopkinton, the following may be noted:—

The Rev. John Mellen was born March 14, 1722 (H. C. 1741), ordained pastor of the church in Sterling December 19, 1744, and subsequently of the church in Hanover. He was grandfather of Prentice Mellen, the poet.

Colonel John Jones, a prominent citizen and justice of the peace, son of Colonel John Jones, was born in 1722, married Mary Mellen in 1749, and died in 1797, leaving a numerous posterity. He lived in what is now Ashland.

Captain Daniel Shays, leader of the insurgents in 1786-87, son of Patrick and Margaret Dempsey Shays, was born at "the Shays Place" on Saddle Hill, in 1747. He left Hopkinton when about twenty-two years old, and served in the army during the War of the Revolution. He raised a company of which he was appointed captain, and was wounded during the service. He married Mary Hayden, and after the war he settled in that part of Pelham which is now Prescott. After the rebellion he fled to New Hampshire; but was eventually pardoned. He finally settled in Sparta, N. Y., where he died poor, September 29, 1825. In the latter part of his life he received

a pension from the government. His sister Catherine married Noah Bigelow, January 22, 1766; another sister married Elijah Barnes of Shutesbury, October 17, 1775. The only vestiges remaining of the birthplace of Daniel Shays are some aged apple-trees, a well, and the cellar of the house. His father was an Irishman, and the name is in the early records spelled Shea, Sha, and sometimes Psha.

John Barrett, teacher and author of an English grammar, 1819, son of Samuel Barrett, and grandson of the Rev. Samuel Barrett, was born in 1769, and died April 4, 1821. He had a remarkable talent for acquiring and teaching the classic languages, and it is said could repeat the whole of Virgil from memory. He was one of the early teachers of Horace Mann.

Colonel Joseph Valentine, son of Samuel Valentine, was born November 18, 1776, and died March 26, 1845. He possessed sterling common sense, and was for a long period one of the most prominent men of the town. He was a delegate in 1820 to the convention for the revision of the state constitution, and served as chief marshal at the consecration of the Bunker Hill monument.

Matthew Metcalf, son of Matthew Metcalf, was born in 1783, became a noted school-teacher, and held many public offices. He was an elegant penman, an accurate surveyor of land, and a man of sterling integrity.

Dr. Appleton Howe, son of the Rev. Nathaniel Howe, was born November 26, 1792 (H. C. 1815), and settled as a physician at South Weymouth, where he died October 10, 1870. He was at one time commander of a division of the state militia, and held many other responsible offices.

Aaron C. Mayhew was born in 1812, resides in Milford, and has been entrusted with many public offices. He is largely engaged in the manufacture of boots and shoes.

Lec Claffin, son of Ebenezer and Sarah Claffin, was born November 19, 1791, and died February 23, 1871. He became wealthy by the manufacture of boots and shoes, and served one term in the state senate. He was, with Colonel Joseph Valentine, Dr. Thomas Bucklin and others, active in establishing the Hopkinton Academy, and was noted for his cordial support of the Methodist church.

The Rev. Elias Nason is engaged in preparing an extended history of Hopkinton, for which material is not wanting.

HUDSON.

BY HON. CHARLES HUDSON.



It is a misfortune to many of our most enterprising cities and towns, so far as their history is concerned, that the date of their corporate existence is so recent. Though the substantial elements of their being may have virtually existed for a long period, they can have no distinct record until they were made a separate municipality. This disability applies emphatically to the town of Hudson, and renders it difficult to present a full account of all the acts and doings that properly belong to her, or were performed within her borders.

Though her corporate existence extends back only about a dozen years, she has existed in embryo — had a kind of pre-existent or corporate being — for more than two centuries. She can trace her pedigree through Marlborough to Sudbury on the one hand, and through Bolton to Lancaster on the other, all of which have existed more than two hundred years. She has also a kind of Indian paternity. But she has had no distinct record of her own. If an event occurred in what is now her territory, or if an act worthy of record was performed by a citizen residing in the northern part of the town, the record would speak of it as what occurred in Marlborough, without specifying the part of the town where the event occurred. In the thrilling events of the Indian wars, and the efforts made to sustain the Revolution, and even the incidents connected with the late Civil War, and the names of the patriotic citizens who stepped forward to sustain our rights, and jeopardized their lives in the high places of the field, — everything of this kind is recorded as of the parent town; and nothing is found directly to show the part performed or the honors due to the families which resided in the present town of Hudson. These facts are mentioned, not to cast any imputation upon the parent town, but simply to show the embarrassment under

which any historian must labor who writes the history of any town similarly situated. The difficulty arises not from any design in the parent towns.

The early history of Hudson is necessarily involved in that of Marlborough and of the Indian plantation, a portion of the latter territory being included in the new town. In fact the history of these Indians is so interwoven with the local and even the general history of this section, that we can not in justice pass it by without a brief notice. When our fathers first came to Massachusetts, the country was sparsely peopled. The desolating wars among the tribes and a destructive pestilence, which had not only "wasted in darkness, but destroyed at noonday," had in a great degree depopulated this section of New England. The few savages left were generally disposed to live peaceably with the whites. In 1645 their principal chiefs came in, and voluntarily submitted themselves to the General Court of Massachusetts, on the assurance that they should be allowed certain plantations, and be protected in their rights. The Indians who were located at Marlborough were a small remnant of the Natick and Wamesit tribes. They had a planting-field at Ockocangansett, before the Sudbury men had petitioned for a township; and when that prayer was presented, the petitioners were informed that the court had not only confirmed the Indians in their plantation-field, but had granted them a plantation of six thousand acres; and that the Sudbury grant, so far as location was concerned, must be subordinate to the Indian grant.

When the locations of these grants were made, they presented the singular and almost ridiculous sight of an Indian plantation nearly surrounded by the grant of a township to the Sudbury men. The Indian Planting-field, which they had enjoyed for some time, consisted of about one hundred and sixty acres, and included what was afterwards known as the Old Meeting-house Common, and the hill or swell of land extending east to Spring Hill and north to the road passing by the residence

of the late William Loring Howe. The Planting-field penetrated into the very heart of the Marlborough grant, and was always an eyesore to the English inhabitants. In fact, it was so far considered as an interference with their wants and necessities, that when they built their meeting-house they located it on the Indian Planting-field, to the great dissatisfaction of the Indians. To understand this matter correctly, it must be observed that the Indian Planting-field and the Indian Plantation, though connected in location, were distinct and separate grants. While the Planting-field comprised about one hundred and sixty acres, the Ockoocangansett or Indian Plantation contained six thousand acres. The west line of the plantation grant commenced in the valley immediately west of the Old Common, near where the present high-school house stands, and ran north seven degrees west, about three and a half miles, crossing the Assabet River between the present cemetery and the dépôt in Hudson; thence the line ran easterly to the town line. The southerly line of the plantation commenced near Spring Hill, on the road leading to Hudson, and ran three miles east to the line of Sudbury; thence on Sudbury line till it met the line before mentioned, running east from Hudson. This plantation, as will be seen, embraced a large quantity of valuable land, which, of course, was coveted by the Marlborough people. This plantation was granted to the Indians in fee simple, with no restriction except that they should not sell or alienate it without the consent of the General Court. And this restriction was inserted in the grant as a protection to the Indians against land speculators, who might fraudulently dispossess them of their lands.

The English and the Indians generally lived peaceably together. Not only the people of Marlborough, but the General Court, were disposed to deal kindly with the Indians, and protect them in their rights. The court encouraged the Apostle Eliot in his laudable effort to civilize and Christianize these children of the forest, and so convert them into valuable citizens. Not only the remnant located in Marlborough, but several other plantations shared Eliot's care. They were generally known by the designation of Praying Indians. There were six other plantations besides that at Marlborough, to which Eliot ministered, being sincerely devoted to the Indians. He translated the Bible into their language that they might be able to read the Word of Life in their own tongue.

These Praying Indians, though generally peaceable, were more than suspected of aiding Philip in his attempts to annihilate the English settlements. During that war many of those of the Marlborough tribe were absent from their plantation; and such was the evidence of their hostility, that the government sent Captain Mosely with a detail of men, who surrounded their fort at Marlborough, made them all prisoners, and took them to Boston, where they were confined as prisoners of war. At the close of this bloody contest they were liberated, and a portion of them returned to their plantation at Marlborough, though the spirit and unity of the tribe seemed to be broken.

Their territory, which the English had long coveted, attracted great attention at the close of the war. The fact that the tribe appeared in no small degree to be broken up and scattered, and the belief that some of them at least had been treacherous, and had aided the enemy, strengthened the impression that their lands, which penetrated the very heart of Marlborough, should be devoted to other and more valuable purposes than their retention as a mere hunting ground. In 1677, certain citizens of Marlborough, Lancaster, and Sudbury preferred a petition to the General Court, setting forth that the Marlborough Indians during the recent war had been perfidious, and had taken part with the enemy, and so had forfeited their title to the plantation of Ockoocangansett; and that the petitioners had been in their country's service, and had suffered in their persons and estates; wherefore they humbly prayed that the court would grant to them the said tract of land, or that it be sold to them on moderate terms; but the court did not see fit to grant their request.

In May, 1684, John Ruddocke and thirty-four others of Marlborough petitioned the General Court for authority to purchase of the Indians their plantation; and ten of the Indians joined in the request, but a much larger number of the Indians remonstrated against the prayer of the petitioners. The General Court in this case, as in every other, adhered to their plighted faith; and, deeming it unwise for the Indians to sell their land, denied the prayer of Ruddocke and others. But it appears that the principal inhabitants of Marlborough, headed by John Brigham, a bold and somewhat reckless operator, resolved to possess the Indian land, and cut the knot they were unable to untie. On the 15th of July, 1684, they obtained without the consent of the court a deed of the plantation

from a large portion of the Indians. This fact being brought to the knowledge of the court, they pronounced the deed illegal and consequently null and void: being made and done expressly contrary to law and the order of the court.

But, regardless of this decision, the purchasers of the plantation, in October, 1686, decided that every proprietor should have laid out to him in some of the best of the land lying as conveniently as may be to the town of Marlborough thirty acres for a first division of upland. Feeling uneasy about the title to their lands, in 1693 they agreed that their grants of land "shall stand good to all intents and purposes, if they be attested by John Brigham, their clerk." Despairing of any confirmation of the doings by the court, at a meeting held in 1709 they voted, "that they would make articles to bind themselves in a covenant whereby what we do may stand in force." Subsequently the proprietors signed a covenant that they would pay each his several share to defray all charges growing out of their lands, or the titles thereof.

We have dwelt longer upon this Indian plantation than might seem relevant to the history of Hudson; but as the history of Marlborough was so immediately connected with the Indians and this plantation, and as Hudson was then a part of Marlborough, and as the location of that territory included a large part of the present town of Hudson, and for a long period prevented absolutely any English settlement in that part of the territory, and as the title to the land was defective, thereby dissuading men from purchasing farms upon that disputed territory, — we do not see how any satisfactory history of Hudson could be written without treating of facts which impeded the settlement of the territory now included within her limits.

The history of Hudson being included in that of Marlborough till quite recently, it becomes necessary to take a brief view of the parent town. The grant of Marlborough was made to certain proprietors from the town of Sudbury, in 1657; and in 1660 the territory was incorporated into a town. The township was large, and included what are now the towns of Westborough, Northborough, and Southborough. Being a frontier town and a kind of way-station on the line of travel from Boston to the settlement on Connecticut River, it was greatly exposed to the incursions of the Indians, and in Philip's War their meeting-house and many of their dwellings were burned, and the settlement substantially broken up; but after the return of

the population, the Indians from Canada, under the influence of the French, made frequent incursions into the original township, and killed or carried into captivity several persons. To guard against these dangers, twenty-five or thirty garrisons were established. One of the garrisons was located near the present village of Hudson, to protect the families of Thomas Barrett and John Banister, thereby showing that their residence was in that section of the town. One was on the Indian plantation, near what has been known as the Wesson place, to protect Thomas Hapgood and others; and one near the Ephraim Maynard place for the protection of Adam Holloway and others.

From various causes the northern part of Marlborough, which is now included in the town of Hudson, was not settled so early as the southern and central portion of the township. In the first place nearly half of the territory set off from Marlborough to form the town of Hudson was covered by the Indian plantation, and no valid title to the land could be given till 1719. This, of course, would discourage settlements on that territory. Then, during the Indian wars the people would naturally be disposed to settle somewhat compactly, that they might the better defend themselves. Marlborough being on the great thoroughfare between Boston and the settlements in the Connecticut River Valley, the government made it a sort of military station, and a small garrison was stationed there, which would give a sense of security to the settlers who would seek a habitation near this supposed place of security. Besides the meeting-house, always the great object of attraction to the Puritans, being upon the main road, would be an additional reason why the people would settle in that part of the township.

Not only these natural causes, but the policy of the settlers tended to confine the population to the central part of the town, as may be seen by their action as early as 1662. After dividing about one thousand acres of land among themselves, and reserving "four-score acres to accommodate some such desirable person, as needs may require, and the town may accept of," they described a large quantity of land, including the valley of the Assabet River down to the Indian plantation, and provided that it should remain a perpetual "cow Common for the use of the town, never to be allotted without the consent of all the inhabitants and proprietors at a full meeting." This unwise restriction proved very embarrassing, but it remained in force

nearly half a century, and was at last removed by an act of the General Court. This restriction would prevent any settlement on the Assabet River.

There was practically a similar policy adopted by the English proprietors of the Indian plantation, when they took possession of the territory. For before they had made any division of their land, they provided "that every proprietor should have sixty acres of some of the best land lying conveniently as may be to the town." This would naturally tend to draw settlers where the principal population was then found.

The inhabitants of the town and the proprietors of the Indian plantation made several divisions of their lands. Their first division generally consisted of some of the most valuable land; and in laying it out they were not always careful to have the lots contiguous. Hence there would frequently be remnants or gores of land unappropriated; and the second, third, and fourth divisions, and especially the last, are frequently made up of odds and ends. This appears to have been particularly the case in the northerly part of the town. Many of the proprietors would vacate or sell out their rights in the latter divisions to the land speculators; and these jobbers would very often buy up these remnants from different parties or proprietors, and frequently sell them out to settlers. We often find deeds conveying from five to ten and twelve different pieces of land, varying from one to thirty acres, and sometimes to a less quantity than an acre. Notwithstanding all these impediments, some few inhabitants settled upon this territory. The first permanent settlement in anything that looked like building up a village was made at the mills, so-called. A grist-mill was erected on the Assabet River, about 1700. It was on the land of Joseph Howe, son of Abraham, an original proprietor. He died September 4, 1700. His oldest child, Sarah, married Jeremiah Barstow, who by his wife or by purchase came into possession of the mill. Barstow, by a deed dated 1723, sold to Robert Barnard of Andover a large tract of land amounting to about three hundred and fifty acres, for £600. This deed conveyed fifteen distinct lots in Marlborough, and three in what was then Lancaster. This tract extended east on both sides of the river as far as the Bush place, and must have embraced the whole of what is now the village of Hudson. The description in the deed recognizes the mill, house, and barn, orchard, garden, fence, &c., showing that there was a fixed residence; and some of the tract

bordering upon undivided land shows that the country around was generally unsettled.

Barnard came to the place in 1724, and took possession of the mill. He also opened a public house on the site of the house and store occupied by the late Colonel W. H. Wood. The attraction of the mill gave some importance to the place, though there was no particular growth of the village till after the Revolution. Several farmers had located themselves within what is now the territory of Hudson. Among the earliest was the Goodale family, which settled on the place now occupied by David B. Goodale. Thomas Hapgood, son of Shadrach Hapgood, who came to the country in 1656, and who was treacherously slain by the Indians in King Philip's War, settled on the Indian plantation before 1700, at what has since been known as the Wesson place. Hapgood died 1764, aged ninety-five years, leaving three hundred and thirteen descendants. His children settled on the territory now included in Hudson. The Wilkinsons came from Danvers, and settled on the Indian plantation about 1740, where a number of families of that name have since resided. Artemas Howe, a descendant of Abraham Howe, one of the early residents of Marlborough, settled north of Fort Meadow. Abijah Bush was perhaps the earliest settler in the north part of the town of Marlborough. John Bruce, about 1740, planted himself on what is now known as the Ezekiel Bruce place. About 1725, Nathaniel Hathorn and Edward Hunter settled in the northern section of the town, at or near the present pauper establishment. Solomon Brigham, a descendant of Thomas Brigham, took up his residence, 1754, on the road from the mills to the centre of the town, on the place now occupied by Charles Brigham. He was the grandfather of Charles and Captain Francis Brigham, to whose enterprise the town of Hudson owes no small share of its prosperity.

These settlers, being generally farmers, had their principal association with the centre of the town, and consequently did not contribute much to the growth of the mills. About 1794, Joel Cranston, an enterprising citizen from the eastern part of the town, came to the village, and opened a store and a public house. A few years later, he was the principal means of introducing several branches of mechanical industry into the place, and brought people there as permanent inhabitants, — George Peters, the ring of whose anvil would awaken the people from their slumbers; Jedediah Wood, who

carded the wool for spinning, and dressed the cloth when the rolls were converted into a fabric; Stephen Pope, who could convert the hides into leather, and his father, Folger, in whose hands the leather was transformed to saddles and harnesses; and Ebenezer Witt, as true and as busy as the mill which he tended. These men came to the village about 1800, and so not only increased the population, but by their respective callings increased the business of the place. In the meantime Silas Felton came to the village, and went into partnership in trade with Cranston, and continued in trade in the village till the close of his life in 1828. Cranston and Felton not only contributed greatly to the prosperity of the village, but were highly respected in the community, and filled many of the most important offices in the town.

Nothing of note occurred in the place, till the introduction of a manufacture of which we will speak hereafter. The subject which engrossed the attention of the people of the village was that of becoming a corporate town. Situated three miles at least from the centre of the town, and having stores, schools, churches, a post-office, and other conveniences which constitute a town, except corporate powers, it is natural to suppose that they would desire to become incorporated, so that they could do their own business in their own way. There were also a number of families residing within the limits of Bolton, but within a hundred rods of the village of Feltonville, as the village was then called, and at least three miles from the centre of Bolton, which were desirous of acting with the people of the village, and becoming a part of the contemplated new town.

A meeting was held on the 3d of May, 1865, to take into consideration the forming of a new town. Francis Brigham, Esq., was called to the chair, and Silas H. Stuart was chosen secretary. Resolutions were passed, expressing their belief that their interest would be promoted by becoming a corporate municipality, and recommending that a petition be presented to the General Court, to be set off from their respective organizations, and be made a town. Francis Brigham, George Houghton, James T. Joslin, E. M. Stowe, and S. H. Stuart of Marlborough, and three gentlemen from Bolton and one from Berlin were chosen a committee to carry these resolutions into effect.

The town of Bolton, unwilling to part with a portion of her territory, opposed the measure; and the legislature on the 19th of March, 1866, passed

an act creating the town of Hudson, omitting the territory lying in Bolton. The act thus limited was accepted by the citizens of Hudson, on the 31st of March, 1866, when the town was duly organized by the choice of the necessary town officers; and being thus duly qualified, they proceeded at once to the transaction of such business as they deemed necessary to develop the resources and promote the prosperity of the town. They made provision for their schools, highways, and other necessary objects. They directed their selectmen to look well to their cesspools, and abate all nuisances, and especially the liquor nuisance. Their public officers were instructed to consider the subject of supporting their paupers; and in a true Christian spirit they were directed not only to make suitable provision for laying out a cemetery, and disposing of the lots in the same, but to furnish suitable headstones at the graves of their paupers and to those unable to supply them. But the subjects of schools and town-ways engrossed a large share of their attention; and we venture to say that few, very few, towns in the commonwealth have done as much in so short a period as the town of Hudson, to improve their roads.

A committee having been appointed at a previous meeting to inform Charles Hudson, of Lexington, that the new town was named Hudson as a compliment to him, reported at a meeting held in 1867 that they had conveyed the information of the fact to Mr. Hudson, and that they had received a very flattering and highly satisfactory letter from that gentleman, in which he spoke very approvingly of the enterprise of the town, treated of the value of a free public library, and concluded with this proposition:—

“If the town of Hudson, at a legal meeting called for that purpose, vote to establish a free town library for the use of all the inhabitants of the town, and shall appropriate, or otherwise secure, the sum of five hundred dollars to be devoted to that object, they may call upon me, my executors or administrators, for the like sum of five hundred dollars, to be expended in furtherance of that object.”

The committee recommended the acceptance of the proposition; and the town accordingly voted the sum mentioned, and made choice of a discreet committee to select the books, and adopt such measures as they might deem necessary to carry forward this desirable enterprise. With a thousand dollars, and some other liberal donations, they were

able to open a library in 1867, which has been increased from time to time, and has met the wants of their growing population.

The subject which engaged the thought of the people more than any other was the need of possessing a portion of the adjoining territory within the limits of Bolton. This arose not merely from an ambition to enlarge the borders of their town, but from the fact that the desired territory approached so near the village as to prevent its natural expansion. And besides, this Bolton territory furnished some of the best building land near the village. The people doing business in Hudson were unwilling to fix their residence in another town and county, and thus be cut off from all participation with their immediate neighbors in the municipal affairs of the town where their labors were performed, and where their principal interest lay. Not only public desire, but enlightened policy, required the acquisition. The people residing upon this territory were anxious to become a part of Hudson. And Bolton, a purely agricultural town, began to suspect that a hundred voters, engaged in manufactures, and living at least three miles from the centre of their town, might become a troublesome element in their municipal affairs. Consequently they expressed a willingness to make some arrangement with Hudson, and settle on the best terms they could.

The citizens of Hudson, though they were conscious that this Bolton tract would ultimately be incorporated in their town, and the people become one, from interest and social intercourse were willing to make some sacrifice to hasten the happy union. Committees were appointed by both towns which finally agreed to refer the whole matter to three disinterested men, and to abide by their decision. The arbiters, after viewing the premises, and hearing the parties, reported a dividing line; and provided that Bolton, upon the request of the town of Hudson, shall convey by sufficient deed the lot of land proposed to be annexed to Hudson; and that the town of Hudson shall pay to the town of Bolton, within three months from the adoption of this line by the legislature, the sum of ten thousand dollars. This award, with the draft of an act confirming the same, was submitted to the legislature, and the act was passed without opposition. Thus ended the controversy between the two towns; and though the mode of settlement was a novel one, we believe it was beneficial to both parties. Hudson has been remarkably fortunate in adjusting

her boundary lines with the adjoining towns in a quiet and peaceable manner; and great credit is due to all parties for the kind and accommodating spirit in which they have met this subject.

Having laid out and constructed roads, provided for schools, and whatever else was deemed necessary for the prosperity of the place, in 1871 it was decided to build a town-hall; and the necessary steps were taken to accomplish this object. The building having been completed, was publicly dedicated September 26, 1872. It is well located, thoroughly finished, and is well adapted to the wants of the town. It is a brick edifice, two stories high. The entire cost of the building with its furniture was \$48,500, and the site added \$10,000 to its cost. Few towns in the country can boast of a town-hall more elegant and convenient than this.

The people in the northern part of Marlborough, which is now included in the town of Hudson, early manifested a deep interest in the subject of education. When citizens of Marlborough, they urged the want of better opportunities for their children, there being but one school-house on the territory now under consideration, and that nearly two miles from the Mills, the only village in the northern section of the town. And what made it still worse was the fact that there was no open direct road from the village to the school-house. This inconvenience was so severely felt that some of the families employed private teachers. But, after a struggle of several years, they obtained in 1812 a vote to establish a new district, and build a school-house, which was erected on the road from the Mills to the middle of the town, about eighty rods south of the river. Such, however, was the opposition to this measure, and such the lean majority by which the vote was passed, that it was threatened to have the vote reconsidered at the adjournment of the meeting. But such was the zeal of the people of the village, that the trees standing in the forest when the vote was passed were standing in a framed school-house, covered with boards, clapboards, and shingles, before the day to which the meeting was adjourned. Marlborough for a time was rather behind her sister towns in her appropriations for schools; but about 1850 a new interest was awakened, and several new school-houses were erected. The appropriation in 1856 was but \$2,220, in 1860 it was increased to \$3,910, and a high school had been established not only in the Centre, but also at

Feltonville. About 1855 the house built in 1812 was abandoned, and a new and better one was erected on School Street near the river; and here the Feltonville high school was kept till after the town was incorporated. The town of Hudson can present a good record on the subject of education. With a population of some nineteen hundred, at her first corporate meeting in 1866 she appropriated \$3,000 for schools; in 1870 she appropriated \$5,000, and in 1876 \$6,300. During the first decade of her being she has more than doubled

the school appropriation, and built four good school-houses, and among them a high-school house, at an expense for that house alone of between five and six thousand dollars. It appears by the public report of the selectmen that, for the year ending 1878, \$7,345.92 were appropriated for the support of schools, — a sum highly creditable to the young town.

The military history of Hudson can be briefly written. Up to the time of her separation from the parent town, what constitutes her present territory



Town Hall, Hudson.

furnished a full, if not an undue, proportion of captains and field-officers in the militia; but these will hardly come into the design of this article. In Philip's War this territory, being unsettled, of course furnished no soldiers. During the French and Indian wars which continued, with slight interruptions, from 1722 to 1759, the town of Marlborough furnished her full quota of men; but it is impossible to say how many of them belonged to the territory in question. From imperfect rolls we find the names of some thirty-five or forty soldiers, who resided in the northern section of the

town; and a considerable portion of them served in different campaigns in different years. Nearly the same may be said of the soldiers of the Revolution. The rolls, imperfect as they are, give the names of men known to be residents of the section now embraced in the new town, and though the whole number of soldiers was less than in the French wars, we believe that the north gave its due share. And during our late Civil War, we find no means of separating the patriotic citizens of Feltonville and the northern section of the town from those who resided in the centre and southern

section. Marlborough furnished three companies of three years' men, besides individuals who enlisted in other companies and regiments, and no complaint was ever made that the northern section was derelict in duty. The number of soldiers who entered the service from Feltonville headquarters, and the labors of the patriotic women, demonstrated that the love of liberty which gave us a free country was ready in the exigency to sustain it.

Before the principal manufactures were introduced into Feltonville there were some branches of business of that nature carried on in a small way. In addition to the common shoemaker incident to every settlement, an individual came into the place about 1815, and employed two or three hands who made shoes for the public market. A few years previous to this, Phineas Sawyer erected a small cotton factory at the Mills, devoted exclusively to the spinning of yarn, which was put out by himself and others to be woven in families, where some of it was bleached by the primitive process of being spread upon the grass and often watered. About this time, Cranston, Felton, and Hale, the traders in the village, employed two or three young women to weave satinets, a fabric of cotton and wool quite extensively used at that time for pantaloons. Another enterprise by the same parties was the establishment of a distillery for the production of cider-brandy. Though there were two distilleries at that time in the centre of the town, it was found that they could not consume the cider as fast as it was brought in. Another species of manufacture was tried on a small scale,—that of drawing wire by hand.

Such was the condition of the manufacturing interest in 1835, when Francis Brigham, who may be regarded as the father of the shoe-manufacturing interest, started the manufacture on a small scale. He went on enlarging and improving till 1847, when he built his large brick shop, introduced machinery, and applied water-power. Others have followed his example, and so the business has grown up.

Though Hudson may be regarded as a good agricultural town, she is now more distinguished for the products of her workshops than of her soil. The shoe manufacture is what has built up the place and given it a distinctive character. Her manufactures being of a recent date, she has probably a larger proportion of modern improved machinery than any town in the state. Her shops

are all of modern construction, two or three stories in height, high-studded, with large rooms or halls, well-lighted and ventilated, and warmed by steam. As the buildings are all separated or isolated, they enjoy the best air, and are comparatively safe from fire in consequence of their location, and the hose and other appliances which they possess.

The reputation of Hudson's shoe-manufactories is such, that when the Boston merchants and manufacturers, intending to show the Japanese Embassy the best specimens of our productions, after taking them to Lowell and Lawrence to exhibit the facility of weaving cloth, conducted them to Hudson to show them the best method of making shoes.

There is also in this village a striking illustration of the principle that one branch of business creates another. Shoes are made upon lasts; and hence a factory is established which turns out fifty thousand lasts annually. And as heels and leather generally are cut by dies, these articles are in demand; and so an establishment was set up, where dies to the amount of \$75,000 a year are produced. The lasts and dies here manufactured are not all consumed in the place; but the local demand gave birth to these factories. Then shoes, when prepared for the market, must be boxed up, and this calls for box-factories; and so two sprung up in the village, demanding not only laborers, but lumber and all the appliances of the lumber business. The annual product of these box-factories is \$20,000. Another branch of business allied to the shoe-manufactory is that of a tannery, which is found in the midst of the village, with a capital of about \$125,000, employing one hundred hands, with a monthly pay-roll of \$12,000.

The above manufactures seem to be connected with the shoe business. But there are other manufactures in the place. A piano factory, which makes cases, has a capital of \$30,000, employs twenty-three men, and has a monthly pay-roll of \$2,000. They produce eight hundred cases annually. There is also a rubber-factory company, which has a capital of \$500,000. They make a kind of India-rubber cloth, and employ only nine or ten hands, as their work is mostly done by machinery, and they have hardly got under way. Growing out of, if not connected with, the above is the New England Cloak Company, which manufactures the rubber cloth into garments, employs ten or twelve hands, and produces annually \$50,000 worth of goods, with a monthly pay-roll of \$500. There are also

a cigar factory and two green-houses, which sell their products in and out of the town.

The aggregate capital employed in the five principal shoe factories—Francis Brigham & Co's, William F. Trowbridge's, George Houghton's, Luman T. Jefts's and Stowe, Bills & Whitney's—is \$430,000, and the annual production of shoes is 1,785,000 pairs; the estimated value of sales is \$1,425,000; giving employment to 1100 persons, 345 of whom are females. The united pay of the laborers is \$350,000 a year, or \$29,166 a month. So much for the shoe business alone. But there are other branches connected with the shoe manufacture which should be taken into the account. The tannery, the die factory, the last factory, and the box factory furnish a capital of \$175,000, with a monthly pay-roll of \$20,000.

And when the India Rubber Cloth Company; the New England Cloak Company, employing some ten or twelve hands; the piano factory, with a capital of \$30,000, employing twenty-three men,—are taken into the account, the monthly disbursements, with what is paid to the shoe hands, cannot fall short of \$55,000; and all this is confined to the income of manufactures proper, to say nothing of the receipts of the mechanics, artisans, &c., and the income from the products of the soil.

Hudson is bountifully supplied with artisans, mechanics, and traders of every kind; with stores and shops to meet the wants of all classes of both sexes; and professional men to supply the needs of the community. It has a post-office, with three daily mails; a printing-office; a weekly newspaper; a savings-bank, with \$192,000 deposits; a tasteful cemetery; a free library, containing 2,500 volumes; and a full and very efficient fire department.

Financially, Hudson is situated like most of the towns in the state. Her town debt is \$112,180, a large indebtedness for a small country town. But when we consider that in 1874 her debt was \$162,000, and that it has already been reduced nearly \$50,000, we have reason to believe that this debt will soon be brought down to a nominal sum. While wisdom would admonish towns not to incur heavy liabilities, Hudson has had some inducements peculiar to herself. The purchase of territory from Bolton, the building of an expensive town-hall, and the large subscription to the Central Railroad, an enterprise of vital interest to the town,—these all seemed to be necessary for her future welfare; and the reported public property of the

town, viz., \$141,600, shows that there is no necessity of having receivers appointed to settle her affairs. At this time she has a population of 3,783, polls 953, dwelling-houses 642, and a valuation of \$1,818,298. She has 6,993 acres of land included in her tax list. Her rate of taxation the present year is \$13 on the \$1,000, which can not be considered high.

True to the Puritan spirit, the people at Feltonville early provided for religious instruction. About 1800 Phineas Sawyer from Harvard settled in the village, and being a Methodist by profession had frequent meetings on his premises. Subsequently the Methodists built themselves a small church in the northeasterly section of the town, which, in 1852, was destroyed by fire. This practically broke up the society, a part going to Rock Bottom, in Stow, and most of the rest to the centre of Marlborough. A remnant in the village of Feltonville, with others that have settled in the place, have built a good and handsome church in Hudson.

Long before they aspired to become a town, the people of all classes and sects associated for the support of stated preaching. A meeting-house was erected, which was controlled by the Baptists. But in the spirit of the age they have recently erected an elegant and commodious house, at a cost of \$19,000.

The Unitarians have a neat and convenient house, erected about 1860, the steeple of which is graced by a clock, a gift of the late Stephen Rice.

The Roman Catholics have a church known as Saint Michael's. It was organized by Father M. T. Maguire in 1869. This house is situated a little out of the centre of business on a rise of ground, and overlooks the village. These different societies are well sustained, and have their respective ministers; and what is more and better they dwell together in harmony, and have less of sectarian bitterness than is found in most country villages where rival sects exist.

Hudson is situated in the northwest part of the county of Middlesex, adjoining the county of Worcester, and is bounded northerly by Bolton and Stow, southerly by Marlborough, westerly by Berlin, and easterly by Sudbury. It is situated in the valley of the Assabet River, a stream which rises in Westborough, passes through a part of Northborough, thence into Marlborough, thence into a corner of Berlin, thence into Hudson, where it passes directly through the village, furnishing a good water-power. The stream from the village

of Hudson pursues a northeasterly course about a mile and a half, when it enters the town of Stow on its passage to Concord, where it unites with the Sudbury River. At Hudson village the Assabet receives a stream from Berlin, which furnishes a small water-power, and empties into the mill-pond; and another from Bolton bearing the name of Wattaquodock, and supplying the tan yard at the lower end of the village. Though the other streams in Hudson are small, they meet the wants of agriculture. Fort Meadow Brook, below the reservoir, traverses a large section of the easterly part of the township. There is also a beautiful sheet of water lying partly in Hudson and partly in Stow. It is situated in a level sandy section, and takes its name "White Pond" from its white sandy bottom.

Though a small section of the northwest corner of the town is somewhat rough and rugged, that part situated in the valley of the Assabet, and the eastern portion, is generally level; yet there is a pleasing variety of rolling land which adds to the beauty of the landscape. Mount Assabet, near the village, rises on the south side of the river, directly opposite the principal settlement, to the height of from one to one hundred and fifty feet, and is capable of cultivation to its summit; and, to use a military term, it commands the whole village, and a large portion of that section of the town. It is a graceful swell of land, and would afford elegant sites for those stately mansions in which retired capitalists delight to dwell. There are a number of these gradual elevations within a mile of the village, which would afford beautiful country-seats. Hudson is about twenty-eight miles from Boston, and its facilities for general communication are good. The branch railroad from the Fitchburg at South Acton passes directly through the village,

furnishing five daily trains, and having a station in the centre of business. This road connects the village with Boston and all the important places on the east, and with Fitchburg and the towns above on the west. The Massachusetts Central Railroad is located, and partly graded directly through the village, and if completed it would make Hudson an important railroad centre. And if the other towns on this contemplated road would manifest the same spirit, and afford the same pecuniary aid, as this young and generous town, that line of communication would not long hang in doubt. Hudson as a town appropriated \$55,000 towards the building of that road, and paid it in promptly. And recently she has agreed to transfer to certain contractors three fourths of her stock, if they will finish the road in two years. With this encouragement from the towns, the contractors will soon again commence labor upon the work, if they have not already done so. If this road is constructed, and opened for public travel, it must add materially to the prosperity of the place.

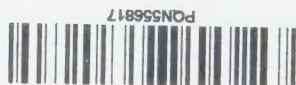
As an agricultural township, Hudson will compare favorably with the surrounding towns. Her loamy hills are capable of great production, and her lighter soils, with less labor, are well adapted to grain and vegetable crops.

On the whole, taking into view the nature of her soil, the topography of the township, the salubrity of the atmosphere, the orderly condition of the village, with the admitted enterprise of the people, Hudson would not suffer by a comparison with the towns around her. And if we add the facilities of communication present and prospective, she holds out inducements to those seeking country residences not surpassed by any town in this section of the state.

La Vergne, TN USA
14 December 2010

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